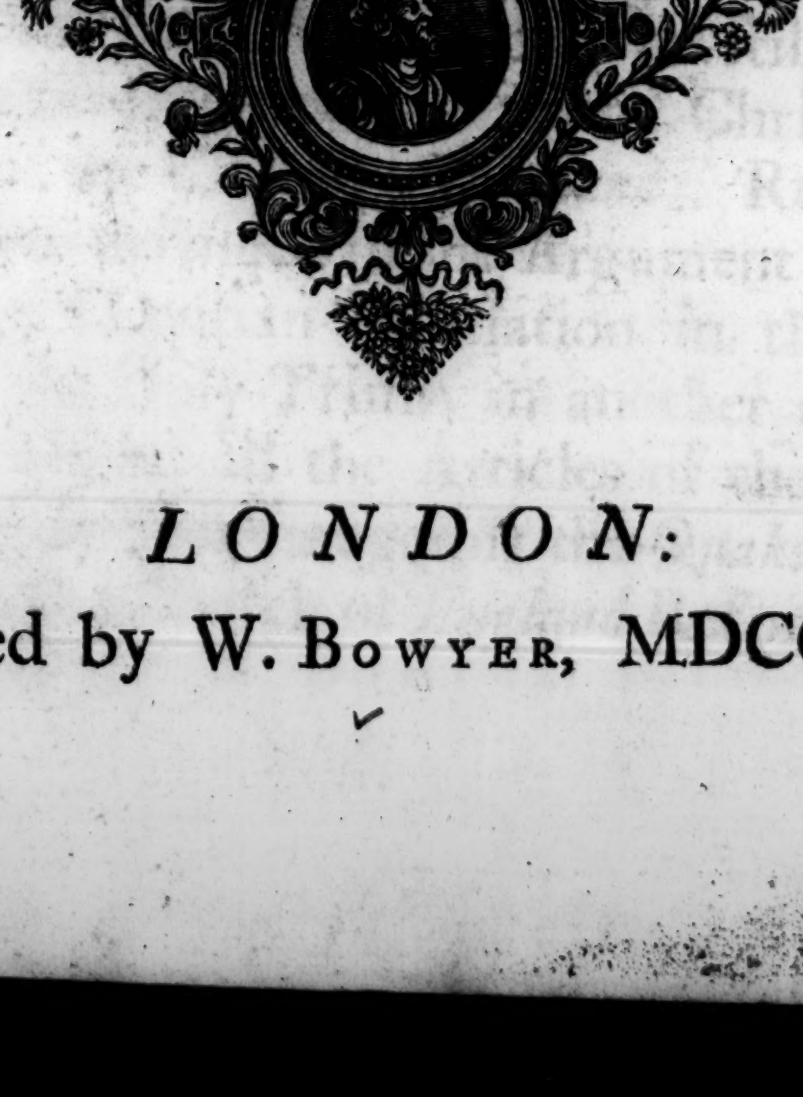
THE
THEOLOGICAL
WORKS

Of the REVEREND

Mr. Charles Leslie.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



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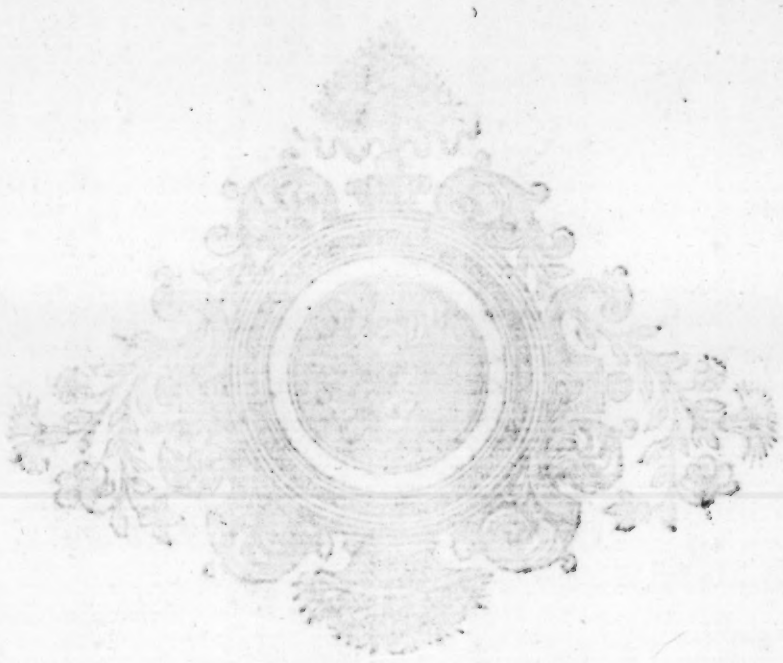

WORKS

THEOLOGICAL

To my Worthy Friend *R. K.*

SIR,

I Make this Effort, probably the laſt of uſing my Pen, to thank you for the many Proofs I have had of your Friendſhip, eſpecially for the Pains you have lately taken to procure the publiſhing again in two Volumes my Theological Tracts; and your Kindneſs to me will I hope be of Service to Religion, which will be always aſſaulted and always maintain'd; *for the Gates of Hell will never be able to prevail againſt it.* And if the Arguments urg'd in thoſe Treatiſes were formerly good (as ſurely I believ'd them to be) they will be good for ever; if they had then Succeſs, they may be ſtill ſucceſsful againſt the ſeveral Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion, and of the Church of *England.* Reveal'd Religion is there defended in the Argument againſt the Deiſts; and Chriſtian Revelation in that againſt the *Jews*; the Holy Trinity in another againſt the *Socinians*; almoſt all the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith in the Diſcourſes againſt the *Quakers*; in the Conference, the Church of *England* Reform'd is vin-

dicated

dicated againſt Popery; and in the Regale the ſpiritual Powers and Commiſſion of *Chriſt*, which he left to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors to be executed by them unto the end of the World, are explain'd and juſtify'd againſt all the modern Innovators, who pretending to interpret have labour'd utterly to deſtroy them. If in theſe Writings I have not prevented all the Objections that have been or may be produc'd againſt any Subject or Argument in them, this I hope will be no Diminution to the Uſefulneſs of them; for beſides that it is more or leſs an Exception againſt all Writings; the Objections made have been moſtly Cavils unworthy of Reply, and thoſe which deſerv'd it are eaſily clear'd by the Light of Truth, which if fully prov'd in thoſe Books can never be refuted: And you know well that Age, Infirmity of Health, and *Wearineſs of Fleſh* have *admoniſh'd* me that *of writing many Books* there muſt be *an end.* If in writing ſo much and on ſo many Subjects Miſtakes have crept in, I hope they are not of Importance; and ſuch as they are, could I examine and diſcover, I ſhould readily retract them, and diſown nothing but Artifice and Malice, from which my own Conſcience acquits me, and God I hope who is greater will not condemn me. I have always thought it my Duty to follow Truth as cloſely as I could without ſtraying after worldly Intereſt; and tho' the Providence of God infinitely wiſe and righteous hath for a great part of my Life excluded me from the publick Exerciſe of that ſacred Office to which I was call'd; yet I have the Comfort of having endeavour'd in ſome degree to ſerve, againſt its various Adverſaries, the Cauſe of God, of Religion, and of that Church in which I was baptiz'd, educated, and

receiv'd

receiv'd into holy Orders. And tho' the Events of Life have given me occaſions to take a nearer view of the Doctrines and Worſhip of other Chriſtian Churches, yet from thence I have been confirm'd in my belief that the Church of *England*, Abuſes notwithſtanding, is the moſt agreeable to the Inſtitutions of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles. And being now in a point of time to which Eternity is near, you will believe me if I declare, (and to the World I would declare it) that in this Communion I reſolve to die, and expect to be ſav'd by the Merits and Mediation of *Chriſt Jeſus*. And that all our Labours may be accepted by his infinite Mercy, be ſerviceable to his Religion, and beneficial to our Church and Countrey, is the Prayer of, *&c.*

Charles Leſlie.

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A Short and Easy

METHOD

WITH THE

DEISTS,

WHEREIN THE

CERTAINTY

OF THE

Christian Religion

Is demonstrated by Infallible Proof from

FOUR RULES,

WHICH ARE

Incompatible to any IMPOSTURE that ever yet has been, or that can possibly be.

In a LETTER *to a* FRIEND.

FOUR KINGS'

WHICH ARE

CERTAINTY

OF THE

DEISTS'

WITH THE

METHOD

A Short and Easy

PREFACE to the LETTER againſt the DEISTS.

I. *Have been deſir'd to ſay ſomething more concerning* Apollonius Tyanæus, *hereafter mention'd, tho' it lies upon the Deiſts to produce him, if they dare pitch upon him as an inſtance, to which they are fairly invited; but herein only ſhew their modeſty: They are baſhful in the face of an Argument; but where a jeſt, a grin, or a laugh will carry it off, they are unmerciful, and triumph clamorouſly. They have brought upon the Stage no Competitor with our bleſſed Saviour, equal to their* Apollonius: *Therefore I nam'd him, and provok'd them, (but I cannot) to bring it to a Tryal. For the ſake therefore of ſome Readers, who may not know the Story, I will here give this ſhort account of him.*

Firſt then, let it be obſerv'd, that what account we have of Apollonius Tyanæus, *is from* Philoſtratus, *who liv'd an hundred years after the time in which this* Apollonius *is ſaid to have flouriſh'd.*

Whence had Philoſtratus *this? He ſays, from the Book of one* Damis, *who had been a Companion of* Apollonius's. *How came* Philoſtratus *by this Book? He ſays, that* An acquaintance of *Damis*'s brought the Empreſs *Julia* to the knowledge of his Commentaries, which till then had not been publiſh'd. *(I give it you in the words of Mr.* Blount's *tranſlation.) And that* the Empreſs commanded *Philoſtratus* to tranſcribe thoſe Commentaries, and beſtow ſome pains on the relations contain'd in them.

them. *What pains was this? Only to tranſcribe? No, that was ſmall pains, and not fit to be impos'd upon ſo great an Orator as* Philoſtratus; *it was the Office of a Clerk. But, it ſeems, this Book of* Damis's *was ſo poorly wrote, as not fit to be expos'd to view, at leaſt of the Empreſs,* who, *as* Philoſtratus *tells us,* was much addicted to the ſtudy of Rhetorick. For *(ſays he) Damis* had given a plain but unelegant deſcription of them, i. e. *of the Acts of* Apollonius. *Therefore the pains that* Philoſtratus *took, he tells us, was upon the relations of* Apollonius *that were in the Commentaries of* Damis; *and to fit them for the ear of an Empreſs, who lov'd Rhetorick,* alias *romancing and fine ſtories. So that we are not ſure we have one word of the Commentaries of* Damis. *But this we are ſure of, that we have them only as they were new dreſs'd, and vampt by an Orator, to pleaſe the fancy of a rhetorical Lady.*

But, which is more, Philoſtratus *does not pretend that he confin'd himſelf to the Commentaries of* Damis. *For he tells us,* (ibid. l. 1. c. 3.) *that* in compoſing theſe Books *of his, he had* gathered together the diſperſed relations of *Apollonius* into one Volume: *And names another Author, one* Mœragenes, *who had wrote four Books concerning* Apollonius. *But he ſays, that there* is no credit to be given to them. *Why?* Becauſe, *(ſays he) Mœragenes,* in his Books, ſeemeth to be altogether ignorant of his *(Apollonius's)* Actions. *It ſeems they were not ſo romantick as the Commentaries of* Damis, *and ſo leſs fit for an entertainment to the Empreſs. But they do not ſeem to be the leſs true for that: And* Philoſtratus *gives no other reaſon againſt them,* i. e. *they were not for his purpoſe, which was, to compoſe ſomething new and ſurprizing, to gratify the Empreſs.*

Let me obſerve here, that this was an Age, wherein the Meleſiaca, *or feign'd romantick ſtories were much in vogue: Such as* Heliodorus's Æthiopicks, *the Amours of* Clitophon *and* Leucippe, *&c. And it is very probable that* Philoſtratus *living, as he tells us, at Court, wou'd endeavour not to be out of the faſhion.*

And indeed, if he had been to compoſe a Romance, to have appear'd like any thing of truth, he cou'd not have introduc'd it upon leſs authority, and a more precarious foundation, than this which he has given for his Hero, Apollonius.

So extremely ſlight, that ſome very learned Men have, not without reaſon, doubted whether ever there was ſuch a Man as this Apollonius.

It is true that Origen (Contr. Celſ.) *does mention him; but ſo he did likewiſe the recognition of St.* Clement, (Tom. 3. Comment.

ment. in Geneſ. in Philocal. c. 23.) *which now are taken for granted to have been wrote only in his name. And it is no ſtrange thing that ſome wiſe and learned Men may be impos'd upon in matters of this nature.*

But neither wiſe nor fooliſh, that have eyes in their head, can be impos'd upon in the four marks hereafter given p. 11. *whereby to aſcertain the truth of any matter of fact. And the Deiſts not daring to bring the matter of fact of* Apollonius *to the teſt of theſe rules, all that they can poſſibly infer from their Legends, is, that perhaps they may be true: Whereas, they muſt acknowledge, unleſs they will deny the certainty of all their ſenſes, that the matters of fact of* Moſes, *and of* Chriſt, *are certainly, undubitably, and infallibly true.*

And there is almoſt the ſame certainty, that thoſe of Apollonius *muſt be falſe: Becauſe, as Men cannot be impos'd upon in ſuch notorious matters of fact, it is next to the ſame impoſſibility, that they ſhou'd forget them; at leaſt, ſo ſoon as were theſe which were told of* Apollonius. *For example, his freeing the City of* Epheſus *from the Plague; his vaniſhing out of the preſence of* Domitian, *and his Court, when he was arraign'd before him; and his familiar converſe with many other Kings, and wonders done before them; and the mighty eſtimation even to adoration, which he is thereby ſaid to have obtain'd all over the World.*

Now is it poſſible, that all this cou'd be ſo totally forgot, as that no mention at all ſhou'd be made of it for a hundred years after theſe things were ſaid to be done? Inſomuch that Philoſtratus *complains, in the introduction to his legend,* (l. 1. c. 1.) *that whereas* Pythagoras, *and other ancient Philoſophers, who had liv'd many ages before, were ſtill remember'd with great veneration, yet that* Apollonius, *who, as he ſays,* came nearer to divine wiſdom than *Pythagoras* himſelf, is not yet known among Men——tho' he lived neither very long ago, nor yet very lately.

Was it poſſible, that the death of ſo famous a perſon ſhou'd not have been greatly notic'd? and his Sepulchre honour'd and viſited? Yet Philoſtratus *tells, that there was no certainty of the place where he died; that ſome ſaid it was at* Epheſus, *ſome at* Rhodes, *and ſome at* Crete; *and that his Sepulchre cou'd no where be found. To help this, ſome beſtow'd an* Apotheoſis *upon him; and would have it, that he was taken up into Heaven. But did any body ſee it? No; that is not ſo much as alledged: Nor could* Philoſtratus *believe it, who ſaid that he had travell'd far and near to find out his Sepulchre, but cou'd not hear of it.*

And if he was ſo univerſally famous as Philoſtratus *has repreſented him, cou'd* Mœragenes *have wrote his Life, and be* altogether ignorant of his actions, *as* Philoſtratus *has accuſed him?* Mœragenes *wrote before* Philoſtratus; *and therefore had better reaſon to know. And if* Philoſtratus *had tranſmitted to us the Commentaries of* Mœragenes, *as well as what helps he took out of thoſe of* Damis, *or father'd upon him, we ſhou'd no doubt have had a more moderate account of* Apollonius; *ſince* Philoſtratus *does confeſs, that for that only reaſon he had rejected the books of* Mœragenes. *And if they were in being when he wrote, he was under a neceſſity of ſaying ſomething againſt them, (tho' what he has ſaid confirms them the more) becauſe they gave the lye ſo notoriouſly to his new Romance of* Apollonius.

But now, to ſum up all, let us ſuppoſe to the utmoſt, that all this ſaid Romance were true, what wou'd this amount to? Only that Apollonius *did ſuch things. What then? What if he were ſo virtuous a perſon, as that God ſhou'd have given him the power to work ſeveral miracles? This wou'd no ways hurt the argument that is here brought againſt the Deiſts; becauſe* Apollonius *ſet up no new Religion, nor did he pretend that he was ſent with any Revelation from Heaven, to introduce any new ſort of the worſhip of God. So that it is of no conſequence to the world, whether theſe were true or pretended miracles; whether* Apollonius *was an honeſt Man, or a Magician; or whether ever there was ſuch a Man or not. For he left no Law or Goſpel behind him, to be receiv'd upon the credit of thoſe miracles which he is ſaid to have wrought; and therefore if he did work ſuch, it is no prejudice to the truth, either of the Law or the Goſpel. So that this whole parallell betwixt* Apollonius *and* Chriſt *is altogether impertinent, and ſhews at once the impotence as well as malice of thoſe who propoſe it.*

II. *This brings me from* Apollonius *to his new Editor amongſt us,* Charles Blount: *For I find my ſelf oblig'd to account for what I have ſaid of him. I have been told, (ſince the firſt edition of this) that it has diſoblig'd ſome friends, (far from my intention) who for relation or acquaintance had a regard to the perſon of Mr.* Blount, *tho' not to his principles; and think that I have us'd him too courſly, he being a Gentleman.*

But when it is conſider'd how he has treated our bleſſed Lord and Saviour, like the Soldiers who bow'd the knee to him, and ſpit in his face; who cry'd, Hail, King of the *Jews! to mock him the more outragiouſly: That not only in his Comments upon this hiſtory of* Apollonius, *but in his* Great Diana, *his* Oracles

of Reaſon, *and in all his Works, he ſet himſelf, with his whole might, to oppoſe and ridicule the Birth, Paſſion, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, and all that is ſaid of our* Chriſt *and God in the holy Goſpel, and all reveal'd Religion; of which I cou'd give inſtances out of number, but they are not fit to be heard by Chriſtian ears; and it wou'd gratify the Deiſts but to have them nam'd.*

Again conſidering, that his moſt pernicious books (many of which were well-nigh loſt) are of late carefully collected and reprinted, (to the ſcandal of a Chriſtian Country) and diſperſed, to poiſon the Nation; I ſay, all this being duly conſider'd, I have no apology to make for calling this Man execrable; *nor can I retract or compound it: Seeing it is come to this, that either his blaſphemous Works, (who ſet himſelf at the head of the Deiſts, and after whom they now copy) or elſe the Goſpel of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *muſt remain execrable.*

Nor would I give better quarter to the greateſt King upon earth, who ſhou'd do the ſame: But, after the example of our holy Apoſtle, I would ſay, I do ſay, let him, or an Angel from Heaven, who durſt thus preſume, be accurſed.

If Mr. Blount *had meddled only with the argument, and oppos'd what he cou'd, in that method, I wou'd have thought him worthy of civil treatment; as I will any other of the Deiſts, who ſhall anſwer the reaſons I have here ſet down. And if he can overthrow them, and give me better on his ſide, I confeſs I ſhall then be tempted to turn Infidel with him. And to this I invite them, I provoke them. But if they will not, (as there is little appearance that they will) then let them never more value themſelves as Men of Senſe, at leaſt let none others do ſo, while they refuſe to be determin'd by Reaſon.*

But if inſtead of Reaſon, they have recourſe, like Mr. Blount, *to their old Topic of Buffoonry, and ſhew their Parts in witty ſatyr and ſcorn, and laugh out——Prieſt-craft——for an hour together; let them enjoy the fruit of their labours, and what they juſtly deſerve, to be the admiration of fools, and contempt of all wiſe and good Men. And ſo I leave them.*

A Short and Easy

METHOD

WITH THE

DEISTS.

SIR,

IN answer to yours of the third instant, I much condole with you your unhappy Circumstances, of being placed among such Company, where, as you say, you continually hear the sacred Scriptures, and the histories therein contain'd, particularly of *Moses* and of *Christ*, and all revealed Religion turn'd into ridicule, by Men who set up for sense and reason. And they say, that there is no greater ground to believe in *Christ*, than in *Mahomet*; that all these pretences to Revelation are cheats, and ever have been among *Pagans*, *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and *Christians*; that they are all alike impositions of cunning and designing Men, upon the credulity, at first, of simple and unthinking People, till, their numbers encreasing, their delusions grew popular, came at last to be establish'd by Laws; and then the force of education and custom gives a byas to the judgments of after ages, till such deceits come really to be believ'd, being receiv'd upon trust from the ages foregoing, without examining into the original and bottom of them: Which these our modern Men of sense (as they desire to be esteem'd) say, that they only do, that they only have their judgments freed

from the ſlaviſh authority of Precedents and Laws, in matters of truth, which, they ſay, ought only to be decided by reaſon; tho' by a prudent compliance with Popularity and Laws, they preſerve themſelves from outrage, and legal penalties; for none of their complexions are addicted to ſufferings and martyrdom.

Now, Sir, that which you deſire from me, is, ſome ſhort topic of Reaſon, if ſuch can be found, whereby, without running to authorities, and the intricate mazes of Learning, which breed long diſputes, and which theſe Men of Reaſon deny by wholeſale, though they can give no reaſon for it; only ſuppoſe that Authors have been trump'd upon us, interpolated, and corrupted, ſo that no ſtreſs can be laid upon them, tho' it cannot be ſhewn wherein they are ſo corrupted; which, in reaſon, ought to lie upon them to prove, who alledge it; otherwiſe it is not only a precarious, but a guilty Plea: And the more, that they refrain not to quote Books on their ſide, for whoſe authority there are no better, or not ſo good grounds. However, you ſay, it makes your diſputes endleſs, and they go away with noiſe and clamour, and a boaſt, That there is nothing, at leaſt nothing certain to be ſaid on the Chriſtian ſide. Therefore you are deſirous to find ſome one topic of Reaſon, which ſhould demonſtrate the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, and at the ſame time diſtinguiſh it from the impoſtures of *Mahomet*, and the old Pagan world: That our Deiſts may be brought to this teſt, and be either obliged to renounce their reaſon, and the common reaſon of Mankind, or to ſubmit to the clear proof, from reaſon, of the Chriſtian Religion; which muſt be ſuch a proof, as no impoſture can pretend to, otherwiſe it cannot prove the Chriſtian Religion not to be an impoſture. And, whether ſuch a proof, one ſingle proof (to avoid confuſion) is not to be found out, you deſire to know from me.

And you ſay, that you cannot imagine but there muſt be ſuch a proof, becauſe every Truth is in itſelf clear, and one; and therefore that one reaſon for it, if it be the true reaſon, muſt be ſufficient; and, if ſufficient, it is better than many; for multiplicity confounds, eſpecially to weak judgments.

Sir, you have impos'd an hard task upon me, I wiſh I could perform it. For tho' every truth is one, yet our ſight is ſo feeble, that we cannot (always) come to it directly, but by many inferences, and laying of things together.

But I think, that in the caſe before us, there is ſuch a proof as you require, and I will ſet it down as ſhort and plain as I can.

II. Firſt then, I ſuppoſe, that the truth of the doctrine of *Chriſt* will be ſufficiently evinced, if the Matters of fact, which are recorded of him in the Goſpels, be true; for his miracles, if true, do vouch the truth of what he delivered.

The ſame is to be ſaid as to *Moſes*. If he brought the children of *Iſrael* through the *Red-Sea*, in that miraculous manner, which is related in *Exodus*, and did ſuch other wonderful things as are there told of him, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that he was ſent from God: Theſe being the ſtrongeſt proofs we can deſire, and which every Deiſt will confeſs he would acquieſce in, if he ſaw them with his eyes. Therefore the ſtreſs of this cauſe will depend upon the proof of theſe matters of fact.

1. And the method I will take, is, firſt, to lay down ſuch Rules, as to the truth of matters of fact, in general, that where they all meet, ſuch matters of fact cannot be falſe. And then, ſecondly, to ſhew that all theſe Rules do meet in the matters of fact, of *Moſes*, and of *Chriſt*; and that they do not meet in the matters of fact of *Mahomet*, of the Heathen Deities, or can poſſibly meet in any impoſture whatſoever.

2. The Rules are theſe. 1. *That the matters of fact be ſuch, as that Mens outward ſenſes, their eyes and ears, may be judges of it.* 2. *That it be done publickly in the face of the world.* 3. *That not only publick monuments be kept up in memory of it, but ſome outward actions to be performed.* 4. *That ſuch monuments and ſuch actions or obſervances be inſtituted, and do commence from the time that the matter of fact was done.*

3. The two firſt Rules make it impoſſible for any ſuch matter of fact to be impos'd upon Men, at the time when ſuch matter of fact was ſaid to be done, becauſe every Man's eyes and ſenſes would contradict it. For example, ſuppoſe any Man ſhould pretend, that yeſterday he divided the *Thames*, in preſence of all the People of *London*, and carried the whole City, Men, Women and Children, over to *Southwark*, on dry Land, the Waters ſtanding like Walls on both ſides: I ſay, it is morally impoſſible that he could perſuade the People of *London* that this was true, when every Man, Woman and Child, could contradict him, and ſay, that this was a notorious falſhood, for that they had not ſeen the *Thames* ſo divided, or had gone over on dry Land. Therefore I take it for granted, (and, I ſuppoſe, with the allowance of all the Deiſts in the World) that no ſuch Impoſition could be put upon Men at the time when ſuch publick matter of fact was ſaid to be done.

4. Therefore it only remains that ſuch matter of fact might be invented ſome time after, when the Men of that Generation, wherein the thing was ſaid to be done, are all paſt and gone; and the credulity of after Ages might be impos'd upon, to believe that things were done in former Ages, which were not.

And for this, the two laſt Rules ſecure us as much as the two firſt Rules, in the former caſe; for whenever ſuch a matter of fact came to be invented, if not only monuments were ſaid to remain of it, but likewiſe that publick actions and obſervances were conſtantly us'd ever ſince the matter of fact was ſaid to be done, the deceit muſt be detected, by no ſuch monuments appearing, and by the experience of every Man, Woman, and Child, who muſt know that no ſuch actions or obſervances were ever us'd by them. For example, ſuppoſe I ſhould now invent a Story of ſuch a thing done a thouſand years ago, I might, perhaps, get ſome to believe it; but if I ſay, that not only ſuch a thing was done, but that from that day to this every Man, at the age of twelve years, had a joint of his little Finger cut off; and that every Man in the Nation did want a joint of ſuch a Finger; and that this Inſtitution was ſaid to be part of the matter of fact done ſo many years ago, and vouch'd as a proof and confirmation of it, and as having deſcended, without interruption, and been conſtantly practis'd in memory of ſuch matter of fact all along, from the time that ſuch matter of fact was done: I ſay, it is impoſſible I ſhould be believ'd in ſuch a caſe, becauſe every one could contradict me, as to the mark of cutting off a joint of the Finger; and that being part of my original matter of fact, muſt demonſtrate the whole to be falſe.

III. Let us now come to the ſecond Point, to ſhew, that the matters of fact of *Moſes*, and of *Chriſt*, have all theſe Rules, or Marks before-mention'd; and that neither the matters of fact of *Mahomet*, or what is reported of the Heathen-Deities, have the like; and that no Impoſtor can have them all.

1. As to *Moſes*, I ſuppoſe it will be allow'd me, that he could not have perſuaded 600000 Men, that he had brought them out of *Ægypt*, thro' the *Red-Sea*; fed them 40 years, without Bread, by miraculous Manna, and the other matters of fact recorded in his Books, if they had not been true: Becauſe every Man's ſenſes that were then alive muſt have contradicted it.

And therefore he muſt have impos'd upon all their Senſes, if he could have made them believe it, when it was falſe, and no ſuch things done. So that here are the firſt and ſecond of the above-mentioned four Marks.

For the ſame reaſon it was equally impoſſible for him to have made them receive his five Books as truth, and not to have rejected them as a manifeſt impoſture; which told of all theſe things as done before their Eyes, if they had not been ſo done. See how poſitively he ſpeaks to them, *Deut.* xi. 2. to v. 8. *And know you this day, for I ſpeak not with your Children, which have not known, and which have not ſeen the chaſtiſement of the Lord your God, his greatneſs, his mighty hand, and his ſtretched-out arm, and his miracles, and his acts, which he did in the midſt of* Ægypt, *unto* Pharaoh *the King of* Ægypt, *and unto all his Land, and what he did unto the Army of* Ægypt, *unto their Horſes, and to their Chariots; how he made the water of the* Red-Sea *to overflow them as they purſued after you; and how the Lord hath deſtroyed them unto this day: And what he did unto you in the Wilderneſs, until he came into this Place; and what he did unto* Dathan *and* Abiram, *the Sons of* Eliab, *the Son of* Reuben, *how the Earth opened her mouth, and ſwallowed them up, and their Houſholds, and their Tents, and all the ſubſtance that was in their poſſeſſion, in the midſt of all* Iſrael. *But your Eyes have ſeen all the great Acts of the Lord, which he did,* &c.

From hence we muſt ſuppoſe it impoſſible that theſe Books of *Moſes*, (if an Impoſture) could have been invented and put upon the People who were then alive, when all theſe things were ſaid to be done.

The utmoſt therefore that even a Suppoſe can ſtretch to, is, that theſe things were wrote in ſome Age after *Moſes*, and put out in his Name.

And to this I ſay, that if it was ſo, it was impoſſible that thoſe Books ſhould have been receiv'd, as the Books of *Moſes*, in that Age wherein they may have been ſuppos'd to have been firſt invented. Why? Becauſe they ſpeak of themſelves as deliver'd by *Moſes*, and kept in the *Ark* from his time. *And it came to paſs, when* Moſes *had made an end of writing the words of this Law in a Book, until they were finiſhed, that* Moſes *commanded the* Levites *who bare the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, ſaying, Take this Book of the Law, and put it in the ſide of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witneſs againſt thee,* Deut. xxxi. 24, 25, 26. And there was a Copy of this Book to be left likewiſe with the King. *And it ſhall be when he ſitteth upon the Throne of his Kingdom, that he ſhall write him a Copy of this Law in a Book, out of that which is before the Prieſts the Levites: And it ſhall be with him, and he ſhall read therein all the days of his Life; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this Law and theſe Statutes to do them,* Deut. xvii. 18, 19.

Here you ſee that this Book of the Law ſpeaks of it ſelf, not only as an Hiſtory or Relation of what things were then done, but as the ſtanding and municipal Law and Statutes of the Nation of the *Jews*, binding the King as well as the People.

Now, in whatever Age after *Moſes* you will ſuppoſe this Book to have been forged, it was impoſſible it could be received as Truth; becauſe it was not then to be found, either in the Ark, or with the King, or any where elſe: For when firſt invented, every body muſt know that they had never heard of it before.

And therefore they could leſs believe it to be the Book of their Statutes, and the ſtanding Law of the Land, which they had all along received, and by which they had been governed.

Could any Man, now at this day, invent a Book of Statutes or Acts of Parliament for *England*, and make it paſs upon the Nation as the only Book of Statutes that ever they had known? As impoſſible was it for the Books of *Moſes* (if they were invented in any age after *Moſes*) to have been receiv'd for what they declare themſelves to be, *viz.* the Statutes and municipal Law of the Nation of the *Jews*; and to have perſuaded the *Jews* that they had own'd and acknowledg'd theſe Books all along from the days of *Moſes* to that day in which they were firſt invented; that is, that they had own'd them before they had ever ſo much as heard of them: Nay, more, the whole Nation muſt in an inſtant forget their former Laws and Government if they could receive theſe Books as being their former Laws; and they could not otherwiſe receive them, becauſe they vouch'd themſelves ſo to be. Let me ask the Deiſts but this one ſhort Queſtion, Was there ever a Book of ſham-Laws, which were not the Laws of the Nation, palm'd upon any People ſince the world began? If not, with what face can they ſay this of the Book of Laws of the *Jews?* Why will they ſay that of them, which they confeſs impoſſible in any Nation, or among any People?

But they muſt be yet more unreaſonable. For the Books of *Moſes* have a farther Demonſtration of their Truth than even other Law-Books have; for they not only contain the Laws, but give an hiſtorical account of their Inſtitution, and the Practice of them from that time: As of the Paſſover in memory of the Death of the Firſt-born in *Ægypt:* And that the ſame day all the *Firſt-born of Iſrael both of Man and Beaſt* were by a perpetual Law dedicated to God: And the *Levites taken for all the Firſt-born of the Children of* Iſrael: That *Aaron*'s Rod which budded was kept in the Ark in memory of the Rebellion and wonderful Deſtruction of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; and for the Confirmation of the Prieſthood to the Tribe of *Levi:* As likewiſe the Pot of *Manna* in memory of their having been fed with it forty years in the Wilderneſs: That the brazen Serpent was kept (which remained to the days of *Hezekiah*, 2 *Kings* xviii. 4.) in memory of that wonderful deliverance, by only looking upon it, from the biting of the Fiery-Serpents: The Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, in memory of the dreadful Appearance of God upon Mount *Horeb*, &c.

Numb. viii. 17, 18.

Numb. xxi. 9.

And beſides theſe remembrances of particular Actions and Occurrences there were other ſolemn Inſtitutions in memory of their Deliverance out of *Ægypt*, in the general, which included all the particulars: As of the Sabbath, their daily Sacrifices and yearly Expiation, their new-Moons and ſeveral Feaſts and Faſts: So that there were yearly, monthly, weekly, daily Remembrances and Recognitions of theſe things.

Deut. v. 15.

And not only ſo, but the Books of the ſame *Moſes* tell us, that a particular Tribe (of *Levi*) was appointed and conſecrated by God as his Prieſts; by whoſe hands, and none other, the Sacrifices of the People were to be offer'd, and theſe ſolemn Inſtitutions to be celebrated: That it was Death for any other to approach the *Altar:* That their High-Prieſt wore a glorious Mitre, and magnificent Robes of God's own Contrivance, with the miraculous *Urim* and *Thummim* in his Breaſt-plate, whence the divine Reſponſes were given: That *at his Word* the King *and all the* People were to *go out* and to *come in:* That theſe *Levites* were likewiſe the chief Judges even in all civil Cauſes, and that it was Death to reſiſt their Sentence. Now whenever it can be ſuppos'd that theſe Books of *Moſes* were forged, in ſome ages after *Moſes*, it is impoſſible they could have been received as true, unleſs the Forgers could have made the whole Nation believe that they had received theſe Books from their Fathers, had been inſtructed in them when they were Children, and had taught them to their Children; moreover, that they had all been circumciſed, and did circumciſe their Chil-

Numb. xxvii. 21. Deut. xvii. 8. *to* 13. 1 Chron. xxiii. 4.

dren, in purſuance to what was commanded in theſe Books, that they had obſerved the yearly Paſſover, the weekly Sabbath, the new-Moons, and all theſe ſeveral Feaſts, Faſts, and Ceremonies commanded in theſe Books: That they had never eaten any Swines Fleſh, or other Meats prohibited in theſe Books: That they had a magnificent Tabernacle, with a viſible Prieſthood to adminiſter in it, which was confined to the Tribe of *Levi*; over whom was placed a glorious High-Prieſt, cloathed with great and mighty Prerogatives; whoſe Death only could deliver thoſe that were fled to the Cities of Refuge: And that theſe Prieſts were their ordinary Judges, even in civil matters: I ſay, was it poſſible to have perſuaded a whole Nation of Men that they had known and practiſed all theſe things, if they had not done it? Or, *Secondly*, to have receiv'd a Book for Truth, which ſaid they had practiſed them, and appeal to that practice? So that here are the third and fourth of the marks abovementioned.

Numb. xxxv. 25, 28.

But now let us deſcend to the utmoſt degree of Suppoſition; *viz.* That theſe Things were practiſed before theſe Books of *Moſes* were forged, and that theſe Books did only impoſe upon the Nation, in making them believe that they had kept theſe Obſervances in memory of ſuch and ſuch things as were inſerted in thoſe Books.

Well then, let us proceed upon this Suppoſition, (however groundleſs:) And now will not the ſame Impoſſibilities occur as in the former caſe? For, *Firſt*, This muſt ſuppoſe that the *Jews* kept all theſe Obſervances in memory of nothing, or without knowing any thing of their original, or the reaſon why they kept them: Whereas theſe very Obſervances did expreſs the ground and reaſon of their being kept; as the Paſſover in memory of God's paſſing-over the Children of the *Iſraelites*, in that night wherein he ſlew all the Firſt-born of *Ægypt*, and ſo of the reſt.

But, *Secondly*, Let us ſuppoſe, contrary both to reaſon and matter of fact, that the *Jews* did not know any reaſon at all why they kept theſe Obſervances; yet was it poſſible to put it upon them, that they had kept theſe Obſervances in memory of what they had never heard of before that day, whenſoever you will ſuppoſe that theſe Books of *Moſes* were firſt forged? For example, ſuppoſe I ſhould now forge ſome romantick ſtory of ſtrange things done a thouſand years ago, and in confirmation of this ſhould endeavour to perſuade the Chriſtian World, that they had all along from that day to this kept the firſt day of the week in memory of ſuch an Hero, an *Apollonius*, a *Barcosbas*, or a *Mahomet*; and had all been baptiz'd in his name, and ſwore by his name, and upon that very Book, (which I had then forged, and which they never ſaw before) in their publick Judicatures; that this Book was their Goſpel and Law, which they had ever ſince that time, theſe thouſand years paſt, univerſally receiv'd and own'd, and none other: I would ask any Deiſt, whether he thinks it poſſible that ſuch a Cheat could paſs, or ſuch a legend be receiv'd as the Goſpel of Chriſtians; and that they could be made believe that they never had any other Goſpel? The ſame reaſon is as to the Books of *Moſes*; and muſt be as to every matter of fact which has all the four marks above-mentioned; and theſe marks ſecure any ſuch matter of fact as much from being invented and impos'd in any after ages, as at the time when ſuch matters of fact were ſaid to be done.

Let me give one very familiar example more in this caſe. There is the *Stonhenge* in *Salisbury-Plain*, every body knows it, and yet none knows the reaſon why thoſe great Stones were ſet there, or by whom, or in memory of what.

Now ſuppoſe I ſhould write a Book to morrow, and tell there, that theſe Stones were ſet up by *Hercules*, *Polyphemus*, or *Garagantua*, in memory

of ſuch and ſuch of their actions: And for a farther confirmation of this, ſhould ſay, in this Book, that it was wrote at the time when ſuch actions were done, and by the very actors themſelves, or eye-witneſſes: And that this Book had been received as truth, and quoted by Authors of the greateſt reputation in all ages ſince: Moreover that this Book was well known in *England*, and enjoin'd by Act of Parliament to be taught our children, and that we did teach it to our children, and had been taught it our ſelves when we were children: I ask any Deiſt, whether he thinks this could paſs upon *England?* And whether, if I, or any other ſhould inſiſt upon it, we ſhould not, inſtead of being believ'd, be ſent to *Bedlam?*

Now let us compare this with the *Stonhenge*, as I may call it, or twelve great Stones ſet up at *Gilgal*, which is told in the 4th Chapter of *Joſhua*. There it is ſaid, ℣. 6. that the reaſon why they were ſet up, was, that when their Children, in after ages, ſhould ask the meaning of them, it ſhould be told them.

And the thing in memory of which they were ſet up, was ſuch as could not poſſibly be impos'd upon that Nation at that time, when it was ſaid to be done; it was as wonderful and miraculous as their paſſage thro' the *Red-Sea*.

And this inſtance is free from a very poor objection which the Deiſts have advanc'd againſt that Miracle of the *Red-Sea:* Thinking to ſalve it by a Spring-tide, with the concurrence of a ſtrong Wind, happening at the ſame time; which left the ſand ſo dry, as that the *Iſraelites* being all on foot, might paſs thro' the ouſey places and holes, which it muſt be ſuppoſed the Sea left behind it: But that the *Ægyptians*, being all horſe and chariots, ſtuck in thoſe holes, and were entangled ſo as that they could not march ſo faſt as the *Iſraelites:* And that this was all the meaning of its being ſaid, that God took off their (the *Ægyptians)* Chariot-Wheels, that they drove them heavily: So that they would make nothing extraordinary, at leaſt not miraculous, in all this action.

This is advanc'd in *Le Clerk's Diſſertations upon Geneſis*, lately printed in *Holland*, and that part with others of the like tendency, endeavouring to reſolve other Miracles, as that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, &c. into the mere natural cauſes, are put into *Engliſh* by the well-known *T. Brown*, for the edification of the Deiſts in *England*.

But theſe Gentlemen have forgot that the *Iſraelites* had great herds of many thouſand Cattel with them, which would be apter to ſtray, and fall into thoſe holes and ouſey places in the ſand, than horſers with riders, who might direct them.

But ſuch precarious and ſilly ſuppoſes are not worth the anſwering. If there had been no more in this paſſage thro' the *Red-Sea* than that of a Spring-tide, *&c.* it had been impoſſible for *Moſes* to have made the *Iſraelites* believe that relation given of it in *Exodus*, with ſo many particulars which themſelves ſaw, to be true.

And all thoſe Scriptures which magnify this action, and appeal to it as a full demonſtration of the miraculous power of God, muſt be reputed as romance or legend.

I ſay this for the ſake of ſome Chriſtians who think it no prejudice to the truth of the holy Bible, but rather an advantage, as rendring it more eaſy to be believ'd, if they can ſolve whatever ſeems miraculous in it by the power of ſecond cauſes; and ſo to make all, as they ſpeak, natural and eaſy: Wherein if they could prevail, the natural and eaſy reſult would be, not to believe one word in all thoſe ſacred Oracles. For if things be not as they are told in any relation, that relation muſt be falſe: And if falſe in part, we cannot truſt to it either in whole or in part.

Here

Here are to be excepted miſ-tranſlations and errors either in Copy or in Preſs; but where there is no room for ſuppoſing of theſe, as where all Copies do agree, there we muſt either receive all or reject all: I mean in any Book that pretends to be written from the Mouth of God; for in other common Hiſtories we may believe part and reject part as we ſee cauſe.

But to return. The paſſage of the *Iſraelites* over *Jórdan*, in memory of which thoſe Stones at *Gilgal* were ſet up, is free from all thoſe little carpings before-mention'd that are made as to the paſſage thro' the *Red-Sea:* Joſh. iii. 5. For notice was given to the *Iſraelites* the day before, of this great Miracle to be done. It was done at noon-day, before the whole Nation: And when the waters of *Jordan* were divided, it was not at any low ebb, but at the ℣. 15. time when that river *overflowed all his Banks:* And it was done not by Winds, or in length of time, which Winds muſt take to do it, but all on the ſudden, as ſoon as the *feet of the Prieſts that bear the Ark were dipped in the brim of the water*, then *the waters which came down from above, ſtood and roſe up upon an heap, very far from the city* Adam, *that is beſide* Zaretan: *And thoſe that came down toward the Sea of the Plain, even the Salt Sea, failed, and were cut off: And the People paſſed over right againſt* Jericho. The Prieſts ſtood in the midſt of *Jordan* till Joſh. iv. *from* ℣. 18, *&c.* all the Armies of *Iſrael* had paſſed over. *And it came to paſs, when the Prieſts that bare the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord were come up out of the midſt of* Jordan, *and the ſoles of the Prieſts feet were lift up upon the dry land, that the waters of* Jordan *returned unto their place, and flowed over all his banks as they did before. And the People came up out of* Jordan *on the tenth day of the firſt month, and encamped in* Gilgal *on the eaſt border of* Jericho. *And thoſe twelve Stones which they took out of* Jordan, *did* Joſhua *pitch in* Gilgal. *And he ſpake unto the Children of* Iſrael, *ſaying, When your Children ſhall ask their Fathers in time to come, ſaying, What mean theſe Stones? Then ye ſhall let your Children know, ſaying,* Iſrael *came over this* Jordan *on dry land. For the Lord your God dried up the waters of* Jordan *from before you, until ye were paſſed over; as the Lord your God did to the* Red-Sea, *which he dried up from before us, until we were gone over. That all the People of the Earth might know the Hand of the Lord, that it is mighty: That ye might fear the Lord your God for ever.*

If the paſſage over the *Red-Sea* had been only taking the advantage of a Spring-tide, or the like, how would this teach *all the People of the Earth that the Hand of the Lord was mighty?* How would a thing no more remarkable have been taken notice of thro' all the World? How would it have taught *Iſrael* to *fear the Lord*, when they muſt know, that notwithſtanding all theſe big words, there was ſo little in it? How could they have believ'd or receiv'd a Book as truth, which they knew told the matter ſo far otherwiſe from what it was?

But, as I ſaid, this paſſage over *Jordan*, which is here compar'd to that of the *Red-Sea*, is free from all thoſe cavils that are made as to that of the *Red-Sea*, and is a farther atteſtation to it, being ſaid to be done in the ſame manner as was that of the *Red-Sea.*

Now, to form our argument, let us ſuppoſe that there never was any ſuch thing as that paſſage over *Jordan:* That theſe Stones at *Gilgal* were ſet up upon ſome other occaſion in ſome after Age: And then, that ſome deſigning Man invented this Book of *Joſhua*, and ſaid that it was wrote by *Joſhua* at that time: And gave this Stonage at *Gilgal* for a teſtimony of the truth of it. Would not every body ſay to him, we know the Stonage at *Gilgal*, but we never heard before of this reaſon for it; nor of this Book of *Joſhua?* Where has it been all this while? And where, and how came

you after so many ages to find it? Besides, this Book tells us, that this passage over *Jordan* was ordain'd to be taught our Children from age to age; and therefore, that they were always to be instructed in the meaning of that Stonage at *Gilgal* as a memorial of it. But we were never taught it when we were Children, nor did ever teach our Children any such thing: And it is not likely that could have been forgotten while so remarkable a Stonage did continue, which was set up for that and no other end.

And if, for the reasons before given, no such imposition could be put upon us as to the Stonage in *Salisbury-Plain*, how much less could it be as to the Stonage at *Gilgal*?

And if where we know not the reason of a bare naked monument, such a sham-reason cannot be impos'd, how much more is it impossible to impose upon us in actions and observances which we celebrate in memory of particular passages? How impossible to make us forget those passages which we daily commemorate, and persuade us that we had always kept such institutions in memory of what we never heard of before; that is, that we knew it before we knew it!

And if we find it thus impossible for an imposition to be put upon us even in some things which have not all the four marks before-mentioned, how much more impossible is it that any deceit should be in that thing where all the four marks do meet!

This has been shewed in the first place, as to the matters of fact of *Moses*.

2. Therefore I come now, *Secondly*, to shew, that as in the matters of fact of *Moses*, so likewise all these four marks do meet in the matters of fact which are recorded in the Gospel of our blessed Saviour. And my work herein will be the shorter, because all that is said before of *Moses* and his Books, is every way as applicable to *Christ* and his Gospel. His Works and Miracles are there said to be done publickly, in the face of the World; as he argued to his accusers, *I spake openly to the World, and in secret have I said nothing.* It is told, that three thousand at one time, and that above five thousand at another, were converted upon conviction of what themselves had seen, what had been done publickly before their Eyes, wherein it was impossible to have imposed upon them. Therefore here were the two first of the rules before-mentioned. John xviii. 20. Acts ii. 41. Acts iv. 4.

Then for the two second. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were instituted as perpetual memorials of these things; and they were not instituted in after-ages, but at the very time when these things were said to be done; and have been observed without interruption in all ages through the whole Christian World, down all the way from that time to this: And *Christ* himself did ordain Apostles, and other Ministers of his Gospel, to preach, and administer these Sacraments, and to govern his Church; and that *always, even unto the end of the World*: Accordingly they have continu'd by regular succession to this Day; and no doubt ever shall while the earth shall last: So that the Christian Clergy are as notorious a matter of fact as the Tribe of *Levi* among the *Jews*; and the Gospel is as much a Law to the Christians as the Book of *Moses* to the *Jews*: And it being part of the matters of fact related in the Gospel, that such an order of Men were appointed by *Christ*, and to *continue to the end of the World*; consequently, if the Gospel was a fiction, and invented (as it must be) in some ages after *Christ*, then, at that time when it was first invented, there could be no such order of Clergy as deriv'd themselves from the institution of *Christ*; which must give the lye to the Gospel, and demonstrate the whole to be false: And the matters of fact of *Christ* being pres'd to be true no otherwise than as there was at that time (whenever the Deists will suppose the Gospel to be forged) Mat. xxviii. 20.

not only publick Sacraments of *Christ*'s institution, but an order of Clergy likewise of his appointment to administer them; and it being impossible there could be any such things before they were invented, it is as impossible that they should be received when invented: And therefore by what was said above, it was as impossible to have impos'd upon mankind in this matter, by inventing of it in after-ages, as at the time when those things were said to be done.

3. The matters of fact of *Mahomet*, or what is fabled of the Deities, do all want some of the aforesaid four rules, whereby the certainty of matters of fact is demonstrated. First, for *Mahomet*, he pretended to no *Miracles*, as he tells us in his *Alcoran*, c. 6. and those which are commonly told of him pass among the *Mahometans* themselves but as legendary fables; and as such, are rejected by the wise and learned among them; as the legends of their Saints are in the Church of *Rome*: See Dr. *Prideaux* his *Life of Mahomet*, pag. 34.

But, in the next place, those which are told of him do all want the two first rules before-mentioned. For his pretended converse with the Moon, his *Mersa*, or Night-Journey from *Mecca* to *Jerusalem*, and thence to Heaven, *&c.* were not performed before any body; we have only his own Word for them; and they are as groundless as the delusions of *Fox* or *Muggleton* among our selves. The same is to be said (in the second place) of the fables of the heathen Gods, of *Mercury*'s stealing sheep, *Jupiter*'s turning himself into a bull, and the like; besides the folly and unworthiness of such senseless pretended Miracles: And moreover, the wise among the Heathen did reckon no otherwise of these but as fables which had a mythology or mystical meaning in them, of which several of them have given us the rationale, or explication: And it is plain enough that *Ovid* meant no other by all his *Metamorphoses*.

It is true, the heathen Deities had their Priests; they had likewise feasts, games, and other publick institutions in memory of them; but all these want the fourth mark, *viz.* that such Priesthood and institutions should commence from the time that such things as they commemorate were said to be done; otherwise they cannot secure after-ages from the imposture by detecting it at the time when first invented, as hath been argued before. But the *Bacchanalia* and other heathen feasts were instituted many ages after what was reported of these Gods was said to be done, and therefore can be no proof of them. And the Priests of *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, &c. were not ordain'd by these supposed Gods, but were appointed by others in after-Ages only in honour to them: And therefore these orders of Priests are no evidence to the truth of the matters of fact which are reported of their Gods.

IV. Now to apply what has been said, you may challenge all the Deists in the World to shew any action that is fabulous which has all the four rules or marks before-mention'd. No, it is impossible: And (to resume a little what is spoke to before) the Histories of *Exodus* and the Gospel could never have been receiv'd if they had not been true; because the institution of the Priesthood of *Levi*, and of *Christ*, of the Sabbath, the Passover, of Circumcision, of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, *&c.* are there related as descending all the way down from those times without interruption: And it is full as impossible to persuade men that they had been circumcis'd, baptiz'd, had circumcis'd or baptiz'd their Children, celebrated Passovers, Sabbaths, Sacraments, *&c.* under the government and administration of a certain order of Priests if they had done none of these things, as to make them believe that they had gone through seas upon dry land, seen the

dead raiſed, &c. And without believing of theſe, it was impoſſible that either the Law or the Goſpel could have been received.

And the truth of the matters of fact of *Exodus* and the Goſpel being no otherwiſe preſs'd upon men than as they have practiſed ſuch publick inſtitutions, it is appealing to the ſenſes of mankind for the truth of them; and makes it impoſſible for any to have invented ſuch ſtories in after-ages without a palpable detection of the cheat when firſt invented; as impoſſible as to have impos'd upon the ſenſes of mankind at the time when ſuch publick matters of fact were ſaid to be done.

V. I do not ſay that every thing which wants theſe four marks is falſe; but that nothing can be falſe which has them all.

I have no manner of doubt that there was ſuch a man as *Julius Cæſar*, that he fought at *Pharſalia*, was kill'd in the Senate-Houſe; and many other matters of fact of ancient times, tho' we keep no publick obſervances in memory of them.

But this ſhews that the matters of fact of *Moſes* and of *Chriſt* have come down to us better guarded than any other matters of fact how true ſoever.

And yet our Deiſts, who would laugh any man out of the World as an irrational brute, that ſhould offer to deny *Cæſar* or *Alexander*, *Homer* or *Virgil*, their publick Works and Actions; do, at the ſame time, value themſelves as the only Men of Wit and Senſe, of free, generous, and unbyaſs'd Judgments, for ridiculing the Hiſtories of *Moſes* and *Chriſt*, that are infinitely better atteſted, and guarded with infallible marks, which the others want.

VI. Beſides that the importance of the ſubject wou'd oblige all Men to inquire more narrowly into the one than the other: For what conſequence is it to me, or to the World, whether there was ſuch a Man as *Cæſar*, whether he beat or was beaten at *Pharſalia*, whether *Homer* or *Virgil* wrote ſuch Books, and whether what is related in the *Iliads* or *Æneids* be true or falſe? It is not two pence up or down to any Man in the World. And therefore it is worth no Man's while to inquire into it, either to oppoſe or juſtify the truth of theſe Relations.

But our very Souls and Bodies, both this life and eternity are concern'd in the Truth of what is related in the Holy Scriptures; and therefore Men wou'd be more inquiſitive to ſearch into the truth of theſe, than of any other matters of fact; examine and ſift them narrowly; and find out the deceit, if any ſuch cou'd be found: For it concern'd them nearly, and was of the laſt importance to them.

How unreaſonable then is it to reject theſe matters of fact, ſo ſifted, ſo examin'd, and ſo atteſted, as no other matters of fact in the World ever were; and yet to think it the moſt highly unreaſonable, even to madneſs, to deny other matters of fact, which have not the thouſandth part of their evidence, and are of no conſequence at all to us, whether true or falſe!

VII. There are ſeveral other Topicks, from whence the truth of the Chriſtian Religion is evinced to all who will judge by reaſon, and give themſelves leave to conſider. As the improbability that ten or twelve poor illiterate Fiſher-Men ſhould form a deſign of converting the whole World to believe their deluſions; and the impoſſibility of their effecting it, without force of Arms, Learning, Oratory, or any one viſible thing that could recommend them: And to impoſe a Doctrine quite oppoſite to the luſts and pleaſures of Men, and all worldly advantages, or enjoyments: And this in an Age of ſo great learning and ſagacity, as that wherein the Goſpel was

first preach'd: That these Apostles should not only undergo all the scorn and contempt, but the severest Persecutions, and most cruel Deaths that could be inflicted, in attestation to what themselves knew to be a mere deceit and forgery of their own contriving. Some have suffer'd for errors which they thought to be truth: But never any for what themselves knew to be lyes. And the Apostles must know what they taught to be lyes, if it was so, because they spoke of those things which they said, they had both *seen* and *heard*, had *looked upon*, and handled with their *Hands*, &c.

Act. iv. 20.
1 Joh. i. 1.

Neither can it be said, that they, perhaps, might have propos'd some temporal advantages to themselves, but miss'd of them, and met with sufferings instead of them: For if it had been so, it is more than probable, that when they saw their disappointment, they would have discover'd their Conspiracy; especially when they might not have only sav'd their Lives, but got great rewards for doing of it. That not one of them should ever have been brought to do this.

But this is not all. For they tell us that their Master bid them expect nothing but sufferings in this World. This is the Tenure of all that Gospel which they taught: And they told the same to all whom they converted. So that here was no disappointment.

For all that were converted by them, were converted upon the certain expectation of sufferings, and bidden prepare for it. *Christ* commanded his *Disciples* to take up their Cross daily and follow him; and told them, that in the World they should have tribulation: That whoever did not forsake Father, Mother, Wife, Children, Lands, and their very Lives, could not be his *Disciples*: That he who sought to save his life in this World, should lose it in the next.

Now that this despised Doctrine of the Cross should prevail so universally against the allurements of flesh and blood, and all the blandishments of this World; against the Rage and Persecution of all the Kings and Powers of the Earth, must shew its original to be divine; and its Protector Almighty. What is it else, could conquer without Arms, persuade without Rhetorick, overcome Enemies, disarm Tyrants, and subdue Empires without opposition?

VIII. We may add to all this, the Testimonies of the most bitter Enemies and Persecutors of Christianity, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, to the truth of the matter of fact of *Christ*, such as *Josephus* and *Tacitus*; of which the first flourish'd above fourty Years after the Death of *Christ*, and the other about seventy Years after: So that they were capable of examining into the truth, and wanted not prejudice and malice sufficient to have inclin'd them to deny the matter of fact it self of *Christ*: But their confessing to it, as likewise *Lucian*, *Celsus*, *Porphyry*, and *Julian* the *Apostate*; the *Mahometans* since, and all other Enemies of Christianity that have arisen in the World, is an undeniable attestation to the truth of the matter of fact.

IX. But there is another Argument more strong and convincing than even this matter of fact; more than the certainty of what I see with my Eyes; and which the Apostle *Peter* call'd a more sure word, that is, proof than what he saw and heard upon the *Holy Mount*, when our Blessed Saviour was transfigur'd before him, and two other of the Apostles: For having repeated that passage as a proof of that whereof they were Eye-Witnesses, and heard the voice from Heaven giving attestation to our Lord *Christ*, 2 Pet. i. 16, 17, 18. he says, *v.* 19. *We have also a more sure word of prophecy*, for the proof of this *Jesus* being the *Messiah*, that

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is the Propheſies which had gone before of him, from the beginning of the World; and all exactly fulfilled in him.

Men may diſpute an impoſition or deluſion upon our outward ſenſes: But how can that be falſe, which has been ſo long, even from the beginning of the World, and ſo often by all the Prophets, in ſeveral ages foretold; how can this be an impoſition, or a forgery?

This is particularly inſiſted on in the method with the *Jews*. And even the *Deiſts* muſt confeſs, that that Book we call the old Teſtament, was in being, in the hands of the *Jews* long before our *Saviour* came into the World. And if they will be at the pains to compare the Prophecies that are there of the *Meſſiah*, with the fulfilling of them, as to time, place, and all other circumſtances, in the Perſon, Birth, Life, Death, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of our bleſſed *Saviour*, they will find this proof what our Apoſtle here calls it, *a light ſhining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts*. Which God grant. Here is no poſſibility of deceit or impoſture.

Old Prophecies, (and all ſo agreeing) cou'd not have been contrived to countenance a new cheat: And nothing cou'd be a cheat, that cou'd fulfil all theſe.

For this therefore I refer the *Deiſts* to the Method with the *Jews*. I deſire them likewiſe to look there, *Sect.* XI. and conſider the Propheſies given ſo long ago, of which they ſee the fulfilling at this day with their own eyes, of the ſtate of the *Jews*, for many ages paſt, and at preſent; without a King or Prieſt, or Temple, or Sacrifice, ſcattered to the four Winds, ſifted as with a ſive, among all Nations; yet preſerved, and always ſo to be, a diſtinct People from all others of the whole Earth. Whereas thoſe mighty Monarchies which oppreſſed the *Jews*, and which commanded the World, in their turns; and had the greateſt humane proſpect of perpetuity, were to be extinguiſhed, as they have been, even that their names ſhould be blotted out from under Heaven.

As likewiſe, that as remarkable of our bleſſed Saviour, concerning the preſervation and progreſs of the Chriſtian Church, when in her ſwadling Clothes, conſiſting only of a few poor Fiſher-Men: Not by the Sword, as that of *Mahomet*, but under all the perſecution of Men and Hell; which yet ſhould not prevail againſt her.

But though I offer theſe, as not to be ſlighted by the *Deiſts*, to which they can ſhew nothing equal in all prophane Hiſtory, and in which it is impoſſible any cheat can lie; yet I put them not upon the ſame foot as the Prophecies before mentioned of the marks and coming of the *Meſſiah*, which have been ſince the World began.

And that general expectation of the whole Earth, at the time of his coming, inſiſted upon in the method with the *Jews*, Sect. V. is greatly to be notic'd.

But, I ſay, the foregoing Prophecies of our Saviour, are ſo ſtrong a proof, as even miracles wou'd not be ſufficient to break their authority.

I mean, if it were poſſible that a true Miracle could be wrought, in contradiction to them. For that would be for God to contradict himſelf.

But no ſign, or wonder, that could poſſibly be ſolv'd, ſhould ſhake this evidence.

It is this that keeps the *Jews* in their obſtinacy. Though they cannot deny the matters of fact done by our bleſſed Saviour, to be truly miracles, if ſo done as ſaid, nor can they deny that they were ſo done, becauſe they have all the four marks before mentioned, yet they cannot yield. Why? Becauſe they think that the Goſpel is in contradiction to the Law.

Which, if it were, the conſequence wou'd be unavoidable, that both cou'd not be true. To ſolve this, is the buſineſs of the method with the *Jews*. But the contradiction which they ſuppoſe, is in their comments that they put upon the Law; eſpecially they expect a literal fulfilling of thoſe promiſes of the reſtauration of *Jeruſalem*, and outward glories of the Church, of which there is ſuch frequent mention in the Books of *Moſes*, the *Pſalms*, and all the Prophets. And many Chriſtians do expect the ſame, and take thoſe Texts as literally as the *Jews* do. We do believe and pray for the converſion of the *Jews*. For this end they have been ſo miraculouſly preſerv'd, according to the Prophecies ſo long before of it. And when that time ſhall come, as they are the moſt honourable and ancient of all the Nations on the Earth, ſo will their Church return to be the Mother Chriſtian Church as ſhe was at firſt; and *Rome* muſt ſurrender to *Jeruſalem*. Then all Nations will flow thither. And even *Ezekiel*'s Temple may be literally built there, in the Metropolis of the whole Earth, which *Jeruſalem* muſt be, when the fullneſs of the *Gentiles*, ſhall meet with the converſion of the *Jews*: For no Nation will then contend with the *Jews*, nor Church with *Jeruſalem* for Supremacy. All Nations will be ambitious to draw their Original from the *Jews*, whoſe are the Fathers, and from whom, as concerning the fleſh, *Chriſt* came.

Then will be fulfill'd that outward grandeur and reſtauration of the *Jews* and of *Jeruſalem*, which they expect, purſuant to the Prophecies.

They pretend not that this is limited to any particular time of the reign of the *Meſſiah*. They are ſure it will not be at the beginning; for they expect to go thro' great conflicts and tryals with their *Meſſiah*, (as the Chriſtian Church has done) before his final conqueſt, and that they come to reign with him. So that this is no obſtruction to their embracing of Chriſtianity. They ſee the ſame things fulfill'd in us, which they expect themſelves; and we expect the ſame things they do.

I tell this to the *Deiſts*, leſt they may think that the *Jews* have ſome ſtronger arguments than they know of; That they are not perſuaded by the miracles of our bleſſed Saviour, and by the fulfilling of all the Prophecies in him, that were made concerning the *Meſſiah*.

As I ſaid before, I wou'd not plead even miracles againſt theſe.

And if this is ſufficient to perſuade a *Jew*, it is much more ſo to a *Deiſt*, who labours not under theſe objections.

Beſides, I wou'd not ſeem to claſh with that (in a ſound ſenſe) reaſonable caution, us'd by Chriſtian Writers, not to put the iſſue of the truth wholy upon miracles, without this addition, when not done in contradiction to the Revelations already given in the holy Scriptures.

And they do it upon this conſideration, that tho' it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that God would work a real miracle, in contradiction to what he has already reveal'd: Yet, Men may be impos'd upon by falſe and ſeeming Miracles, and pretended revelations (as there are many examples, eſpecially in the Church of *Rome*) and ſo may be ſhaken in the faith, if they keep not to the holy Scriptures as their rule.

We are told, 2 *Theſſ.* ii. 9. *of him whoſe coming is after the working of Satan, with all powers, and ſigns, and lying-wonders:* And *Rev.* xiii. 14. xvi. 14. and xix. 20. of the Devil, and Falſe-Prophets working miracles. But the word, in all theſe places, is only Σημεῖα, *Signs*, that is, as it is render'd, *Matth.* xxv. 24. which, tho' ſometimes it may be us'd to ſignify real miracles, yet not always, nor in theſe places: For though every miracle be a ſign and a wonder, yet every ſign, or wonder, is not a miracle.

X. Here it may be proper to consider a common topick of the *Deists*; who, when they are not able to stand out against the evidence of fact, that such and such miracles have been done, then turn about, and deny such things to be miracles, at least, that we can never be sure whether any wonderful thing that is shewn to us, be a true or a false miracle.

And the great argument they go upon, is this: That a miracle being that which exceeds the power of nature; we cannot know what exceeds it, unless we knew the utmost extent of the power of nature. And no Man pretends to know that; therefore, that no Man can certainly know whether any event be miraculous. And, consequently, he may be cheated in his Judgment betwixt true and false miracles.

To which I answer, That Men may be so cheated: And there are many examples of it.

But that tho' we may not always know when we are cheated, yet we can certainly tell, in many cases, when we are not cheated.

For though we do not know the utmost extent of the Power of nature, perhaps, in any one thing; yet it does not follow, that we know not the nature of any thing, in some measure; and that certainly too. For example, though I do not know the utmost extent of the power of fire, yet I certainly know, that it is the nature of fire to burn; And that when proper fewel is administred to it, it is contrary to the nature of fire not to consume it. Therefore, if I see three Men taken off the street, in their common wearing apparel, and without any preparation, cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace; and that the flame was so fierce, that it burnt up those Men that threw them in; and yet that these who were thrown in, should walk up and down in the bottom of the furnace, and I should see a fourth person with them of glorious appearance, like the Son of God; and that these Men shou'd come up again out of the furnace, without any harm, or so much as the smell of fire upon themselves, or their clothes; I cou'd not be deceiv'd in thinking that there was a stop put to the nature of fire, as to these Men; and that it had its effect upon the Men whom it burned, at the same time.

Again, tho' I cannot tell how wonderful and sudden an increase of Corn might be produc'd by the Concurrence of many Causes, as a warm climate, the fertility of the soil, *&c.* Yet this I can certainly know, that there is not that natural force in the breath of two or three words spoken, to multiply one small loaf of bread, so fast, in the breaking of it, as truly and really, not only in appearance and shew to the eye, but to fill the bellies of several thousand hungry persons; and that the fragments shou'd be much more than the bread was at first.

So neither in a word spoken, to raise the dead, cure diseases, *&c.*

Therefore though we know not the utmost extent of the power of nature; yet we can certainly know what is contrary to the nature of several such things as we do know.

And therefore, though we may be cheated and impos'd upon in many seeming-miracles and wonders; yet there are some things, wherein we may be certain.

But further, the *Deists* acknowledge a God, of an almighty power, who made all things.

Yet they wou'd put it out of his power, to make any revelation of his will to mankind: For if we cannot be certain of any miracle, how shou'd we know when God sent any thing extraordinary to us?

Nay, how shou'd we know the ordinary power of nature, if we knew not what exceeded it? If we know not what is natural, how do we know there is such a thing as nature? That all is not supernatural, all miracles, and

and ſo diſputable, till we come to downright Scepticiſm, and doubt the certainty of our outward ſenſes, whether we ſee, hear, or feel, or all be not a miraculous illuſion?

Which, becauſe I know the Deiſts are not inclin'd to do, therefore I will return to purſue my argument upon the conviction of our outward ſenſes: Deſiring only this, that they would allow the ſenſes of other Men to be as certain as their own: Which they cannot refuſe, ſince without this they can have no certainty of their own.

XI. Therefore, from what has been ſaid, the cauſe is ſumm'd up ſhortly in this, that tho' we cannot ſee what was done before our time, yet by the marks which I have laid down concerning the certainty of matters of fact done before our time, we may be as much aſſur'd of the truth of them as if we ſaw them with our eyes; becauſe whatever matter of fact has all the four marks beforementioned, could never have been invented and received but upon the conviction of the outward Senſes of all thoſe who did receive it, as before is demonſtrated: And therefore this Topick which I have choſen does ſtand upon the conviction even of Mens outward Senſes. And ſince you have confin'd me to one Topick, I have not inſiſted upon the other, which I have only named.

XII. And now it lies upon the Deiſts, if they would appear as Men of reaſon, to ſhew ſome matter of fact of former ages, which they allow to be true, that has greater evidence of its truth than the matters of fact of *Moſes* and of *Chriſt*: Otherwiſe they cannot, with any ſhew of reaſon, reject the one, and yet admit of the other.

But I have given them greater latitude than this, for I have ſhewn ſuch marks of the truth of the matters of fact of *Moſes* and of *Chriſt*, as no other matters of fact of thoſe times, however true, have but theſe only: And put it upon them to ſhew any forgery that has all theſe marks.

This is a ſhort iſſue: Keep them cloſe to this: This determines the cauſe all at once.

Let them produce their *Apollonius Tyanæus*, whoſe Life was put into *Engliſh* by the execrable * *Charles Blount*, and compar'd with all the wit and malice he was maſter of, to the Life and Miracles of our bleſſed Saviour.

Let them take aid from all the Legends in the Church of *Rome*, thoſe pious cheats, the foreſt diſgraces of Chriſtianity, and which have bid the faireſt of any one contrivance to overturn the certainty of the Miracles of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, and whole Truth of the Goſpel, by putting them all upon the ſame foot; at leaſt they are ſo underſtood by the generality of their devotees, tho' diſown'd and laugh'd at by the learned and Men of ſenſe among them.

Let them pick and chuſe the moſt probable of all the fables of the heathen Deities, and ſee if they can find in any of theſe the four marks beforementioned.

Otherwiſe let them ſubmit to the irrefragable certainty of the Chriſtian Religion.

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* *The hand of that Scorner which durſt write ſuch outragious Blaſphemy againſt his Maker, the divine Vengeance has made his own executioner: Which I wou'd not have mentioned (becauſe the like judgment has befall'n others) but that the* Theiſtical Club *have ſet this up as a principle, and printed a vindication of this ſame* Blount *for murdering himſelf, by way of juſtification of Self-murder: Which ſome of them have ſince, as well as formerly, horridly practis'd upon themſelves. Therefore this is no common Judgment to which they are deliver'd, but a viſible mark ſet upon them to ſhew how far God has forſaken them; and as a caution to all Chriſtians to beware of them, and not to come near the* Tents *of theſe* wicked Men, *leſt they* periſh *in their* deſtruction, *both of* ſoul *and* body.

XIII.

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XIII. But if, notwithstanding of all that is said, the Deists will still contend that all this is but Priest-craft, the invention of priests for their own Profit, *&c.* then they will give us an idea of Priests far different from what they intend:

1. For then we must look upon these Priests not only as the cunningest and wisest of Mankind, but we shall be tempted to adore them as Deities, who have such power as to impose, at their pleasure, upon the senses of Mankind, to make them believe that they had practis'd such publick Institutions, enacted them by Laws, taught them to their Children, *&c.* when they had never done any of these things, or ever so much as heard of them before: And then, upon the credit of their believing that they had done such things as they never did, to make them farther believe, upon the same foundation, whatever they pleas'd to impose upon them as to former ages: I say, such a power as this must exceed all that is human; and consequently make us rank these Priests far above the condition of mortals.

2. Nay, this were to make them out-do all that has ever been related of the infernal Powers: For though their *Leger-de-main* has extended to deceive some unwary beholders, and their power of working some seeming Miracles has been great, yet it never reach'd, nor ever was suppos'd to reach so far as to deceive the senses of all Mankind in matters of such publick and notorious nature as those of which we now speak, to make them believe that they had enacted Laws for such publick Observances, continually practis'd them, taught them to their Children, and had been instructed in them themselves from their childhood, if they had never enacted, practis'd, taught, or been taught such things.

3. And as this exceeds all the power of Hell and Devils, so is it more than ever God Almighty has done since the foundation of the World. None of the Miracles that he has shewn, or Belief which he has requir'd to any thing that he has reveal'd, has ever contradicted the outward senses of any one Man in the World, much less of all Mankind together: For Miracles being appeals to our outward senses, if they should overthrow the certainty of our outward senses, must destroy with it all their own certainty as to us; since we have no other way to judge of a Miracle exhibited to our senses than upon the supposition of the certainty of our senses, upon which we give credit to a Miracle that is shewn to our senses.

4. This, by the way, is a yet unanswer'd argument against the Miracle of Transubstantiation, and shews the weakness of the defence which the Church of *Rome* offers for it, (from whom the *Socinians* have lick'd it up, and, of late, have glory'd much in it amongst us) that the doctrines of the Trinity or Incarnation contain as great seeming absurdities as that of Transubstantiation: For I wou'd ask, which of our senses it is which the doctrines of the Trinity or Incarnation do contradict? Is it our seeing, hearing, feeling, taste, or smell? Whereas Transubstantiation does contradict all these: Therefore the comparison is exceedingly short and out of purpose. But to return:

If the Christian Religion be a cheat, and nothing else but the invention of Priests, and carry'd on by their craft, it makes their power and wisdom greater than that of Men, Angels, or Devils, and more than God himself ever yet shewed or expressed, to deceive and impose upon the senses of mankind in such publick and notorious matters of fact.

XIV. And this Miracle, which the Deists must run into to avoid these recorded of *Moses* and *Christ*, is much greater and more astonishing than all the Scriptures tell of them.

So that theſe Men, who laugh at all Miracles, are now oblig'd to account for the greateſt of all, how the ſenſes of Mankind could be impos'd upon in ſuch publick matters of fact.

And how then can they make the Prieſts the moſt contemptible of all Mankind, ſince they make them the ſole authors of this the greateſt of Miracles?

XV. And ſince the Deiſts (theſe Men of ſenſe and reaſon) have ſo vile and mean an idea of the Prieſts of all Religions, why do they not recover the World out of the poſſeſſion and government of ſuch blockheads? Why do they ſuffer Kings and States to be led by them; to eſtabliſh their deceits by Laws, and inflict penalties upon the oppoſers of them? Let the Deiſts try their Hands; they have been trying, and are now buſy about it; and free liberty they have, yet have they not prevail'd, nor ever yet did prevail in any civiliz'd or generous nation. And tho' they have made ſome inroads among the *Hotentots*, and ſome other the moſt brutal parts of Mankind, yet are they ſtill exploded, and Prieſts have and do prevail againſt them among not only the greateſt, but beſt part of the World, and the moſt glorious for arts, learning, and war.

XVI. For as the Devil does ape God, in his Inſtitutions of Religion, his Feaſts, Sacrifices, *&c.* ſo likewiſe in his Prieſts, without whom no Religion, whether true or falſe, can ſtand: Falſe Religion is but a corruption of the true; the true was before it, though it be followed cloſe upon the heels.

The Revelation made to *Moſes* is elder than any hiſtory extant in the heathen World. The Heathens, in imitation of him, pretended likewiſe to their Revelations; but I have given thoſe marks which diſtinguiſh them from the true: None of them have thoſe four marks before-mentioned.

Now the Deiſts think all Revelations to be equally pretended, and a cheat; and the Prieſts of all Religions to be the ſame contrivers and juglers; and therefore they proclaim war equally againſt all, and are equally engaged to bear the brunt of all.

And if the conteſt be only betwixt the Deiſts and the Prieſts, which of them are the Men of the greateſt Parts and Senſe, let the effects determine it; and let the Deiſts yield the victory to their conquerors, who, by their own confeſſion, carry all the World before them.

XVII. If the Deiſts ſay, that this is becauſe all the World are blockheads as well as thoſe Prieſts who govern them; that all are blockheads, except the Deiſts, who vote themſelves only to be Men of Senſe; this (beſides the modeſty of it) will ſpoil their great and beloved topick in behalf of what they call natural Religion, againſt the reveal'd, *viz.* appealing to the common reaſon of Mankind: This they ſet up againſt Revelation, think this to be ſufficient for all the uſes of Men here or hereafter, (if there be any after ſtate) and therefore that there is no uſe of Revelation: This common reaſon they advance as infallible, at leaſt as the ſureſt guide, yet now cry out upon it when it turns againſt them; when this common reaſon runs after Revelation, (as it always has done) then common reaſon is a beaſt, and we muſt look for reaſon not from the common ſentiments of Mankind, but only among the Beaux, the Deiſts.

XVIII. Therefore, if the Deiſts would avoid the mortification, (which will be very uneaſy to them) to yield and ſubmit to be ſubdued and hewed down before the Prieſts, whom of all Mankind they hate and deſpiſe; if

they would avoid this, let them confeſs, as the truth is, that Religion is no invention of Prieſts, but of divine original; that Prieſts were inſtituted by the ſame Author of Religion; and that their order is a perpetual and living monument of the matters of fact of their Religion, inſtituted from the time that ſuch matters of fact were ſaid to be done, as the *Levites* from *Moſes*, the Apoſtles and ſucceeding Clergy from *Chriſt*, to this day. That no heathen Prieſts can ſay the ſame: They were not appointed by the Gods whom they ſerved, but by others in after-Ages: They cannot ſtand the teſt of the four rules before-mentioned, which the chriſtian Prieſts can do, and they only. Now the chriſtian Prieſthood, as inſtituted by *Chriſt* himſelf, and continued by ſucceſſion to this day, being as impregnable and flagrant a teſtimony to the truth of the matters of fact of *Chriſt*, as the Sacraments or any other publick Inſtitutions: Beſides that, if the Prieſthood were taken away, the Sacraments and other publick Inſtitutions, which are adminiſter'd by their hands, muſt fall with them: Therefore the Devil has been moſt buſy, and bent his greateſt force, in all ages, againſt the Prieſthood, knowing, that if that goes down, all goes with it.

XIX. With the *Deiſts* in this cauſe, are join'd the Quakers, and other of our Diſſenters, who throw off the ſucceſſion of our Prieſthood, (by which only it can be demonſtrated) together with the Sacraments and publick Feſtivals. And if the Devil could have prevail'd to have theſe dropt, the Chriſtian Religion would loſe the moſt undeniable and demonſtrative proof for the truth of the matter of fact of our Saviour, upon which the truth of his Doctrine does depend: Therefore we may ſee the artifice and malice of the Devil, in all theſe attempts. And let thoſe wretched inſtruments whom he ignorantly, (and ſome, by a miſguided zeal) has deluded thus to undermine Chriſtianity, now at laſt look back and ſee the ſnare in which they have been taken: For if they had prevail'd, or ever ſhou'd, Chriſtianity dies with them; at leaſt, it will be render'd precarious, as a thing of which no certain proof can be given. Therefore let thoſe of them, who have any zeal for the truth, bleſs God that they have not prevail'd, and quickly leave them; and let all others be aware of them.

And let us conſider and honour the Prieſt-hood, Sacraments, and other publick inſtitutions of *Chriſt*, not only as means of grace, and helps to devotion, but as the great evidences of the Chriſtian Religion.

Such evidences as no pretended revelation ever had, or can have: Such as do plainly diſtinguiſh it from all fooliſh legends and impoſtures whatſoever.

XX. And now, laſt of all, if one word of advice would not be loſt, upon Men who think ſo unmeaſurably of themſelves, as the *Deiſts*; you may repreſent to them what a condition they are in, who ſpend that life and ſenſe, which God has given them, in ridiculing the greateſt of his Bleſſings, his *Revelations* of *Chriſt*, and by *Chriſt*, to redeem thoſe from eternal miſery, who ſhall believe in him, and obey his Laws. And that God in his wonderful mercy and wiſdom, has ſo guarded his *Revelations*, as that it is paſt the power of Men or *Devils* to counterfeit: And that there is no denying of them, unleſs we will be ſo abſurd, as to deny not only the reaſon, but the certainty of the outward ſenſes, not only of one, or two, or three, but of mankind in general. That this caſe is ſo very plain, that nothing but want of thought can hinder any to diſcover it. That they muſt yield it to be ſo plain, unleſs they can ſhew ſome forgery, which has all the four marks, before ſet down. But if they cannot do this, they muſt quit their cauſe, and yield a happy victory over themſelves: Or elſe

ſit

ſit down under all that ignominy, with which they have loaded the Prieſts, of being, not only the moſt pernicious, but (what will gall them more) the moſt inconſiderate, and inconſiderable of mankind.

Therefore, let them not think it an undervaluing of their worthineſs, that their whole cauſe is comprized within ſo narrow a compaſs, and no more time beſtow'd upon it than it is worth.

But let them, rather, reflect how far they have been all this time from Chriſtianity; whoſe rudiments they are yet to learn. How far from the way of ſalvation; how far the race of their lives is run, before they have ſet one ſtep in the road to Heaven: And therefore, how much diligence they ought to uſe, to redeem all that time they have loſt, leſt they loſe themſelves for ever, and be convinc'd, by a dreadful experience, when it is too late, that the Goſpel is a truth, and of the laſt conſequence.

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A Short

A Short and Easy

METHOD

WITH THE

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WHEREIN THE

CERTAINTY

OF THE

Christian Religion

Is demonstrated by Infallible Proof from the

FOUR RULES,

Made use of against the

DEISTS;

SHEWING,

That these FOUR RULES do oblige the JEWS as much or more than the DEISTS to the Acknowledgment of CHRIST.

WITH AN

ANSWER

To the most Material of their OBJECTIONS and PREJUDICES against CHRISTIANITY.

ANSWER

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DEISTS:

Made up of about the

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CHRISTIAN RELIGION

TO THE

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JEWS'

WITH THE

METHOD

A Short and Easy

PREFACE to the ſhort Method with the JEWS.

1. *I Endeavour'd, when I ſet my thoughts upon this Subject, to find out the moſt modern objections of the* Jews: *Becauſe my buſineſs is with thoſe of the preſent age. I procur'd what I cou'd of what they have, of late, publiſh'd in their defence in* Holland *and* Germany. *What* Grotius *has wrote concerning them in his* De Verit. Rel. Chriſtian. *is well known, becauſe reprinted at* Oxford, *and tranſlated into* Engliſh. *But the Arguments of the* Jews *are rather there ſuppos'd, than told us in their own words. In the Year* 1644. Hackſpan *publiſh'd* R. Lipman's *Book* Nizachon, *and does reaſon with them upon their Principles. Afterwards in the Year* 1655. Hornbeek *wrote againſt them. But the lateſt I find is* Limborch. *An.* 1687. *his* Amica Collat. cum Erudit. Judæo. *wherein the* Jews *defence, arguments, and objections are ſet down at large, in the* Jews *own words. Therefore I have made moſt uſe of this Book; and have taken thence the preſent principles of the* Jews, *out of the writings of that learned* Jew *which are there inſerted* Verbatim. *And indeed he makes the beſt defence for them, that, I think, their cauſe will bear; and ſhews himſelf a Man of letters, and of great natural wit and ſagacity. Therefore I conclude, that we have here the* Jugulum Cauſæ, *the heart of the cauſe: And if ſufficiently anſwer'd, the likelieſt method, to bring matters to an iſſue.*

2. *I have here forborn to enter upon the objections of the* Jews *concerning the Genealogies, and Chronological Niceties which they raiſe againſt ſeveral paſſages of the* New Teſtament: *Becauſe that is done lately by a better hand. And becauſe there are more objections of this ſort, which are brought by the* Deiſts, *againſt the*

the Old Teſtament, *than the* New: *And therefore the* Jews *are equally concern'd herein with us, againſt the* Deiſts; *and cannot make ſo many objections againſt us, upon this head, as are made againſt themſelves.*

But chiefly, becauſe objections are no anſwers; and, as hereafter ſhewn, there is no truth, even the exiſtence of a God, againſt which objections and difficulties may not be ſtarted: And herein the Deiſts *are concern'd, againſt the* Atheiſts *(if they be not the ſame) as well as* Jew, *or* Chriſtian. *It is eaſier to object, than to anſwer. But if the proof be clear for the truth of any thing, we muſt ſubmit to it, tho' we were not able to ſolve every difficulty. And the chaſing of difficulties, diverts the queſtion, and often loſes it; and they are many times brought for that purpoſe. Beſides making Books ſo long and tedious, that few have the leiſure or attention to go through with them.*

Therefore I have choſen, for once, to put the Deiſts *upon the defenſive; and if they cannot anſwer, they muſt ſurrender. For it is not a nicety, or objection that I inſiſt upon; but the merits of the cauſe, to which every one is oblig'd to anſwer.*

And as to this, I have given them full liberty, and invited them to make all the objections that they can; and I have made the ſtrongeſt for them, that I cou'd think of. Let them make ſtronger.

I have had greater conſideration for the Jews *(becauſe they deſerve it more) and enter'd more at large upon their objections and prejudices, which has ſwell'd the ſecond part, ſo much beyond the firſt.*

3. *Let me here take notice of the uncertainty of the Genealogies now kept of* Jewiſh *families. They have intermarry'd with their Proſelytes of all Nations, and ſometimes with others: Inſomuch that they cannot be ſure of one* Jew *now in the World, who is of the pure and unmix'd blood of the* Jews: *Nay more, whether moſt of them, be not ſprung from Proſelytes of the Heathens, Mahometans, and Apoſtate-Chriſtians. Therefore they can never know whether any* Meſſiah, *who ſhall hereafter ſet up, be of the tribe of* Judah *or family of* David, *according to the Prophecies of the* Meſſiah. *For they have no certainty of either tribe or family now amongſt them.*

II. *As to the* Gentiles, *and reveal'd Religion.*

1. *What is ſaid of the* Sibyls, *I wou'd have ſo underſtood, as that I do not put the ſtreſs whether thoſe Books of the* Sybyls *that we have now, have receiv'd no additions, or interpolations from what they were in the ſecond century, when quoted*

by

by the Fathers: But that, as they were then, and before Chriſt *came, they had moſt flagrant teſtimonies to our bleſſed Saviour; which confounded the* Gentiles: *And that they were not, at that time, corrupted; as there is no proof, that they have been ſince.*

2. Plato, *in his Diſcourſe concerning prayer and the worſhip of God, hereafter quoted, concludes, that Men by their natural reaſon, cannot find out, what ſort of worſhip will be acceptable to God; nor can be ſure, what they ought to pray for; according to his will: And that it were ſafer, to forbear ſacrifices and prayer, than to venture upon it, when we did not know, but that we might provoke God thereby, inſtead of pleaſing him. That therefore it was neceſſary they ſhou'd wait till God ſhou'd ſend ſome perſon from Heaven, to inſtruct them in this; and that they did expect ſuch a perſon to be ſent; and they greatly long'd to ſee that time, and that Man, whom they believ'd ſhou'd come. They ſaw his day, and rejoyced, as* Abraham *did; but not ſo* Joh. viii. 56. *clearly, not having ſo full and expreſs revelation of him, as* Abraham *had. But from revelation they had it, (and not merely from the ſtrength of their reaſon) tho', perhaps, they knew it not: For they declar'd, that they had it by tradition from their Fathers, and in all probability, it had deſcended through all* Adam's *poſterity, from the firſt promiſe of it.* Gen. iii. 15. *together with the inſtitution of ſacrifices; which were ordained, not only as conſtant remembrances of it, but as viſible types of the fulfilling of it; tho' the original and full import of the one, as well as the other, had been loſt among the Heathen. This is brought to ſhew the expectation that the* Gentiles *had of a* Meſſiah *to come.*

But here I wou'd, from this reaſoning of Plato's, *inferr the neceſſity of reveal'd Religion againſt the* Deiſts. *Here they ſee that the wiſeſt of the Philoſophers did own, that they were wholly at a loſs, and uncertainty without it.*

And withal, it ſhews, that the wiſeſt of the Heathens did not believe the pretended revelations of their Gods. And therefore there can lie no compariſon betwixt theſe, and the Faith, which is moſt ſurely believ'd by the Chriſtians; upon what grounds, is ſhewn hereafter; and that they are infallible.

A ſhort

Adam, before the fall promise of it. Col. iii. 12. regeneration, not
that unto the fulfilling of the righteous? wherein consisteth, not
only as constant remembrance of it, but as subject unto the
fulfilling of it? who, the original and full import of the one, as
well as the other, had been left among the Heathen. This is
prompt to them the explanation that the Gentiles had of a Mid-
dle to come.

But here I would, from this reasoning of Peter's, inform the re-
ceiving of second Kingdom against the Devils. Here they lee
that the society of the Philippians did owe, that they were adopt-
ed as a sole, and consequently entitled unto it.

And wherefore, it does, that the unity of the Heathens did not
prevent the preaching unto Cornel. And therefore
there can be no comparison between the Lamb wherein
is unto heaven pleased by the Christians? when what ground, is
them preached? and that they are inflamed.

A Short and Eaſy

METHOD

WITH THE

JEWS.

BRETHREN, my heart's deſire, and Prayer to God for *Iſrael*, is, that they might be ſaved. The firſt part of this diſcourſe was wrote againſt the Deiſts, equal enemies to you and us, who deny all inſtituted and reveal'd Religion: And I have juſtify'd the truth of yours, while I have aſſerted that of the Chriſtian Religion: They both ſtand upon one bottom: They only, of all the Revelations that ever were pretended in the World, can ſhew the four marks before-mentioned; which do infallibly demonſtrate the truth of any matter of fact where they all do meet: And the conſequence is as plain, that if the Revelation of *Moſes* be true, that of *Chriſt* muſt be true alſo: And you can never demonſtrate the truth of the matters of fact of *Moſes* by any arguments or evidences which will not as ſtrongly evince the truth of the matters of fact of *Chriſt*: And, on the other hand, you cannot overthrow the matters of fact of *Chriſt*, but you muſt by the ſame means deſtroy thoſe of *Moſes*: So that I hope you are involved under the happy neceſſity either to renounce *Moſes* or to embrace *Chriſt*.

But if you will allow (as ſome of you have done) that the matters of fact of our Lord *Jeſus*, as recorded in the Goſpels, are true; but will contend that this does not infer the Truth of his Doctrine, becauſe, as may be alledg'd, thoſe ſeeming Miracles which he wrought were done by Magick: Then, I beſeech you, how will you reſcue the Miracles of *Moſes* from the ſame

objection? The compariſon in this caſe muſt lie betwixt the Miracles of *Moſes* and of *Chriſt*; and I believe you will not deny but that thoſe recorded in the Goſpel are full as great as thoſe in *Exodus*.

II. If the Deiſts think to come in here betwixt us, and conclude both to be falſe Miracles, at leaſt that we cannot be ſure they are true Miracles, becauſe, as they philoſophize, we do not know the utmoſt extent of the power of Nature, and conſequently cannot know what exceeds it.

Anſw. 1. This is an objection not againſt the Miracles recorded of *Moſes* or of *Chriſt*, but againſt all Miracles; and putting it out of God's power to ſhew any Miracle that ought to be believ'd of Man: Which is a contradiction to the principles of the Deiſts themſelves, who allow an eternal Being of infinite Power; and yet by this wou'd put it out of his Power to make any external Revelation to Men.

2. But, in the next place, their philoſophy is not good; for tho' we could not know the utmoſt ſtretch of what Nature can do, yet it will not follow that we cannot know what is contrary to Nature in thoſe Works of Nature which we do know: For example, tho' I cannot tell all the whole Nature of Fire, and all its Operations, yet this I certainly know, that it is of the Nature of Fire to burn: And therefore if proper fewel be adminiſter'd unto it, it is contrary to the Nature of Fire not to conſume it. Thus when *Ananias*, *Azarias*, and *Miſael*, were thrown into the burning Fiery-Furnace, if that matter of fact be true in all its circumſtances, as it is related in the third Chapter of *Daniel*, we can be ſure that there was a ſtop then put to the natural power of the Fire; which is a Miracle. We can be as ſure of it as of any thing we either ſee or hear: So that the ſame Scepticiſm which theſe Men advance againſt Miracles, will as much take away the certainty of our outward Senſes; which is the only *Poſtulatum* they would have taken as undoubted, and to which they reduce all the certainty of which Mankind is capable; giving to themſelves, by their great ſenſe, little preheminence above the condition of brutes; to which they would degrade all the reſt of the world with themſelves: And ſome of them have ſhewn their parts in witty Satyrs upon this ſubject; but let us leave them with the company they have choſen, and return.

As ſure as we can be that it is the Nature of Fire to burn, (tho' we may not know every thing elſe it can do) ſo ſure we can be that it exceeds the power of Nature to raiſe the dead by the ſpeaking of a word, to cure the lame, blind, *&c.* by the ſame means, or the touch of one's finger, without any other application.

III. Now then, the Miracles recorded of *Chriſt* being as great as thoſe recorded of *Moſes*, and carrying along with them the ſame evidences of their truth, deduc'd down from that time to this, what reaſon can be given for the believing of the one, and yet rejecting of the other? There can be none, my Friends, only there are ſome prejudices under which you labour, that ſtop your way towards receiving of the truth, which you cannot deny; as conceiving it inconſiſtent with your interpretation of ſome Texts in your Law.

But ought you not rather to ſuſpect your own interpretations, (eſpecially where the Words will favourably bear another) than to reject ſuch an evidence as muſt undermine your Law itſelf, and deſtroy its infallible certainty, by diſowning the ſame, in the only caſe that carries the ſame demonſtration along with it? God cannot contradict himſelf; and therefore would never have ſet his own Seal (which it is not poſſible to counterfeit, as before is ſhewn) to the truth of the Goſpel, if it did, in the leaſt Iota,

contradict

contradict or deſtroy the Law: Therefore it behoves you well to conſider whether thoſe things that you take for contradictions, are ſuch. In order to which,

1. Conſider the difference betwixt deſtroying and fulfilling. The fulfilling of a Prophecy is not its deſtruction, but completion: So of all types or ſhadows which point at things to come, when the ſubſtance is come, the ſhadow ceaſes of courſe.

Now if the *Meſſiah* was propheſy'd of, and typify'd in the Law, then his coming will indeed put an end to theſe, but not by way of deſtroying, which would be contradicting, but of fulfilling them, which is confirming and atteſting to the truth of them. And I ſuppoſe you are not ignorant that our *Meſſiah* did not pretend to *deſtroy the Law, but* to *fulfill it*: And did moſt ſtrongly aſſert and confirm it to the leaſt Iota: And did fulfill it in every circumſtance, even to his ſuffering *without the gate*, to anſwer the burning of the body of the expiatory Sacrifice *without the camp*, &c. That (as himſelf ſaid) *all things might be fulfilled which were written in the Law of* Moſes, *and in the* Prophets, *and in the* Pſalms, *concerning him:* Some of which are repeated hereafter, *Sect.* XII.

Mat. v. 17, 18, 19. Luke xvi. 17. Heb. xiii. 12. Lev. xvi. 27. Luke xxiv. 44.

2. But I will carry this Argument farther. That not only there is no contradiction to the Law in the Goſpel, but that the Law cannot be true unleſs you allow the truth of the Goſpel: For no other way poſſible is there to reconcile the promiſes made in the Law, but as they are fulfill'd in the Goſpel, of which let me give ſome few inſtances out of many.

(1.) *The Scepter ſhall not depart from* Judah, *nor a Lawgiver from between his Feet, until* Shiloh *come: And unto him ſhall the gathering of the People*, or Nations, *be.* Gen. xlix. 10.

This the *Chaldee* and ancient *Jewiſh* Interpreters do underſtand of the *Meſſiah.*

And the Scepter being long ſince departed from *Judah*, and no other *Meſſiah* come but our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, to whom the gathering of the Nations, or *Gentiles*, has been; the *Rabbies* of the *Jews*, ſince his coming, have ſtrain'd their wits to invent ſalvoes and evaſions for this Prophecy. Some of them ſay, that by *Shiloh* here was not meant the *Meſſiah*, but *Moſes*; others ſay, it was the Tabernacle at *Shiloh*; but others thinking theſe Interpretations not tenable, and that it cannot be deny'd to be meant of the *Meſſiah*, have fenc'd about the word Scepter, which they contend to be a Rod, not of rule, but of correction, which ſhould not depart from *Judah* till *Shiloh*, or the *Meſſiah*, ſhould come: Others not liking this, allow it to be a Scepter of Government; but then turn it this way, *viz.* that the Scepter ſhould not finally, or for ever, depart from *Judah*, becauſe the *Meſſiah* ſhould come, that is, to reſtore it: But this being an altering inſtead of expounding the Text, others ſeeing there could not be any tolerable evaſion made from the words of the text, have boldly adventur'd upon a new way of ſatisfying it, *viz.* that the Scepter, or Dominion, is not yet departed, that is, not totally, for that ſome of them have, ſomewhere or other, ſome ſhare or other of Government, or Juriſdiction, more or leſs; at leaſt, ſome that have one way or other deſcended from the Tribe of *Judah*, tho' it may not be known.

I will not take up time to examine or diſprove theſe pretences; they carry guilt in their face: And being all contradictory to one another, ſhew to what a confuſion the *Jews* are brought, in forcing their way thro' the plain predictions of the *Meſſiah*; of which I will go on to more inſtances.

(2.) *Thus ſaith the Lord*, David *ſhall never want a man to ſit upon the throne of the houſe of* Iſrael: *Neither ſhall the prieſts, the* Levites, *want a man before me to offer burnt-offerings, and to kindle meat-offerings, and* Jer. xxxiii. 17, 18, 20, 21.

to do Sacrifice continually—— *Thus ſaith the Lord, If ye can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night, and that there ſhould not be day and night in their ſeaſon; then may alſo my covenant be broken with* David *my ſervant, that he ſhould not have a Son to reign upon his Throne, and with the* Levites, *the prieſts, my miniſters.* Now is all this glorioufly fulfill'd in our *Meſſiah*, the Son of *David*, who is made Lord of Heaven and Earth, and of whoſe kingdom there ſhall be no end. But without this how is this prophecy fulfill'd? What Son of *David* can you produce who now reigns over the houſe of *Iſrael?* And as for the covenant with *Levi*, that is as much broken; for inſtead of ſacrifices continually, you have not now, nor have had ſince the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, above 1600 Years, any ſacrifice at all. But if you underſtand theſe Prophecies, as of the kingdom of the *Meſſiah*, ſo of his prieſt-hood, of which that of *Levi* was a type, and fulfill'd in it, then is this Prophecy exactly accompliſh'd in the evangelical prieſthood, which our *Meſſiah* has inſtituted: And which, we doubt not, will, according to the utmoſt extent of this Prophecy of it, laſt as long as the covenant of day and night, that is, as our *Meſſiah* has again given us his aſſurance, *even unto the end of the world*; and that *the gates of hell* ſhall never be able to *prevail againſt it.* Some of the * *Jews* pretend, that *David* will be rais'd from the dead, and made immortal, to fulfil this Prophecy: But others, rejecting this interpretation, ſay, that this is to be meant of the time after the *Meſſiah*, *viz.* That after the *Meſſiah* ſhall come, of the ſeed of *David*, there ſhall no more want of his ſeed to rule, *&c.* But the words of the Text are, *that* David *ſhall never want a man to ſit upon the throne of the houſe of* Iſrael: And putting to this, *after the coming of the* Meſſiah, is adding to the Text. And the like liberty would leave nothing certain in any Text of the *Bible*, or in any other writing. The next I produce is,

Mat. xxviii. 20. xvi. 18.

Iſa. liii.

(3.) That moſt exact deſcription of the death and ſufferings of the *Meſſiah*, with the reaſon of it, *viz.* as an expiation and ſatisfaction for the ſins of the people.

And how forc'd and foreign is that interpretation which ſome of your modern *Jews*, have put upon this Chapter, on purpoſe to avoid the plain proof of our *Meſſiah* therein? As if the perſon there ſpoke of, were not any particular perſon, but only a deſcription of the people of the *Jews*, in the name of a perſon; of their preſent diſperſion thro' all nations, with the contempt and miſery which they ſuffer; and withal their making many Proſelytes to their Religion, in this their diſperſion.

For their many Proſelytes, we hear not of them. If the *Jews* keep their own ground, it is the moſt that in your preſent circumſtances you ſeem to expect; and wou'd be well content to compound for it, not only here, but in all the Countries whither you are diſpers'd. What King, what Nation, have you converted? Nay, in our part of the World, what family? what perſons? And we hear as little of it from other parts. You boaſt of many in *Spain* and *Portugal*; but they conceal it, and we know them not: But the flowing in of the *Gentiles* has been to the Chriſtian Church, and only ſo can the promiſe of it to your Church be verify'd, that is, as yours was a type of ours; or as ours is truly yours, fulfill'd and continu'd, in the reign of your *Meſſiah*, purſuant to all the Prophecies which went before of him. Therefore by all that has yet appear'd of your diſperſion, it is as a juſt puniſhment for your own ſins; and not for the converſion of the *Gentiles*. But how for their converſion? When your learned *Jew* confeſſes (as hereafter quoted) that you have no arguments againſt

* Limborch Collat. p. 73.

the

that the *Gentiles*, nor can convince any of them. And in all the Prophecies of this your diſperſion (ſome of which are recited *Sect.* 11.) there is nothing told of the converſion of the *Gentiles* as thereby deſign'd, but only as a puniſhment of your iniquity; and, at the length, for your converſion, as well as that of the *Gentiles*. As that God will have mercy upon you, and cauſe your captivity to return: that the Redeemer ſhall come to *Zion*, and turn away iniquity from *Jacob*; and in the mean time, that you ſhould be rejected for your wickedneſs, and another people choſen in your place. For thus it is ſaid to you, *But ye are they that forſake the Lord*—— *Therefore will I number you to the ſword*—— *Becauſe when I called, ye did not anſwer; when I ſpake ye did not hear*—— (ye did not harken to the Words of the Lord, in the Mouth of that Prophet, whom he told you he wou'd ſend) *Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, behold my Servants ſhall eat, but ye ſhall be hungry; behold my ſervants ſhall drink, but ye ſhall be thirſty; behold my Servants ſhall rejoice, but ye ſhall be aſhamed; behold my Servants ſhall ſing for joy of heart, but ye ſhall cry for ſorrow of heart, and ſhall howl for vexation of ſpirit. And ye ſhall leave your name for a curſe unto my choſen: For the Lord God ſhall ſlay thee, and call his Servants by another name.* How literally is this fulfill'd? God hath choſen the Chriſtians in your place, and called his Servants by another name: Not that you ſhould be finally rejected; but till the fulneſs of the *Gentiles* ſhall come in: And then ſhall you be converted by them, and not they by you. Therefore are you fatally deluded, who attribute to your ſelves, and to your preſent circumſtances, all that righteouſneſs which is ſpoken of the *Meſſiah* in the liii. of *Iſaiah*. As, *By his knowledge ſhall my righteous ſervant juſtify many*, &c. Was it for this end that God foretold your diſperſion? No, but for your grievous iniquities, and for your own converſion. As ſaid by a Prophet of your own, *yet will I leave a remnant, that ye may have that ſhall eſcape the ſword, among the nations, when ye ſhall be ſcattered through the countries: And they that eſcape you, ſhall remember me among the nations* —— *Becauſe I am broken with their whoriſh heart, which have departed from me*—— *And they ſhall loath themſelves for the evils which they have committed in all their abominations: And they ſhall know that I am the Lord, and that I have not ſaid in vain, that I wou'd do this evil unto them.* Again, *They ſhall know that I am the Lord, when I ſhall ſcatter them among the nations, and diſperſe them in the countries: But I will leave a few Men of them*—— *that they may declare all their abominations among the Heathen, whither they come, and they ſhall know that I am the Lord*; that is, you *Jews* ſhall know, it is to convince and convert you, that you ſhall be ſo diſpers'd, as you are this day. Again, *Are ye not as the children of the* Ethiopians *unto me*; *O children of* Iſrael, *ſaith the Lord?—Behold the eyes of the Lord God are upon the ſinful kingdom, and I will deſtroy it from off the face of the earth*; *ſaving that I will not utterly deſtroy the houſe of* Jacob *ſaith the Lord: For lo I will command, and I will ſift the houſe of* Iſrael *among all nations, like as corn is ſifted in a ſieve, yet ſhall not the leaſt grain fall upon the earth.*

Jer. xxxiii. 26. Iſai. lix. 20. Iſai. lxv. 11. *to* 15. Deut. xviii. 18, 19. Ezek. vi. 8, 9, 10. *Chap.* xii. 15, 16. Amos ix. 7, 8, 9.

You ſhall be preſerv'd, in your diſperſion, in order to your repentance, not for your holineſs to convert the nations, for you are call'd the *ſinful kingdom*, and as *children of the* Ethiopians. And God will chuſe other hands to raiſe his kingdom among the *Heathen*; as it follows, *In that day will I raiſe up the tabernacle of* David *that is fallen*—— *That they may poſſeſs the remnant of* Edom, *and of all* Heathen *which are called by my name, ſaith the Lord that doth this.* See that fulfill'd this day. Where

v. 11.

are the *Heathen* that are call'd by the name of the Lord? Who does poſſeſs them, but our *Meſſiah*, the ſon of *David*, by whoſe name they are call'd Chriſtians? In vain therefore do you expect the *Heathen* to be converted by you. You ſee it done already, by thoſe whom God has choſen in your room; and who now ſeek to convert you, by perſuading of you to harken to *Moſes* and your own Prophets; who have told you of this converſion of the *Gentiles*, while you remain in your obſtinacy. *I am ſought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that ſought me not; I ſaid behold me, behold me unto a nation that was not call'd by my name.* But unto *Iſrael* he ſaith, *I have ſpread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people.* Yet you would attribute great holineſs to your ſelves in this your diſperſion, even all that which is ſpoken of the *Meſſiah* in the LIII. of *Iſaiah*.

Iſa. lxv. 1, 2.

I have inſiſted thus long upon it, becauſe this is all you have to ſay againſt that wonderful Prophecy of the low, outward appearance of the *Meſſiah*, when he ſhould come; and of the end of his coming; not fighting (as you expect) but ſuffering; not conquering Men with the ſword, but, as it is there expreſs'd (℣. 10.) *Giving up his ſoul, an offering for ſin*; whereby to redeem us from that death denounced againſt ſin; and ſo conquering him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil; to whom we were in bondage, lying under the curſe, of which he was made the Executioner.

Gen. ii. 17.

And this (till the time ſhou'd come) was ſhadow'd out to us in ſeveral types and repreſentations of it, not only in your Law, which was but one of them; for ſacrifices, the moſt expreſs type of the death and ſacrifice of the *Meſſiah*, were inſtituted upon the firſt ſin of Man, and the promiſe of the *Meſſiah* then given, and his conqueſt of the ſerpent; and were practis'd by *Cain*, *Abel*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, &c. before the Law.) But moſt lively expreſs'd in the ſacrifice of *Iſaac*; upon which the promiſe of the *Meſſiah*, was again renewed to *Abraham*. This ſalvation by the *Meſſiah* was likewiſe prefigur'd by the ſaving of *Noah*, and his family in the Ark; as by your paſſage through the Red-Sea, and deliverance out of *Egypt*; particularly by the erection of the Brazen Serpent, as of *Chriſt* upon the Croſs; and your ſalvation only by looking upon that, as ours by faith in him. But theſe types may be over-valu'd, when we reſt in them, without looking forward to what they repreſent. Therefore *Hezekiah* broke that Brazen-Serpent to pieces, and call'd it *Nehuſhtan*, a contemptible name, that is, only a bit of braſs. And God expreſſes himſelf with as much indignation againſt your ſacrifices, as inſufficient of themſelves, to reconcile to him. In which ſenſe, he declares that he hates them, that they are a trouble, and an abomination to him, and that he is weary to bear them. And that he will not accept of them, or has requir'd them, as a ſatisfaction for ſin. What is it then that he will accept? Even the *Meſſiah*, for whom a body was prepar'd, in which he was to make that atonement, which the bodies of beaſts cou'd not: And which is very particularly deſcrib'd in the LIII. of *Iſaiah*; and cannot be apply'd to the *Jewiſh* Nation (as they wou'd now turn it) under their preſent ſufferings and calamity: It is ſaid, *He bore the ſin of many, and made interceſſion for the tranſgreſſors.* Do the *Jews* make intereeſſion for the *Gentiles*? Or how do they bear their ſins? It is ſaid, *He had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth; yet it pleaſed the Lord to bruiſe him*, &c. But what is before recited out of your Prophets, and much more cou'd be added to the ſame purpoſe, ſhew plainly, that you have been bruiſed for your own great wickedneſſes. And the opinion of your own righteouſneſs, is not the leaſt part of your deluſion. But you oppoſe your

2 Kin. xviii. 4.

Iſa. i. 11 *to* 15.

Pſal. xl. 6, 7.

℣. 12.

℣. 9.

ſelves, and ſet up contrary pretences: For when you come to give an account why your *Meſſiah* has delay'd his coming ſo long beyond the time which was limited by the Prophets, you have no other anſwer, but that it is becauſe of your Sins: And they muſt be Sins more than ordinary which have provok'd God to break his Promiſes, ſo oft repeated, concerning the Time of the *Meſſiah*'s coming: So that here you make your ſelves the greateſt Sinners that can be: But in anſwer to *Iſa.* LIII. then you are *righteous* altogether, and there is no *Deceit in your Mouth!* Your *Nation* is the *righteous Servant of the Lord* there ſpoke of!

But of that Servant it is ſaid, ℣. 8. *For the Tranſgreſſion of my People was he ſtricken:* Therefore he was not that People, but he ſuffer'd for that People.

The learned *Jew* ſays*, that the Death which the Chriſtians would infer of the *Meſſiah* from this of *Iſa.* LIII. means not a real Death, (for they ſuppoſe rightly, but miſ-underſtood, that their *Meſſiah* will live for ever) but only *Labores & Flagella*, (as he words it) great Labours and Afflictions, which they ſuppoſe he may endure, *Ante perfectam Regni Revelationem*, before the full Eſtabliſhment of his Kingdom: And he brings as a parallel place, *in Deaths oft*, which the Apoſtle ſpeaks of himſelf, but it means no more than Dangers. 2 Cor. xi. 23.

Anſw. 1. The *Meſſiah*'s undergoing Stripes and Afflictions, tho' in order to his Kingdom, is as adverſe to the *Jews* notion of the *Meſſiah* as Death itſelf; for they ſuppoſe him to go on gloriouſly in Conqueſts and Victory, and not to be ſcourged or ignominiouſly treated.

Anſw. 2. Being in Deaths, ſhews itſelf to be a figurative expreſſion; for a Man can be in Death but once, therefore not, in that ſenſe, often in Deaths: But as a Man in battels, or ſtorms at ſea, may be ſaid to be often in Deaths, ſo the Apoſtle in the many dangers which he there repeats. But far otherwiſe are the expreſſions concerning the Death of the *Meſſiah*, *He was cut off out of the Land of the Living: He made his Grave with the Wicked: He poured out his Soul unto Death.* And *Meſſiah* the *Prince ſhall be cut off, but not for himſelf*, &c. If theſe expreſſions do not ſignify Death, what others can? And the *Jews* ſtruggling againſt it, ſhews only, that they are reſolved not to be convinc'd by any words whatſoever that can be ſpoken. They try all ways, but dare ſtick to none: for they are contradictory to one another: And if one of their excuſes hold, the reſt muſt be falſe: Which confuſion, of it ſelf, were enough to convince them you ſhall ſee more of them. Iſa. liii. 8, 9, 12. Dan. ix. 25, 26.

To avoid this, and other Propheſies, which ſpeak expreſſly of the poor and low ſtate in which the *Meſſiah* was to appear, *Behold thy King cometh unto thee poor*, or as we tranſlate it, *lowly*, &c. the modern *Jews* have framed to themſelves two *Meſſiahs*, one *Ben Joſeph*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, who was to be poor and contemptible, and undergo great indignities; the other, *Ben David*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, who was to be victorious, and conquer all the Earth before them, and to live for ever in temporal grandeur: That he was to raiſe again from the Dead all the *Iſraelites* of former ages, and among them the firſt *Meſſiah*, *Ben Joſeph*. Thus the *Jews* ſhutting faſt their eyes, do dream, and invent *Meſſiahs*, on purpoſe becauſe they will not be concluded by the plain Prophecies of the one and only *Meſſiah*. Where do the Prophets ſpeak of two *Meſſiahs?* But ſpeaking all along of one, and of the Son or *Meſſiah*, does neceſſarily exclude any other. If there were two, one could not be the *Meſſiah:* And by the ſame rule they make two, they may make two ſcore of *Meſſiahs*. Zech. ix. 9.

* Limbor. Collat. p. 53.

But

But this ſhameleſs contrivance ſhews how hard they are put to it to elude the plain Prophecies of the *Meſſiah*; and is a confirmation of the true import and meaning of theſe Prophecies, which are not anſwerable, but by ſuch poor and guilty ſhifts. It is for this reaſon that I have been ſo long upon this Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, and ſhewn the Dream of your modern *Rabbies*, of two *Meſſiahs*, unknown to all your Expoſitors before *Chriſt* came, but invented ſince on purpoſe to avoid the plain and undoubted Characters which our *Jeſus* bore of the *Meſſiah*.

Dan. ix. 24, &c. 4. The famous Prophecy of *Daniel*'s ſeventy weeks, which according to the prophetical computation of a year for a day, makes four hundred and ninety years, in which time it was then foretold that the *Meſſiah* ſhould come, and our *Meſſiah* did come within that time: And all there ſpoken of him were punctually fulfill'd: As, that the *Meſſiah* ſhould be cut off, and ſoon after, that the City of *Jeruſalem* and the Sanctuary ſhould be deſtroyed, and the Sacrifice and Oblation ſhould ceaſe. And that even after all this, Deſolations were determined againſt your Nation.

And the end of the *Meſſiah*'s coming is likewiſe there told, not temporal Conqueſts, as you dream of, but *to finiſh the Tranſgreſſions, and to make an end of Sins, and to make Reconciliation for Iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting Righteouſneſs.*

This Prophecy pinches ſo cloſe, that the modern *Jews* to avoid it, wou'd endeavour to diſcredit the whole Book of *Daniel:* They dare not quite throw it off, becauſe it was indubitably received by their Forefathers before *Chriſt* came: And the high rank in which *Daniel* is put, rather gives him the preference before all the reſt of the Prophets, than excludes him out of their number: It makes him at leaſt, the moſt highly favoured of God, of all the men living in the World in his time: And his Viſions of the four great Empires of the World, and Prophecies of the State-Revolutions which followed ſo remarkably, made his Prophecies more noted than thoſe of any of the other Prophets: And God ſets him forth as the Standard of Wiſdom amongſt Men: For theſe reaſons the *Jews* after *Chriſt* could not expunge this Book of *Daniel.* But about a hundred years after *Chriſt* they quite inverted the method of the Books of the Old Teſtament, which to that time had been received amongſt them, and made a new diſtribution of them, and a diſtinction of thoſe they called Αγιόγραφα, or *holy Writings*, but put them in a claſs below the inſpir'd and canonical Scriptures: And into this lower claſs they thruſt the Book of *Daniel*, at the end of the Prophets, which before was plac'd in the middle of them.

Ezek. xiv. 14, 20.

Ezek. xxviii. 3.

But this Book of *Daniel*, if it be not among thoſe which are inſpir'd in the higheſt degree, it cannot ſtand among any holy or good Writings, but it muſt be reckoned falſe and blaſphemous; becauſe it ſpeaks of itſelf all along as immediately inſpir'd by God: And if thoſe Viſions and Revelations there related be not true, then it is telling of Lies in the Name of the Lord, which is high Blaſphemy.

Therefore ſince the modern *Jews* dare not place the Book of *Daniel* lower than among the holy or pious Writings, they confeſs it to be inſpir'd and canonical; and have only diſcovered their own guilt in ſeeking to avoid the witneſs of their own Prophets to our *Meſſiah.*

2 Chr. vii. 16. 5. That Promiſe concerning the Temple of *Solomon*, that God's Name ſhould be there for ever, and perpetually, cannot be verify'd but as it was a Type of the Chriſtian Church, which ſhall laſt for ever: For Types, as Pictures, are often call'd by the name of what they repreſent; and by them is meant that whereof they are the Types.

6. As that Promiſe to the Temple of *Solomon*, ſo neither can that made to the ſecond Temple, be otherwiſe verifyed than as fulfill'd in our *Meſſiah*; that

the *Glory of this latter Houſe ſhould be greater than of the former*: And yet it was as nothing in compariſon of the former. How then ſhould the glory be greater? It is told, becauſe the deſire of all nations ſhould come into it, and *in this place will I give peace, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* Here was given the eternal peace and reconciliation of God with Men, in the perſon of *Jeſus Chriſt* in whom God, by his means, reconciled the world unto himſelf. Hag. ii. 3,7,9. 2 Cor. v. 19.

Some *Jews*, to avoid the force of this Prophecy, do now pretend, that, by the *latter houſe*, is not to be meant that ſecond Temple, but ſome other yet to be built. This is very precarious, and a guilty plea. But it will not bear; for it is plain, that it was of that very ſecond Temple which the Prophet ſpoke. The compariſon is betwixt that Temple which they then ſaw, and the firſt Temple of *Solomon*. And God ſpeaking of that Temple then built, ſays, *I will fill this houſe with glory*; and, *The glory of this latter houſe ſhall be greater than of the former*. If it were ſpoken of a third or a fourth Temple, the word former wou'd not relate to the firſt Temple; and there was no other former, when this Prophecy was given forth. It was the ſecond Temple that ſeem'd as nothing, in the eyes of thoſe who had ſeen the firſt, who therefore wept: And, to comfort theſe, it was here promiſed, that the glory of that ſecond houſe, ſhou'd exceed that of the former. ℣. 9. ℣. 3. ℣. 7. ℣. 9. Ezr. iii. 12.

But there were other glories, much greater than that of the building, which the firſt Temple had; and the ſecond had none of them. As your own * *Rabbeis* do reckon them under five heads. 1. The holy Ark wherein were the Tables of the Covenant, the Pot of *Manna*, and *Aaron*'s Rod that budded: And where God was ſaid to dwell between the Cherubims that cover'd it. 2. The *Schechina*, or divine preſence in the Cloud of Glory. 3. The miraculous Urim and Thummim. 4. The holy Fire that came down from Heaven. 5. The gift of Prophecy, or of the Holy Ghoſt. Theſe all ceas'd under the ſecond Temple: Which made its Glory much more inferior to that of the firſt, than the difference as to the magnificence of the building. But all theſe Glories were much exceeded under the ſecond Temple; they were fulfill'd, and more divinely exhibited in their Architype, the *Meſſiah*; who was the true *Shechina*, God not only appearing in, but perſonally united to our nature. Whoſe holy Spirit deſcended miraculouſly in fire upon his Apoſtles, the ſame day (of *Pentecoſt*) wherein the Law was given in fire from Mount *Sinai*; and fill'd them with the gifts of Tongues, of Miracles, and of Prophecy, which were now departed from the Temple; and plac'd that infallible Urim and Thummim, in their hearts, which was but faintly repreſented in the breaſt-plate of your High-Prieſt. Pſal. lxxx. 1.

7. Again of this ſecond Temple it was ſaid, *The Lord whom ye ſeek, ſhall ſuddenly come to his Temple; even the Angel of the covenant whom ye delight in: Behold he ſhall come, ſaith the Lord of Hoſt.* Therefore it was neceſſary that the *Meſſiah* ſhou'd come during the ſtanding of the ſecond Temple. And that Prophecy can never now be fulfill'd. Mal. iii. 1.

You have ſeveral times attempted to re-build your Temple, in the reigns of *Adrian*, of *Conſtantine*, of *Julian*, when having gain'd not only that apoſtate Emperor's conſent, but that he was willing to bear the expences of it; and gave orders for the re-building of your Temple at *Jeruſalem*, in odium to the Chriſtians; and the Heathens did with great zeal (for the ſame reaſon) aſſiſt you in it. Even then, when you ſeem'd on all hands to have gain'd your purpoſe—— Behold God did immediately himſelf inter-

* R. Kimchi & R. Solom. in Hag. 1. 8. *and* R. Bechai in Legem, f. 59.

poſe! And by a terrible Earthquake threw up the ſtones out of the very foundation with that violence, as deſtroy'd many of the workmen, and Spectators; and by over-throwing the buildings near adjoyning to the Temple, kill'd and maim'd many more of the *Jews*, who were there gather'd together, for the carrying on of this work.

And when, not terrify'd with this, they again attempted to lay the foundations of the Temple, Globes of fire burſting out of the very foundations, not only deſtroy'd the workmen, but devour'd the ſtones. This is recorded in *Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 3. *c.* 20. and in *Sozom. l.* 5. *c.* 22. who appeals to ſeveral witneſſes of it, then living: And our *Chryſoſtome* ſays, * *We are all witneſſes of this thing.* But beſides theſe teſtimonies of Chriſtians, this is likewiſe told by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who was not a Chriſtian, in his 23d Book. Thus the building of the Temple was defeated at that time *A.C.* 361. and to this day. Tho' if you had a new Temple to morrow, that could not ſolve the Prophecies that were made either to the firſt or ſecond temple; which laſt has been deſtroy'd, now more than 1600 years; much leſs cou'd it ſatisfy all thoſe Prophecies that ſpeak ſo particularly of the time of the *Meſſiah*'s coming, which are longer ſince paſt.

IV. The Prophecies of the holy Scriptures concerning the time of the coming of the *Meſſiah*, were ſo noted and known among the *Jews*, that when it drew near, *viz.* about the time that our bleſſed Saviour came into the world, the *Jews* were generally looking out for him, and expected his coming. Some thought that *Herod* (who repair'd the Temple and made it more glorious) was he and took the name of *Herodians*; others follow'd *Theudas*; others *Judas* of *Galilee*.

Act. v.36,37. Both of which are mention'd in our Hiſtory of the *Acts* of the Apoſtles; and likewiſe by your † *Joſephus:* If it was not another *Theudas*, who as he tells, pretended to miracles, *viz.* To divide the river *Jordan*, by his command, and give his followers paſſage through it, on dry land. He mentions another Impoſtor ‡, who led the *Jews* into the wilderneſs, and promiſed them deliverance, if they wou'd follow him thither: whom *Feſtus* deſtroy'd with all his followers. This our Saviour literally foretold; and cautions againſt following theſe falſe Chriſts and falſe Prophets into the deſert. And *Joſephus* ſays **, that there were at that time (which was about 57 or 58 years after the nativity of *Chriſt*) many enchanters and deceivers, who perſuaded the common people to follow them into the deſert, where they promiſed to work miracles, *&c.* He ſays, that the country of *Judæa* was ſtor'd with ſuch: So intent were they then to find out their *Meſſiah*, and ſo perſuaded that that was the time of his coming. The two Brothers †† *Aſinæus* and *Anilæus*, both Weavers, had mighty ſucceſſes; but were at laſt deſtroy'd, and were the occaſion of the deſtruction of many of the *Jews*, who follow'd them about forty years after the birth of *Chriſt*. And about 74 years after, another Weaver, one *Jonathan* ‡‡, led many of the *Jews* after him into the wilderneſs, where he promiſed to ſhew them ſigns and wonders. He was burnt alive, and multitudes of the *Jews* were maſſacred about *Cyrene*. This was two years after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. And *Joſephus* tells, that the great cauſe of that was their expectation of their *Meſſiah* then to come. For he ſays, *** That *the chief thing which incited them to that War* (with the *Romans*) *was a doubtful Pro-*

Matth. xxiii. 23,24,25,26.

* Orat. 2. contr. Jud.
** Joſeph. Antiq. l. xx. c. vi.
*** Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 12.
† Joſeph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1, 2. l. xx. c. 2.
†† Ibid. l. xviii. c. 12.
‡ Ibid. c. 7.
‡‡ Id. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 31.

phecy

phecy (as he calls it) *found in the holy Scriptures, that, about that time, one of their country ſhould be Monarch of the whole World.* He ſaid (after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem)* that they were deceiv'd in this interpretation of the Prophecy; which he (then) apply'd to the reign of *Veſpaſian*, as if fulfill'd in him.

V. But what is more remarkable, the *Romans* themſelves had the ſame notion current among them: And not only they, but all the Eaſtern part of the World, which may well include all that was then known. Thus ſays *Suetonius*, in the life of *Veſpaſian*, *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & conſtans opinio, eſſe in Fatis, ut eo tempore,* Judæâ *profecti rerum potirenter:* i. e. That *an ancient and conſtant tradition had obtain'd throughout all the Eaſt, that in the Fates it was decreed, that about that time ſome who ſhou'd come from* Judæa, *ſhou'd obtain the dominion,* or *government, i. e.* of the World, which the *Romans* then poſſeſs'd. And *Corn. Tacit.* (Hiſt. *l.* 5) ſpeaks almoſt in the ſame words; telling of the great prodigies, which preceded the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, he ſays, that many underſtood them as the fore-runners of that extraordinary perſon, whom the ancient Books of the Prieſts did foretel ſhou'd come about that time, from *Judæa*, and obtain the dominion. *Pluribus perſuaſio inerat, antiquis ſacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipſo tempore fore, ut valeſceret oriens, profectique* Judæâ *rerum potirentur.*

Theſe ancient Books of the Prieſts, muſt either mean the holy Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, in the hands of the *Jewiſh* Prieſts, and which were known to the *Romans*; (and, if ſo, it ſhews the ſenſe of the *Jews* at that time, and before, that that was the time of the *Meſſiah*'s coming;) or otherwiſe, which is more probable, by theſe Books were meant the Oracles of the *Sibyls*, which were kept with great veneration by the *Roman* Prieſts; and which very plainly foretold the coming of *Chriſt*, and pointed out the very time. And this rais'd ſo great an expectation, and a jealouſie in the *Roman* Government at that time, with a watchful eye particularly upon the *Jews*. The ſame year that *Pompey* took *Jeruſalem*, one of the *Sibyl* Oracles made a great noiſe, *viz.* That *nature was about to bring forth a King to the Romans.* Which, as *Suetonius* tells in the life of *Auguſtus*, did ſo terrify the Senate, that they made a decree, that *none born that year ſhou'd be educated:* And *that thoſe whoſe wives were with child, did each conceive great hopes, applying the Prophecy to themſelves*—— *Senatum exterritum cenſuiſſe, ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur; eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quòd ad ſe quiſque ſpem traheret, curâſſe ne Senatus-conſultum ad ærarium deferretur.* And *Appian, Plutarch, Saluſt*, and *Cicero*, do all ſay, that it was this Prophecy of the *Sibyls*, which ſtir'd up *Cornel. Lentulus* at that time, he hoping that he was the Man who ſhou'd be King of the *Romans*. Some apply'd it to *Cæſar*, which *Cicero (de Divinatione)* after *Cæſar*'s death, ridicules, and cautions that thoſe Prophecies ſhou'd not be interpreted of any future King to be in *Rome*. *Cum Antiſtitibus agamus, & quidvis potius ex illis libris, quàm regem proferant: quem Romæ poſt hæc nec Dii, nec homines eſſe patientur.* *Virgil* in his famous fourth *Eclogue*, wrote about the beginning of *Herod* the great, complements the *Conſul Polio* with this Prophecy, by ſuppoſing it might refer to his Son *Saloninus*, then born. But the words are too great to be verify'd of any mere mortal Man; and ſpeak of ſuch a golden age and renovation of all things, as cannot be fulfill'd in the reign of any earthly King. And *Virgil* does expreſs it, almoſt in the words of the holy Scriptures, wherein they tell of the glorious age of the *Meſſiah*; of new Heavens and a new Earth, then to begin,

and to be finally compleated, at the end of the World. *Iſa.* LXV. 17. 2 *Pet.* iii. 13.

Ultima Cumæi venit jam Carminis Ætas:
Magnus ab integro ſæclorum naſcitur ordo.
Jam nova Progenies cœlo demittitur alto.
Tu modò naſcenti Puero, quo ferrea primùm
Deſinet, ac toto ſurget Gens aurea mundo——

Now the laſt age decreed by fate is come;
And a new frame of all things does begin:
An holy progeny from Heav'n deſcends.
Auſpicious be his Birth, which puts an end
To the iron age, and from whence ſhall riſe
A Golden ſtate far glorious thro' the Earth.

Then the Poet runs a diviſion upon the peaceable ſtate of that reign, perfectly a Paraphraſe of *Iſaiah* LXV. from ℣. 17, which ends ℣. 25. *The Wolf and the Lamb ſhall feed together, and the Lion ſhall eat ſtraw as the Bullock; and Duſt ſhall be the Serpents Meat. They ſhall not hurt, nor deſtroy, in all my holy Mountain, ſaith the Lord.*

——Nec magnos metuent armenta Leones.
Occidet & Serpens, & fallax Herba veneni
Occidet——

——Nor ſhall the flocks fierce Lions fear.
No Serpent ſhall be there, or Herb of pois'nous juice.

Nay, the very atonement for our Sins, which *Daniel* attributed to the *Meſſiah*, chap. ix. 24. *To finiſh the Tranſgreſſion, to make an end of Sins and to make Reconciliation for iniquity*, is thus expreſs'd in this *Eclog.*

Te duce, ſi qua manent ſceleris veſtigia noſtri,
Irrita perpetuâ ſolvent formidine terras.

By thee, what footſteps of our ſins remain
Are blotted out, and the whole World ſet free
From her perpetual bondage, and her fear.

And the very words of *Haggai* ii. 6. ſeem to be literally tranſlated by *Virgil.* Thus ſays the Prophet of the coming of the *Meſſiah*, *Yet once, it is a little while, and I will ſhake the Heavens, and the Earth, and the Sea, and the dry Land. And I will ſhake all Nations, and the deſire of all Nations ſhall come.* And thus the Poet,

Aggredere O magnos (aderit jam tempus) honores,
Chara Deûm ſoboles, magnum Jovis incrementum.
Aſpice convexo nutantem pondere mundum;
Terraſque, tractuſque Maris, Cœlumque profundum.
Aſpice venturo lætentur ut omnia ſeclo.

Enter on thy high honour, now's the time,
Offspring of God, O thou great gift of *Jove.*
Behold the World, Heav'n, Earth, and Seas do ſhake.
Behold how all rejoice to greet that glorious age. And

And, as if *Virgil* had been learn'd in the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, he tells, that theſe glorious Times ſhould not begin immediately upon the Birth of that wonderful Perſon then expected to come into the world; but that Wickedneſs ſhould ſtill keep its ground in ſeveral places.

Pauca tamen ſuberunt priſcæ veſtigia fraudis.
——Erunt etiam altera bella.

But yet ſome few remains ſhall ſtill be left
Of ancient Fraud, and Wars ſhall ſtill go on.

Now how *Virgil* apply'd all this, is not the matter, whether in part to *Auguſtus*, or partly to *Pollio*, and partly to *Saloninus* his ſon, then newly born; but it ſhews the general expectation that there was at that time of the birth of a moſt extraordinary perſon who ſhould introduce a new and golden Age, and both reform and govern the whole World; juſtly therefore call'd by the Prophet the *Deſire of all Nations*.

Now the *Sibyls* had pointed out the time to be then at hand: And if it ſhould be ſuppos'd (tho there is no reaſon for it) that the *Jews* had forg'd or interpolated theſe Oracles, and made them ſpeak thus in the language of the holy Scriptures, yet this ſtill ſhews that the *Jews* at that time did ſo underſtand the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament concerning the *Meſſias*, as that then was the time prefix'd for his coming.

But if theſe Prophecies of the *Sibyls* be what they ſpeak themſelves (againſt which nothing but preſumption has yet appear'd) then can they not be deny'd as a demonſtrative proof of our *Jeſus* being the *Meſſiah*; for they deſcribe him ſo perſonally, and ſo plainly, that this is made the cauſe of ſuſpicion againſt them; as if they could not be genuine becauſe they ſpeak ſo very plainly and particularly of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

This has carry'd ſome chriſtian Criticks too far, to reject upon this only preſumption the authority of the *Sibyls*. And yet they have not (not any of them that I can find) taken into due conſideration the Anſwer which *Origen* gives to this ſame objection of theirs, for it is not a new one. It was firſt objected by the Heathens: *Celſus* had recourſe to this, alledging, that the Chriſtians had interpolated and added ſeveral things to the Prophecies of the *Sibyls*: But *Origen* * appeals to the ancient Copies of them, and challenges *Celſus*, or any of the Heathens, to ſhew what was added; which, he ſays, they could not inſtance, and that certainly they wou'd if they cou'd. Yet ſome of our Criticks have declar'd themſelves, in this, for *Celſus* againſt *Origen*, but without anſwering of *Origen*'s argument, which *Celſus* could not: And it is not to be imagined that *Origen* would have put the iſſue upon ſuch a plain matter of fact, if it had not been true, and which could have been ſo eaſily diſprov'd.

But this eſpecially is to be conſider'd, that the primitive Fathers of the Church, as *Juſtin*, *Clemens*, *Theophilus*, *Athenagoras*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, *Lactantius*, &c. did lay ſo great a ſtreſs upon the *Sibyls*, and quoted them ſo often againſt the Heathens, that they called the Chriſtians *Sibyllianiſts*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* in his *Stromat*. l. 6. quotes St. *Paul* (ſome Work of his now loſt) in his diſputations with the *Gentiles*, referring them to their own *Sibyls*: And he lived near to the time of St, *Paul*; ſo that we muſt ſuppoſe this to have been at leaſt the current opinion of that early age of St. *Clement*. This is obſerved *obiter*, for the ſake of ſome chriſtian Criticks who

* Ἀποφαίνομαι, ὅτι παρενενεγράψαμεν εἰς τὰ ἐκείνης πολλὰ καὶ βλάσφημα· καὶ μὴ ἀποδείξας μηδ' ὅτι παρενενεγράψαμεν· Ἀπέδειξε δ' ἄν, εἰ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα καθαρώτερα ἐδείκνυε, καὶ ἂν ἔχοντα ἅπερ ὤμεθα παρεγγεγράφθαι· μὴ ἀποδείξας δὲ μηδ' ὅτι βλάσφημά ἐστι ταῦτα. Orig. *contra* Celſ. l. 7. p. 369.

ſeem not to have a due regard for the authority of the primitive Fathers of the Church.

But as to what concerns you *Jews*, and the preſent Subject we are upon, there can be no diſpute, by what is quoted out of the *Sibyls* by ſeveral Authors before *Chriſt* came, that they ſpoke of a wonderful Perſon to appear in the World, who ſhould rule all Nations: And that it was underſtood as well by the then *Jews* as *Romans* to be about that time in which our *Jeſus* was born. Now there could be none but *Jews* or Heathens to have made theſe Prophecies of the *Sibyls*, (there being no Chriſtians then in the World:) And, as ſaid before, it is all one, as to our preſent argument, whether the one or the other made them; for I bring them now only to ſhew that there was a general expectation of the *Meſſiah* at that time when our *Jeſus* was born: And I have ſhewn that it was univerſal all the World over, the greateſt part of which was then under the *Roman* Government; who likewiſe teſtify that all the Eaſtern part of the World had the ſame expectation.

And that not only at that time, as if then put into their heads (by the craft or artifice of the *Jews*, as ſome fanciful Men have pleas'd themſelves to imagine) but that they had it all along as an ancient and undoubted Tradition, written in the Books of Fate; and that it ſhould come to paſs at that very time: And never but at that time was there any ſuch general expectation.

This univerſal impulſe (if we will call it no more) which was imprinted, in whatever manner, upon the minds of the whole Earth, to expect a glorious and wonderful Deliverer, Reſtorer, and King of the world, at that time when our bleſſed Lord and Saviour was born, (and never before or ſince) cannot be made of leſs account, than a very extraordinary and even divine *Apparatus*, or *preparing* of the *way*, whereby to introduce the Son of God with the general expectation and commotion of all Nature into the World.

And, among all theſe, the expectation was moſt firm, as there was moſt reaſon, with you the *Jews*, who had the lively Oracles of the holy Scriptures; which punctually pointed out the time wherein God had decreed to ſend his great *Meſſiah* into the World.

This appears with a flagrant evidence, in your ſetting up at that time this and that perſon for the *Meſſiah*, (as I have before ſhewn out of *Joſephus*) and ſo continu'd to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

And ſince that time you have not deſiſted looking out for your *Meſſiah*, and following every impoſtor that with any or no pretence ſet himſelf up for it: As our Lord, your true *Meſſiah*, has foretold to you, that many would come in his Name, ſaying, I am *Chriſt*. *Behold* (ſays he) *I have told you before*; but you would not believe, and it has turn'd to your deſtruction.

Mat. xxiv. 25.

VI. The Hiſtory of theſe falſe *Meſſiahs* has been lately wrote by *Johannes a Lent*, and printed *Herbornæ*, 1697. with ſufficient vouchers from the *Rabbies* of the *Jews* themſelves. Let me but name them, to ſhew the ſucceſſion of Deluſion in the *Jews*. You have heard before, out of *Joſephus*, the multitudes of falſe *Meſſiahs* before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*: Afterwards, *A. C.* 114. you ſet up another, in the Reign of *Trajan*, one *Andrew*, which occaſion'd the deſtruction of many thouſands of you: Again, in the Reign of *Adrian*, another, whom ye called *Bar Cochab*, *i. e.* the Son of a Star, alluding to the Star of *Jacob*: And again, rebelling under this *Meſſiah*, caus'd a moſt dreadful deſtruction amongſt you, inſomuch that, as your ſelves have told it in your own Books, there was twice the number

Numb. xxiv. 17.

of *Jews* that periſhed upon this occaſion, more than all thoſe that came out of *Ægypt*; and that you ſuffer'd more under *Adrian*, than under *Nebuchadnezzar* or *Titus*. When you were at laſt undeceived, (too late) then you chang'd the Name of this falſe *Meſſiah* from *Bar Cochab*, the Son of a Star, to *Bar Coſibah*, *i. e.* the Son of a Lye, as being a falſe *Meſſiah*.

And how oft have you been deceiv'd ſince? In the Year of *Chriſt* 434. in the Reign of *Theodoſius* the younger, another *Pſeudo-Meſſiah* aroſe in the Iſland of *Crete*, who ſaid that he was *Moſes*, and ſent from Heaven to carry the *Jews* in *Crete* on dry ground thro' the Sea, and perſuaded ſeveral of them to throw themſelves into the Sea.

In the Year of *Chriſt* 520. another *Pſeudo Meſſiah*, one *Dunaan*, aroſe in *Arabia*, and, with the *Jews* who followed him, ſet upon the Biſhop and Chriſtians in the City of *Negra*, and committed great outrages till he was deſtroy'd.

A. C. 529, the *Jews* and *Samaritans* in *Paleſtin* were ſeduc'd into rebellion by *Julian*, a *Pſeudo-Meſſiah*, which occaſion'd the deſtruction of many of them.

And when *Mahomet* appear'd about the Year 620, the *Jews* flock'd to him, as their *Meſſiah*, to which he at firſt pretended. And they ſtuck to him, till, as ſome ſay, they ſaw him eat Camels blood; or, as others tell, for other reaſons, they left him. Indeed he left them, and ſet up other pretences.

After, *A. C.* 721. they follow'd a certain *Syrian*, who ſaid that he was *Chriſt*.

A. C. 1137, they follow'd another in *France*, which occaſion'd their baniſhment out of that Country, and the ſlaughter of great numbers of them.

The Year following, *viz. A. C.* 1138, in *Perſia*, a *Falſe-Meſſiah*, taking Arms, brought great miſchiefs upon the *Jews* there.

A. C. 1157, the *Jews* riſing under another *Meſſiah* in *Spain*, had well nigh all of them been cut off.

A. C. 1167, they ſuffer'd much under another *Meſſiah*, in the kingdom of *Fez*.

And the ſame year, under another in *Arabia*, who gave for a ſign, that after his head was cut off by the King of *Arabia*, he wou'd riſe to life. Which he did not: But by this eſcap'd a more cruel Death. And not long after, in the ſame 12th Century, they ſuffer'd much by another beyond *Euphrates*; who gave for his ſign, that he wou'd go to bed at night leprous, and riſe ſound in the morning.

About the Year 1174, another roſe in *Perſia*, and led the *Jews* into rebellion; which occaſion'd great deſtruction among them, and one *David Almuſar* occaſion'd the like to them in *Moravia* in *Germany*.

And again, in the ſame Century, another *Pſeudo-Meſſiah*. All mention'd by *Maimonides*, and other *Jewiſh* Rabbins. Who likewiſe tell us of that moſt famous *Pſeudo-Meſſiah* in *Perſia*, call'd *David El David*, aliàs, *David Alroy*, about the Years 1199 or 1200, a great Magician, who deluded many of the *Jews*.

A. C. 1222, many *Jews* follow'd a falſe *Meſſiah* in *Germany*, whom they call'd the ſon of *David:* And the ſame Year expected their *Meſſiah* to be born of a Woman, then with Child, at *Worms:* But it prov'd a Girl.

A. C. 1465, when the *Saracens* made ſuch inroads upon *Chriſtendom*, the *Jews* then thought their *Meſſiah* was come to fight their Battles.

And the ſame Year *Rabbi Abraham Avenaris*, a *Jewiſh* Aſtrologer, from the conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* in the ſign *Piſces*, foretold the coming of the *Meſſiah* to be then at hand.

And

And afterwards, *R. Aberbanal*, in his Commentary upon *Daniel*, *p.* 84, 86, gather'd the time of the *Meſſiah*'s coming from the like Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* in *Piſces*.

About the Year 1497, the *Jews* were again deceiv'd in *Iſhmael Sophus* whom they took for their *Meſſiah*, who having got together an Army of vile and profligate Men, purſu'd his victories ſucceſsfully thro' *Media*, *Parthia*, *Perſia*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Armenia*. But at laſt cheated the *Jews*, and ſet up a new Sect for *Mahomet*.

A. C. 1500, *Rabbi Aſcher Lemla* appear'd in *Germany*, as the fore-runner of the *Meſſiah*, who, he promis'd, ſhou'd come and reſtore the *Jews* to the Land of *Canaan* that ſame Year. And the *Jews* generally, every where did believe him: And appointed publick Faſts and Prayers to prepare for the coming of their *Meſſiah*.

About the Year 1534, a new *Meſſiah* roſe up in *Spain*; who was burn'd by *Charles* V.

As was another at *Mantua*, *R. Salomo Malcho*; whom many of the *Jews* did believe came again to life after he was burn'd, and every Sabbath viſited his Wife *Zephati*.

But the Emperor ſpar'd *R. David*, who call'd himſelf one of the *Emiſſaries* of the *Meſſiah*, then ſoon to come. Who, when he was at *Rome*, is ſaid to have faſted ſix days together.

Another *Pſeudo-Meſſiah* roſe up in the *Eaſt-Indies* about the Year 1615.

And another in *Holland*, *A. C.* 1624.

But the famous *Pſeudo Meſſiah Sabethai Zevi*, *A. C.* 1666, is a Story remarkably known; who, after all the Expectation of the People of the *Jews*, turn'd, at laſt, *Mahometan*, to ſave his life.

And no longer ſince than the Year 1682, there has got up another *Falſe-Meſſiah*, *R. Mardochai*, a *German Jew*; whom, almoſt all the *Jews* in *Italy*, and many in *Germany*, have own'd, but, like wiſe Men, with due reſpect to the inquiſition, and ſelf-preſervation. Whether he be yet alive, or what ſtreſs the preſent *Jews* do lay upon him, I cannot tell, nor do I ſuppoſe they will be willing to own.

But, from the foregoing Account, I wou'd lay before them what a ſtrange uncertainty they are at; running after every Impoſtor for their *Meſſiah*; having loſt all the marks whereby they may know their *Meſſiah*, nay, being willing they ſhou'd be loſt; and diſputing againſt them for this only reaſon; that becauſe all the marks given of the *Meſſiah*, in the Old Teſtament, do meet in our bleſſed Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, and can never meet in any other; therefore they wou'd have no marks of him at all.

The learned *Jew* who diſputed with *Limborch*, *Anno* 1687, (five Years after their laſt or preſent *Meſſiah*, *R. Mardochai*, appear'd) contends*, That the Prophets foretold neither the time nor place of the Nativity of the *Meſſiah*. And ſays†, That miracles were not needful to prove his miſſion; but only to gather the *Jews* together from all parts of the World, and to conquer the Nations.

Agreeable to this notion, the *Pſeudo-Meſſiah* before-mention'd, who aroſe in *Perſia*, *A. C.* 1138, when deſir'd to ſhew ſome miracle, to prove his miſſion, ſaid, That the *Meſſiah* was not to be known by miracles, but by his ſucceſs in conquering the World.

And your famous *Maimon* ſays the ſame‡, That the *Meſſiah* was not to work miracles, but to fight the *Lord's* Battles, and conquer all before him.

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* *Limb. p.* 73. † *p.* 55. ‡ II. Melac. *and* Milch. c. 11.

Mahomet made the like excuſe for his not working of miracles. He ſaid *,: That *Moſes*, *Solomon*, and *Jeſus*, were ſent to ſhew God's righteouſneſs, wiſdom and clemency, to which miracles were neceſſary to gain belief: But that he *(Mahomet)* was ſent to ſhew God's fortitude; to which no miracles were neceſſary, but to enforce it with the ſword; which carry'd its own conviction.

The guilt and folly of this excuſe is apparent. For at the firſt ſetting up of any for the *Meſſiah*, how ſhall it be known that he ſhall have ſucceſs? We ſee how often the *Jews* have been deceiv'd, and ruin'd by it. But do they believe that their *Meſſiah* ſhall have ſucceſs without interruption, all along from his firſt ſetting up? No; the learned *Jew* before-mention'd, interpreting the Death of the *Meſſiah*, which is ſpoke of *Iſai.* LIII. only of troubles and afflictions which he ſhould endure †, ſays it ſhall be in the Wars with the Nations, before he compleat the redemption of the *Jews*, and then, (ſays the learned *Jew)* ſhall be fulfill'd that Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, *Et erit dies tribulationis* Jacob, *ſed ex eâ ſalvabitur*; that the *Jews* ſhall ſuffer great tribulation, but ſhall be ſav'd out of it: So that, by this rule, they cannot know their *Meſſiah* by his ſucceſs, till he is quite ruin'd and deſtroy'd, and they confounded, as it has hitherto befallen them.

One would think this enough to open their eyes; that whilſt they have obſtinately rejected the ſure and infallible marks, which God by his Prophets has given of the *Meſſiah*, they have left to themſelves no marks or rules at all, whereby they can know him, or which do diſtinguiſh him from every Impoſtor.

The *Jews* in our Saviours time, did expect that the *Meſſiah*, when he came, wou'd work miracles. Many of the *Falſe-Meſſiahs* pretended to it: John vii. 31. And no doubt, the preſent *Jews* would think it a great confirmation of any who ſhould now ſet up for their *Meſſiah*. Which ſhews, that they diſpute againſt the neceſſity of miracles to vouch the *Meſſiah*, becauſe they cannot deny thoſe of our Saviour. And it likewiſe diſcovers their diffidence in ever having a true *Meſſiah* to come, whatever they pretend, becauſe they dare not put it to the iſſue of a miracle, or truſt that they ſhall have any, who ſhall be endow'd with ſuch a power.

Yet they reject him, who they cannot but own had that power; and confeſs that they are ready to acknowledge another without that power; that is, they reject the ſtrongeſt Credentials, and will accept of leſſer. They cannot deny this to be their caſe. They will not ſay, that they do not deſire they had a *Meſſiah*, who cou'd work miracles to vouch his miſſion: And their Doctors have aſſerted, *That as the* Meſſiah, *was to be greater than* Moſes; *ſo when he came, he ſhould work greater miracles than* Moſes *had done*; as it is quoted out of *R. Levi, Ben Gerſon, Paraſcha*, by *Theodorick Hackſpan*, in his Edition of *R. Lipmann's* Book *Nizachon. An.* 1644. p. 387. Yet now they cry down miracles, as a mark of the *Meſſiah*, becauſe they deſpair of any ſuch; that is indeed, of any *Meſſiah* at all to come: For no otherwiſe can they know him, whenever they ſuppoſe that he ſhould come. They confeſs that they cannot know him, by the time when he ſhould come, or by the works he ſhall do when come, other than by the iſſue of his Battles; which they cannot know before-hand: And conſequently can never be ſure with whom to join, in time, before it be too late; as they have hitherto experimented in all their *Falſe-Meſſiahs*.

I would entreat them to think of another thing, as to the time of the *Meſſiah's* coming. They never ſet up any *Falſe-Meſſiah*, nor did any

* Alcoran, *c.* 2, 3, 4, &c. † Limborch *p.* 53, *and* 127.

pretend to it, till near the time that our Bleſſed Saviour came into the World; which was the time foretold by *Daniel* and the Prophets: And ſince that time, they have been perpetually ſetting up of *Falſe-Meſſiahs*, one after another, even to our times. Which ſhews plainly, that the time wherein our *Meſſiah* did come, was the time wherein he was generally expected by the *Jews*: And that then they underſtood their Law and their Prophets in the ſame ſenſe that we have done, as to the time of the *Meſſiah*'s coming; tho now they wou'd diſſemble it.

VII. I come now in the next place to conſider (what I have before hinted:) The excuſe that you have for the delay of your *Meſſiah*'s coming, beyond the time (as your ſelves have confeſs'd) which was foretold by the Prophets. And you have ſo little to ſay upon this point, that you only pretend your ſins have hindred his coming. This is a very bare, and looks like a guilty put-off. Surely it cannot ſatisfy your ſelves; for I pray you to conſider,

1. What are thoſe ſins you now complain of? They muſt be more than common ſins, that ſhould defeat ſo many expreſs and ſolemn Prophecies. And by your interpretation of *Iſaiah* LIII. (before ſpoke to) you pretend to be righteous and holy to a ſuperlative degree.

But what are thoſe Sins that ſhould prevent the coming of your *Meſſiah*? Are they greater than thoſe of which you were formerly guilty in the days of *Moſes*? And from that time to the captivity? (2 *Kin.* xvii. 7. to 24.) in the captivity, and after? (*Ezra* ix. *Neh.* ix. *Ezek.* xvi. *Dan.* ix. *Zech.* vii. and the whole Prophecy of *Malachi.*) No, you are not now ſo guilty of theſe Idolatries and vile Abominations; you have greatly reform'd your ſelves from theſe; and (excepting only your rejecting of your *Meſſiah*, and ſtanding out ſtill againſt him) you have not now, nor have had ſince his coming, more Sins to anſwer for, or more notorious, than other Men: So that this, of your ſuppoſing the coming of the *Meſſiah* to be delay'd for your Sins, ſeems only to be an excuſe, becauſe you can find no other.

Read Deut. ix.

Zech. xiii. 1. 2. The coming of the *Meſſiah* is promis'd as a Remedy for Sin. *In that day there ſhall be a Fountain opened to the Houſe of* David, *and to the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *for Sin, and for Uncleanneſs:* And what is before quoted, *Dan.* ix. 24. expreſſes the Deſign of his coming to be, *To make an end of Sins, and to make reconciliation for Iniquity.* So that our Sins are ſo far from being a reaſon for the deferring of his coming, that they are rather an argument for the haſtening of it. The Prophet *Jeremy* ſpeaking of the coming of the *Meſſiah*, and the condition of the *Jews* at that time, recites their moſt horrible Wickedneſs, and of *Judah* worſe than *Iſrael*, and promiſes the new Covenant of the *Meſſiah* as a Redemption to the Penitent; when God would give them *Paſtors according to his own Heart, which ſhould feed them with Knowledge and Underſtanding.* And to ſhew that this was not the renewing or reſtoring of the legal diſpenſation, but the leaving it behind for one more excellent, it is added, *In thoſe days, ſaith the Lord, they ſhall ſay no more, the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord; neither ſhall it come to mind, neither ſhall they remember it, neither ſhall they viſit it, neither ſhall that be done any more.* And this is the time of the great Wickedneſs of *Iſrael:* And this is according to the Tradition which your *Rabbi Juda* tells in *Maſoreta*, under the Title *de Synedrio, c. Helec.* that at the time of the coming of the Son of *David* the Temple ſhould be a Den of Thieves or unclean Perſons. And that this ſhould be a time of great Diſſoluteneſs is likewiſe deliver'd in your *Talmud, tit. de Synedrio, & de Ponderibus,* &c. and by ſeveral of your *Rabbies.* So that this excuſe of your *Meſſiah* delaying his coming becauſe of your Sins, is againſt your own

Jer. iii.

℣. 15.

℣. 16.

own Expoſitions and Traditions, as well as not only without any ground from, but contrary to the tenour of the holy Scriptures; which I come next to ſhew yet more expreſſly.

3. The Promiſes of the coming of the *Meſſiah* are not only poſitive, and without any condition, but the caſe is expreſſly put of the Sins of *David* or of his Poſterity; and there God declares, that tho' he will puniſh thoſe Sins, yet that becauſe of them he would not break or alter the Promiſe he had given concerning the coming of the *Meſſiah*. 2 Sam. vii. 14, 15, 16. Pſal. lxxxix. 30, 33, *to* 37.

4. But I have another Anſwer yet to give, and I beſeech you ſeriouſly to conſider of it: That is, whether it would not be as great a puniſhment to your Sins if God has blinded your eyes that you ſhould not know your *Meſſiah* when he came; and a much greater puniſhment than if his coming had been delay'd. And now conſider whether this be not the caſe. It has been plainly propheſy'd that your builders would reject the chief corner-ſtone. Pſal. cxviii. 22. That he ſhould be *for a ſtone of ſtumbling, and for a rock of offence to both the houſes of* Iſrael, *for a Gin, and for a Snare to the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem: *And that many among them ſhould ſtumble and fall, and be broken; and be ſnared, and be taken——Stay your ſelves and wonder, cry ye out, and cry: They are drunken, but not with Wine; they ſtagger, but not with ſtrong Drink: for the Lord hath poured out upon you the ſpirit of deep Sleep, and hath cloſed your Eyes: The Prophets, and your Rulers the Seers hath he covered; and the Viſion of all is become unto you as the Words of a Book that is ſeal'd.* Iſa. viii. 14, 15. Chap. xxix. 9, 10, 11. Is not this literally your Caſe? Are not your Prophets now to you, as a Book ſeal'd up? Do you underſtand by them when you are to expect your *Meſſiah*? Or what are the ſigns of his coming? No, they are all long ſince paſt, and you are left in the dark, in endleſs and and groundleſs expectation.

And in this method there is no breach of God's Promiſes, and yet his Judgments have their full ſcope, and there is ſtill room and hopes of his Mercy. When his time comes to open your eyes, then will you return to him, and he will turn to you. But even unto this day, when *Moſes* is read, the Veil covers his face from you, *i. e.* the true import and full end of the Law; which Veil is done away in *Chriſt:* For *Chriſt* is the end of the Law for Righteouſneſs to every one that believeth.

5. To avoid all the abſurdities of this pretence of yours, ſome of you have ſet up another notion, *viz.* that the *Meſſiah* did come at the time foretold by the Prophets, and has been in the World ever ſince, and is ſtill; but, for your Sins, conceals himſelf among the Lazars or Lepers that ſit at the gates of *Rome*, or elſewhere; others ſay that he is in * Paradiſe, but there fetter'd in a Woman's Hair: This we muſt ſuppoſe is by way of alluſion to *Sampſon* and *Dalilah*: Some of the *Rabbies* put a myſtical ſenſe upon this, meaning by the Woman's Hair in which the *Meſſiah* is tied, our evil concupiſcence, which retards his coming.

How horribly abſurd and ridiculous is this! Theſe ſort of ſtrain'd excuſes were enough to convert any Men of reaſon amongſt you: Beſides that they are contradictory, which ſhews one muſt be falſe; for the former pretence overthrows this, and this, if true, deſtroys that. But what foundation have you for this?

What Prophecies have you for ſuch a State of the *Meſſiah*?

What, was the end of his coming to keep himſelf conceal'd for ſixteen hundred years? And all that time to undergo ſo miſerable and wretched a Life as you would have him?

* Theodot. Hackſpan. *ubi ſupra.* p. 351.

How

How was his coming to be a Light to the *Gentiles* ſo often propheſy'd of, if the *Gentiles* have not heard of him from that time to this?

If he has undergone the ſtate of a Leper and a Beggar now for above 1700 Years; how do you object the afflictions and low eſtate of *Jeſus* for 33 Years, as inconſiſtent with the glorious ſtate of the *Meſſiah*?

But if he be come, and you know him not; and that this, you think, will ſolve all thoſe Prophecies concerning the time of his coming: Behold, your own conjecture truly fulfill'd. He is come, and you have not known him; while the *Gentiles* have been convinc'd by his Miracles, and ſubmitted to him, even to the uttermoſt parts of the Earth, as was expreſly propheſy'd of him.

Again, if you did not know him, what hinders but that you might likewiſe perſecute him? And why ſhould this ſeem a thing ſo impoſſible to you? Have ye not done the ſame to almoſt all of your own Prophets? You ſtoned *Zechariah* in the *Court of the houſe of the Lord*: You perſecuted *Jeremiah*, till the day that *Jeruſalem* was taken; And the hands of your Prieſts and your Prophets were chief in the purſuit of his blood, and after them the cry of all the People; as it was in your perſecution of your *Meſſiah*. How often did you rebel againſt *Moſes*, againſt *David*, againſt *Solomon*, againſt all your Prophets? How do they all complain againſt you? *Moreover all the chief of the Prieſts, and the People tranſgreſſed very much, after all the abominations of the Heathen; and polluted the houſe of the Lord, which he had hallow'd in* Jeruſalem: *And the Lord God of their Fathers ſent to them by his Meſſengers——But they mocked the Meſſengers of God, and deſpiſed his Words, and miſuſed his Prophets, until the wrath of the Lord aroſe againſt his People, till there was no remedy.* And now it has riſen a hundred fold more, ſince your deſpiſing and miſuſing of your *Meſſiah*. And your not knowing your *Meſſiah* was a juſt Judgment upon you for your rejecting and perſecuting all your former Prophets. *Elijah* complain'd that you had ſlain them all, every one of the Prophets, but himſelf alone; and he was forc'd to fly for his Life, and was miraculouſly preſerv'd. In the ſolemn confeſſion of the Prieſts and the *Levites*, and the Covenant which they and the Princes ſeal'd, they confeſs that they *ſlew the Prophets who teſtify'd againſt them, to turn them to the Lord.* This Branch was never forgot in all their confeſſions, for it was notorious; *We have not hearkned unto thy Servants the Prophets, which ſpake in thy Name, to our Kings, our Princes, and our Fathers, and to all the People of the land.* Why then ſhould it be thought a thing impoſſible with you, that you ſhould not hearken unto the laſt Prophet, the *Meſſiah*, who refus'd to hearken to any before him? Read all your provocations recorded, and then your preſent obſtinacy will not appear ſo ſtrange to you, or ſo totally diſproportionable to your former demeanour. It is ſaid, *Our Fathers underſtood not thy wonders in* Egypt; Then it is poſſible that you might not underſtand the wonders of your *Meſſiah*.

Your Fore-fathers kill'd the Prophets; and your Fathers built their Sepulchers: And you ſay, *If we had been in the days of our Fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets: Wherefore ye be witneſſes unto your ſelves, that ye are the Children of them who kill'd the Prophets.* And how have you *fill'd up the meaſure of your Fathers?* As our *Meſſiah* told you before-hand that you wou'd do: That he wou'd ſend you Prophets and Apoſtles, and that you wou'd ſlay and perſecute them: *That the blood of all the Prophets, which was ſhed from the foundation of the World, might be requir'd of your generation.* And how ſeverely has it been requir'd? Believe, in this, our *Meſſiah*

2 Chron. xxiv. 21.
Jer. xxvi. 8, 9.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 14, 15, 16.
1 King. xix. 10.
Neh. ix. 16.
Dan. ix. 6.
Pſal. cvi. ℣. 7.
Mat. xxiii. 29, 30, 31, &c.
Luke xi. 49, 50.

to have been a true Prophet; and that this laſt ſin of your crucifying him, and perſecuting his Apoſtles and Meſſengers whom he ſent unto you, has been greater, as it has been more grievouſly puniſh'd, than all your former Provocations: Of which that you may be more ſenſible (for it is a material conſideration) I invite you, as the laſt thing I ſhall ſay upon this Head, to make the compariſon betwixt your former Captivities and Sufferings, and that much more heavy hand of God which has lain upon you ſince your crucifying of your *Meſſiah*.

6. In the Book of *Judges* you are told of the ſeveral Captivities into which you were ſold for your repeated Idolatries: Firſt, into the hand of the King of *Meſopotamia*, for eight Years: Then, Secondly, after forty Years of Deliverance, unto the King of *Moab*, for eighteen Years. Thirdly, unto *Jabin*, King of *Canaan*, for twenty Years. Fourthly, into the hand of *Midian* for ſeven Years. Fifthly, of the *Philiſtines* and *Ammonites*, for eighteen Years. Sixthly, of the *Philiſtines*, for forty Years. The Seventh was the great and longeſt Captivity of ſeventy Years in *Babylon*: All theſe for your Idolatry. But, after this, you were cur'd of your Idolatry; and to this day have kept your ſelves in the greateſt abhorrence of it. And yet now, ſince your rejecting of our *Meſſiah*, and ſaying, *Let his Blood be upon us and our Children*, you have undergone not a bare Captivity, as in *Babylon*, where you were all together, and Prophets ſent amongſt you to comfort you, and aſſure you of a Reſtoration, and that in ſeventy Years; but a diſperſion over the face of the whole Earth; without a King, without any Prophet, as a People forſaken of God; and without a Temple or Sacrifice: And that not only for 70 or 700, but now almoſt 1700 Years. Judg. iii. 8, 11, 14. Ch. iv. 3. vi. 1. x. 8. xiii. 1.

And if this heavy Judgment be come upon you, for your not underſtanding the promiſes of God, and thereby hardning your ſelves againſt the clear proofs which your *Meſſiah* brought of his Miſſion; then is there no appearance of your being deliver'd, till you ſhall repent of this greater ſin, the rejecting and crucifying the *Meſſiah*, for which you are more grievouſly puniſhed than you were for your Idolatries.

The ingenious and learned *Jew* before-mention'd, anſwers to this,* That the Captivity of the ten Tribes, has been longer than that of the two Tribes: And it cannot be ſaid, that the Captivity or Diſperſion of the ten Tribes was for the rejecting of their *Meſſiah?* And therefore, that it cannot be concluded, that the leſſer puniſhment of the two Tribes was for a more heinous ſin (*viz.* of crucifying their *Meſſiah*) than that ſin (*viz.* of Idolatry) for which, principally, the ten Tribes were deliver'd to Captivity.

Anſw. Tho' the ten Tribes were ſent into Captivity about 120 Years before the two Tribes, yet their Captivity has not been ſo long. For as the temporal puniſhment of any Man ends with his Death; ſo the puniſhment of a Nation, as a Nation, ceaſes, when that Nation has loſt its name, and is ſcatter'd or incorporated itno other Nations. Particular Perſons who have deſcended of that Nation may ſuffer; but the Nation is no more, and ſo cannot be ſaid to ſuffer when it is extinct. As when a Regiment is broke, it is no more a Regiment, tho' the Soldiers are incorporated into other Regiments. Thus in Families, a Family is ſaid to be extinct when the Name is loſt, and there are none left to ſupport it; tho' all the particular Perſons of that Family may live under other Names, and in other Families. And thus it is, that the Families of the ten Tribes of *Iſrael* are long ſince loſt in the World; all the *Jews* now known being of

* Limbor. p. 99.

the Family of *Judah*, as diſtinct from *Iſrael*. So that the Family of *Judah*, conſiſting of the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, with the *Levites*, are ſtill preſerv'd to ſuffer, a viſible example of God's juſt Judgment and Indignation againſt them: The very names of all the other Tribes of *Iſrael* being ſo far loſt, as that not one of them is now known, nor does any *Jew* ſo much as pretend to be of any of thoſe Tribes.

Tho' it is very probable that many of the ten Tribes are incorporated (albeit they may not know it) into the two remaining Tribes, yet all go under the name of the two Tribes: And therefore the two Tribes are they only who are ſaid to ſuffer; as they only (and ſuch of the ten Tribes as
See Lam.iv.6. were then incorporated with them) were concern'd in the rejecting and crucifying of their *Meſſiah*.

But as the Puniſhment of the two Tribes has been ſo many hundred years continu'd longer than that of the ten Tribes, for this their greater ſin of crucifying their *Meſſiah*, ſo there was a plain and viſible reaſon for the, at firſt, greater Puniſhment of the ten Tribes. 1. They rebelled from under the Houſe of *David*. 2. They fell into Schiſm againſt the Houſe of *Aaron*, and ſet up new Prieſts of their own. 3. As a conſequence of both theſe they ſet up a falſe Worſhip, in the Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*; and return'd not from their Idolatry, their Schiſm, and Rebellion, till their extirpation.

And we may ſee a very legible Hand of God upon them, in great Judgments, all along from their revolt.

Judah had many bad Kings, but ſome eminently good.

Iſrael had a ſucceſſion only of nineteen Kings from their defection, among whom there was not one that was good.

And they were carry'd away captive one hundred and twenty years before the captivity of *Judah*.

But then the captivity of *Judah* having been continu'd ſo much longer than theirs (as before has been ſaid) ſwells up the Puniſhment of *Judah* now to exceed theirs, as their Sin in crucifying their *Meſſiah* has far exceeded all the Sins of the Houſe of *Iſrael*.

Let me add to this the many and miſerable Maſſacres and Deſtructions of the two Tribes ſince our Saviour under the ſeveral falſe *Meſſiahs* whom they ſet up; in one of which they ſuffer'd more than in either of the Deſtructions of *Jeruſalem*, by the *Chaldæans* or the *Romans*, as before has been ſhewn from their own confeſſions.

Now let us conſider, that at the Day of Judgment there is no repreſentation of Nations, but every Man ſuffers for his own Sin: National Judgments are only in this World.

And hence it is obſervable, that no wicked Nation has ever yet eſcap'd a national Judgment in this World: Tho' God may bear long with them, yet if they do not repent, by a national ſorrow and amendment, Judgment overtakes them even here: For no where elſe are there any national, either Mercies or Judgments.

And as all Nations have been wicked in their ſeveral degrees, ſo have they every one been ſeverally puniſh'd according to their demerits, even before the ſons of Men.

But there are no Judgments that have befallen any Nation ſo legible as what have been ſent upon your Nation; particularly upon the two Tribes. No Nation, ſince the Earth began, has been kept under ſo long a captivity and diſperſion; ſo wonderfully preſerv'd, ſo remarkably puniſh'd, and preſerv'd for Puniſhment. And, when God's time ſhall come, for a glorious Reſtoration, in the acknowledgment of your only true and divine *Meſſiah!*— O that this were the time!

But

But the learned * *Jew* has another Anſwer, *viz.* that the *Jews* have not been free from Idolatry ſince their return from the captivity of *Babylon*, nor are at this day; and therefore that the compariſon muſt fail which we draw betwixt the Puniſhments that have come upon them for their former Idolatries, and this ſixteen hundred years diſperſion, after they had forſaken their Idolatry; which, he ſays, they have not yet forſaken. He ſays †, that they have it in the utmoſt abomination, and avoid it whereever they can; but that for fear, or other baſe motives, very many of them have turn'd *Mahometans*, in all the Dominions of the *Turk*, in *Africa*, in *Aſia*, in *Perſia*, and *Arabia*. But tho' this be an Apoſtaſy, and forſaking of their Law, yet he does not charge it as Idolatry, becauſe the *Mahometans* do not worſhip God by Images. But then he returns upon the Chriſtians, and ſays, that ſince the Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*, multitudes of the *Jews* have, to avoid Perſecution, embrac'd the *Popiſh* Idolatry in divers Countries: And even in our own times (ſays he) we have freſh experiences of it: He names the whole *Neapolitan* Synagogue of *Barcelona*, and all the others in *Catalonia*, who turn'd to the Church of *Rome*: And in *Spain* and *Portugal* they have turn'd ſo faſt, that he ſays, *Ex* Judæis *apoſtatis fere omnes & Principes, Nobiles, & Populares, originem ducunt: Quod in iis Regionibus adeò notum, ut nemo dubitaverit*; i. e. *that almoſt all of them, Princes, Nobles, and Commons, are ſprung from apoſtate* Jews: *Which is ſo well known in thoſe Countries, as that none doubt of it: Notwithſtanding* (as he ſays) *for the obtaining of great places and honours, eſpecially eccleſiaſtical, they are oblig'd to renounce* Judaiſm, *and to bring certificates that they are not deſcended of the* Jews: *Which* (as we may eaſily believe him) *are attainable at that as well as other Courts, where Money is not wanting.* This indeed does plainly ſhew the ſuſpicion, at leaſt, that they are deſcended of the *Jewiſh* race. He ſays moreover, that many of their Clergy, Biſhops, and even of the Inquiſitors themſelves, are *Jews* in their hearts; and diſſemble Chriſtianity for the avoiding of Perſecution, and to gain Honours and Preferments; of whom (he ſays) ſome do repent and *fly*, as they can: And that *there are in* Spain *both Biſhops and the graveſt of their* Monks, *whoſe Parents, Brothers, and Siſters, do fly into this Countrey* (that is, into *Holland*) *that they may freely profeſs* Judaiſm. *That many of the* Fryars, Auguſtins, Franciſcans, Jeſuits, Dominicans, *have there, and in ſeveral other Countries, renounc'd their Idolatry, i. e.* of the Church of *Rome*. This, I ſuppoſe, he wou'd make an argument of their returning back to *Judaiſm*: but he does not deny that there are many chriſtian Countries who have thrown off the Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*, and yet do not *judaize*. But now, to conſider all this whole excuſe:

1. If many *Jews*, to avoid Perſecution, ſubmit to idolatrous practices; as this learned *Jew* confeſſes, that he himſelf had often bow'd the Knee to *Baal*, for which he begs God's Pardon; yet this is ſtill but the defection of particular perſons, and cannot be compared to thoſe national Idolatries, wherein their Kings, and Prieſts, and People did concur, of their own choice, without any force or compulſion; as were their many Idolatries before the captivity of *Babylon*, and none the like ſince: Their principles were then corrupted, but not ſince; for they confeſs that they have Idolatry in the greateſt abhorrence, tho' many of them cannot reſiſt unto Martyrdom.

2. But this learned *Jew* has afforded us a very material conſideration; for if all *Spain* and *Portugal*, or the greateſt part of them, and likewiſe many in other Countries, are deſcended of the ſtock of the *Jews*, this may let us in to conjecture what is become of the ten Tribes. It is certain they

* Limbor. p. 101. n. iv. † Ibid. p. 102.

are diſpers'd among other Nations: And tho' they have loſt their Name, and conſequently their Nation, yet their Poſterity muſt remain ſomewhere under other denominations. It is reaſonable to believe that many of them did return to *Judæa*, after the two Tribes were reſtor'd to their Countrey, and *Jeruſalem* and their Temple were built again: And conſequently are mix'd among them to this day. It will not be ſo eaſy, without this, to reconcile the vaſt numbers of the *Jews* that were deſtroy'd in the Seige of *Jeruſalem*, under their ſeveral falſe *Meſſiahs*; and that are now diſpers'd all over the World: From whence I make theſe inferences.

1. That many of the ten Tribes might be involv'd in the guilt of crucifying their *Meſſiah*, and ſtanding out againſt him unto this day, tho' all going then under the name of *Judah*, or the two Tribes; and conſequently ſharing with them in the Puniſhment.

2. If the *Spaniards*, *Portugueſe*, and other Chariſtians, are of the race of the *Jews*, they muſt be of the ten Tribes; ſo far at leaſt as they were mix'd with the two Tribes: And they turned more into other Nations than the two Tribes; becauſe they have loſt their Name and Nation, which only ſurvives in the two Tribes. Therefore the ten Tribes may be ſaid to be more converted to Chriſtianity than the two Tribes; who only, by name, of all the Tribes, perſiſt in their infidelity againſt *Chriſt* our Lord.

This will make the Puniſhment of the ten Tribes, for their Idolatry, Schiſm, and Rebellion, much leſs than that of the two Tribes, for the rejecting and crucifying of their *Meſſiah*; and this Sin of the two Tribes to be much greater than that of their own former Idolatries, as the Puniſhment of it has been many ways more remarkably tranſcendent: Which I pray God you may lay to heart as you ought.

Acts xxi. 20. vi. 7.

3. Many *Myriads* of the *Jews*, as well Prieſts as others, were converted to Chriſtianity, in the beginning of the Goſpel, upon conviction of what they themſelves had ſeen and heard: About three thouſand at one Sermon, five thouſand at another, *Multitudes both of Men and Women*. Theſe, with their Religion, loſt (in time) their Nation, or the name of *Jews*, having embrac'd that of Chriſtians in the ſtead of it: And their Poſterity are Chriſtians, tho' of the *Jewiſh* race.

Acts ii. 41. iv. 4. v. 14.

Now, by reaſonable computation, there are more of theſe Chriſtian *Jews* at this day in the World, than of all that are known by the name of *Jews*.

For the *Jews* were almoſt all cut off, and utterly extinct, in the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*: And more afterwards by *Adrian*, for the adhering to their *Falſe-Meſſiah Barcosbas*. And all that now go by the name of *Jews* are ſprung from the ſmall remainders that were left out of theſe deſtructions, like brands pluck'd out of the fire.

Whereas the Chriſtian *Jews* eſcap'd all theſe, and all that came upon the other *Jews*, for their ſeveral *Falſe-Meſſiahs* before-mention'd. And which is wonderfully obſervable, the Chriſtian *Jews* that were in *Jeruſalem* when it was beſieg'd, were ſav'd by a miraculous providence: The Seige being unaccountably rais'd for a ſhort time, till the Chriſtian *Jews*, taking hold of that warning of our *Saviour*, fled to *Pella*, a City in the Mountains; and thereby eſcap'd that dreadful overthrow, which ſwept away the unbelieving *Jews* that waited their fate in *Jeruſalem*. By this it appears, that the ſtock of the Chriſtian *Jews* has increas'd and ſpread much farther than that of the Infidel *Jews*; whoſe Tree was twice cut down by *Titus* and *Adrian* even to the ground, and left to ſpring again out of the old Root; beſides the many great loppings afterwards, under ſeveral others of their *Falſe-Meſſiahs*. Whereas the believing *Jews* have encreas'd and multiplied without any of theſe interruptions; and ſpread far and wide

Mat. xxiv. 16.

thro'

thro' the World. From whence we muſt conclude, that much the greateſt number of the *Jews* are converted, and have embrac'd the Chriſtian Faith; and by this means are deliver'd from that ſervitude and diſperſion, which now lies only, as a curſe, upon thoſe Infidel *Jews* who continue in their obſtinacy againſt the *Meſſiah*.

Let me here take notice of another paſſage in the place before-quoted of *Limborch*, where the learned *Jew*, ſpeaking of the defection of ſo many of the *Jews* to Idolatry, to Mahometiſm, *&c.* according to the Countries where they live, wiſhes the *Jews* were as good as this Argument of the Chriſtians wou'd ſuppoſe them, *viz.* That they had reform'd from their Idolatry ſince their return from the Captivity of *Babylon*, and were in other reſpects better than before, excepting that ſin of rejecting their *Meſſiah*, and perſiſting in it: Which this learned *Jew* will by no means allow; but, to avoid the force of this Argument, he makes the *Jews* now more wicked than ever. Upon which occaſion I wou'd mind you of your expoſition (before-mention'd) of the LIII. of *Iſaiah*, which makes them moſt holy and righteous, (ſee *p.* 40.) and that their diſperſion was for the converſion of the *Gentiles* by them; whereas now you may make them grow more and more wicked, and that they are corrupted every where with the Idolatries and Deluſions of the Nations, inſtead of converting them.

Theodor. Hackſpan, in his Book before quoted, p. 394. cites the *Jewiſh Rabbies* and *Talmud* making the ancient *Jews* much better than the modern: He quotes *Jalkut* upon the firſt of *Iſaiah*, and upon theſe Words, that *Righteouſneſs lodged in* Jeruſalem. R. *Juda*, F. R. *Simonis*, ſays, *That there was not a Man then to be found in* Jeruſalem, *in whoſe Hands any ſin was to be found.* But how was this? *The daily Morning Sacrifice did cleanſe the ſins of the Night*; *and the daily Evening-Sacrifice, the ſins of each Day*; *ſo that none was to be found in* Jeruſalem *upon whom there was any ſin.* Thus he. But of the *Jews*, after the daily-Sacrifice did ceaſe, it is ſaid in the *Talmud* by *Jochanan Maſſech. Joma*, cap. 1. That *a Nail of the former* Jews *was better than the whole Body of the after* Jews: Becauſe the daily Sacrifice was wanting, by which the former *Jews* were cleanſed.

See how vile the modern *Jews* are here made, ever ſince the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple! How vile this learned *Jew* here makes them! And this, that they might find an excuſe for the delay of the *Meſſiah* thus long after the time foretold by the Prophets.

But at another turn, when they apply what is ſaid of the ſufferings of the *Meſſiah* in the LIII. of *Iſaiah*, to their own preſent ſuffering ſtate; then they are *the righteous Servants of the Lord*, and *there is no deceit in their Lips!* Then do they apply to themſelves all that righteouſneſs, which is there ſpoken of the *Meſſiah!* At one time they are more vile than the Heathen among whom they are mix'd; at another time they are righteous above all that are on the Earth, and by their righteouſneſs the *Gentiles* are to be converted.

Theſe contradictory pretences, ſet up ſeverally as they are pinch'd, ſhew the deſperateneſs of their cauſe: Therefore I will labour this point no further, but proceed to another Topick.

VIII. It is ſtrange that you will adhere ſo obſtinately to the Letter of thoſe promiſes made to *Levi*, which yet you muſt acknowledge, are, (according to the Letter) and have been long broken; and yet ſo eaſily get over the Letter of the promiſes concerning the *Meſſiah*; which can never be fulfill'd but in the Perſon of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Eſpecially conſidering that in that famous Prophecy of the *Meſſiah*,

Pſal. cx. it is expreſly ſaid, that he ſhou'd be a Prieſt, not of the order of *Levi*, but of *Melchiſedec*. Here was a new Prieſthood; and a change of the Prieſthood does neceſſarily infer a change alſo of the Law. In your ſenſe of the promiſes to *Levi*, you make that promiſe of the future Prieſthood after another order, to be a contradiction to the promiſes made to *Levi*; but in our ſenſe, they both ſtand together, and the one fulfills and compleats the other. If you will admit no change of the *Levitical* Prieſthood, you muſt throw off the *Pſalms* of *David*, as well as the Goſpel of *Chriſt*. Then conſider, that the promiſe to the Prieſthood, of which *David* then propheſy'd, was confirm'd by an Oath, that God would not alter his Purpoſe, *I have ſworn and will not repent*: There was no Oath to the Prieſthood of *Levi*. Again, the Prieſthood of the *Meſſiah* was declar'd to be eternal: *Thou art a Prieſt for ever*. And the Type of this Prieſthood in *Melchizedec* was more noble than that of *Levi*; becauſe *Abraham* the Father of *Levi* and of all *Iſrael*, did pay an acknowledgment to the Prieſthood of *Melchizedec*, as ſuperior to his own, in paying of Tythes to *Melchizedec*, inſtead of receiving Tythes from him, and being bleſſed by *Melchizedec*, as his ſuperior.

When the flowing in of the *Gentiles* to the Church is deſcrib'd, it is writ-
Iſa. lxvi. 21. ten, *I will take of them for Prieſts and for Levites, ſaith the Lord*; or, if this were to be underſtood of the *Jews*, yet the Covenant with *Levi* would be at an end if the Prieſthood were enlarg'd to let in thoſe of other
Exod. xix. 6. Tribes. And it is promis'd, *ye ſhall be to me a Kingdom of Prieſts*. This could not be under the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation, but it is under the evangelical; where the Prieſthood, which is deſign'd to ſerve the whole Earth, is not, it cannot be confin'd to one Family, or Tribe, or Nation: And ſo the whole Kingdom of God, which is the whole World, as they that are made capable of the Covenant of Grace, ſo alſo of the Prieſthood.

And if the whole *Gentile* World were gather'd unto you, (as you expect) then ſurely one Tribe of *Levi* would not be ſufficient for Prieſts to them all: So that according to your own expectation there muſt be a change. And yet,

IX. Your great objection is, that God cannot alter any thing that he has once ordain'd. It is true, God is immutable, and cannot change; and what he ordains muſt anſwer the ends for which he has ordain'd it: He does not always tell us what thoſe ends are, and therefore we cannot always tell when they are accompliſh'd. But when he pleaſes to make known to us the ends for which he has ordain'd ſuch things, what it is they tend to, and when they are to be accompliſh'd; then when they are accompliſh'd at the time he has nam'd, to think this any breach of Promiſe or Alteration in God, which is the higheſt proof of his Veracity and Unchangeableneſs, is a great weakneſs in our underſtandings, and our great unhappineſs when this betrays us to oppoſe and fight againſt the Counſel of God, and forfeit our ſhare in his glorious Diſpenſations, all ordain'd to bring us to Bliſs.

1. This objection of yours, which keeps you from Chriſtianity, is that which has divided the *Samaritans* from you. They ſtick to the inſtitutions given to the Fathers, to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; and think that what was after commanded to *Moſes*, cannot alter what God had before
Joh. iv. 20. appointed. *Our Fathers worſhipped in this Mountain*, (ſaid the Woman of *Samaria* to our *Meſſiah*) *and ye ſay that in* Jeruſalem *is the place where Men ought to worſhip*. Our Lord determin'd the caſe on your ſide, againſt the *Samaritans*, and ſaid that *Salvation is of the* Jews: But by the ſame argument that you can defend your ſelves againſt the *Samaritans*, you muſt yield up the cauſe to the Chriſtians; for if God could alter his inſti-

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tutions from what he gave to the Fathers, to what he commanded by *Moſes*, why not from what he commanded by *Moſes*, to what he inſtituted by *Chriſt*?

2. If you ſay, that the argument will run on to all changes, as from what he inſtituted by *Chriſt*, to what it is pretended he a-new reveal'd to *Mahomet*, and ſo on to the end of the World; and then nothing can be certain:

I anſwer, That *Mahomet* could not prove his pretended Revelations by thoſe marks as *Moſes* and *Chriſt* did; and they only, as ſhewn in the firſt part of this Diſcourſe: And we may ſafely venture all the Impoſtures in the World to counterfeit theſe Marks, and to believe them, if they can.

But in the next place, *Chriſt* was foretold by *Moſes*: Yea and all the Prophets that follow after, as many as have ſpoken, have likewiſe foretold of theſe days in which our *Meſſiah* came into the World, and fulfill'd all that they had propheſy'd of him: So that the Goſpel is a confirmation and fulfilling of the Law, and bears witneſs to it. Deut. xviii. 18.

But tho' the *Alcoran* does acknowledge both the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, and ſo far bears witneſs to them; yet it cannot ſhew that *Mahomet* was foretold either by *Moſes* or *Chriſt*, or by any of the Prophets: Nay, *Chriſt* has told that he is the laſt, and none to come after him; and therefore gives us caution to believe none ſuch: So that the *Alcoran* is in direct oppoſition both to the Law and the Goſpel.

If *Moſes* had ſaid that he himſelf was the laſt that God would ſend, then could not you expect any *Meſſiah* to come: But ſince *Moſes* has told us of a Prophet that God would ſend after him, and commanded all to hear him, and threatens God's Judgments upon thoſe who will not hearken to the Words of God which he ſhall tell them; what difficulty ſhould you make to hearken unto him, who has come with the ſame Atteſtation and Seal of God as *Moſes* himſelf did? Deut. xviii. 19.

3. If you ſay, that you are forbidden, *Deut.* xiii. to truſt even Miracles againſt what *Moſes* commanded: That Scripture ſhall be conſidered by and by, and it will be ſhewn, that it extends only as to the worſhip of falſe Gods; and that they are not true but ſeeming miracles that are there ſpoke of.

But your *Talmud*, (*tit. de Synedrio*) gives this as a ſtanding rule, that *any command whatſoever may without ſcruple be tranſgreſs'd by the command of a Prophet*; that is, who works Miracles to atteſt his Miſſion.

This is to be underſtood of thoſe commands which ſtand only upon poſitive precepts of God's inſtitution, and have not a moral, which is an indiſpenſable obligation, in their own nature.

And of this there are many examples in Scripture, even where no Miracles were wrought to warrant them; but they gave place oft-times to caſes of neceſſity and publick good.

How oft have the treaſures of the Temple, which were hallowed, being dedicated to God, and the very Gold upon the Doors and Pillars of the Temple, been given to heathen and idolatrous Kings (when other treaſure there was none) to procure peace to the Kingdom upon great emergencies? And no cenſure paſt upon this?

David, in a caſe of neceſſity, eat of the hallowed Bread, and thoſe who were with him, of which it was not lawful for any but the Prieſts to eat; and was blameleſs. 1 Sam. xxi.

The command of the Sabbath was tranſgreſs'd as oft as the eighth day for the circumciſion of a Child fell upon that day.

Joſhua, and all the Men of War, compaſs'd *Jericho* on the Sabbath-day. Joſh. vi.

Circumciſion (ſo poſitively commanded) was omitted forty years in the Wilderneſs. Chap. vi. 5.

Samuel

1 Sam. vii. 7, 17. *Samuel* ſacrificed at *Mizpeh*, and built an Altar at *Ramah*, neither of which was the place that God had appointed; which was contrary to the general command, *Deut.* xii. 13, 14. And, beſides, *Samuel* was no *Levite*, and therefore it was death for him to offer Sacrifice, by *Numb.* xviii. 7.

1 King. xviii. 38. The ſame did *Elijah*, (who was not a *Levite*) and had God's approbation by a great Miracle then ſhewn.

Deut. xii. 5, 6. Pſal. lxxviii. 60. The place of which *Moſes* ſpoke, that God would *chuſe to put his Name there*, was eſtabliſh'd at *Shiloh*, which bore the Name of the *Meſſiah*, and was called the *Tabernacle which God had pitched among Men.* It remained there from the days of *Joſhua* to *Samuel*, about four hundred and fifty years: And thither they brought their Tythes, Sacrifices, &c. and

1 Sam. i. 3, 7. came up *yearly* to *worſhip*, as *Moſes* had commanded, *to the Houſe of the Lord*, which was there.

Yet this was alter'd by the authority of *David* and *Solomon*; who ſet it up at *Jeruſalem*, and moreover, made ſeveral changes in the courſes of the Prieſts and the *Levites*, and other parts of the Worſhip of God, which

Numb. iv. 3, 23. *Moſes* had commanded; particularly as to the time of the *Levites* Service, which, by the commandment of *Moſes*, was from the age of thirty to fifty:

1 Chron. xxiii. 27. But this, *by the laſt words of David*, was alter'd, and they were to begin their Service at the age of twenty. And the reaſon is there given, becauſe the manner of their Service was changed, not being ſo laborious as when they were to carry the Tabernacle upon their ſhoulders: The practice of which ceas'd

Joſh. xviii. 1. 1 Sam. i. 7. iv. 3. when the Houſe of the Lord was built at *Shiloh*, after the conqueſt of *Canaan*; for then the Ark was fixed, and all the Tribes repair'd to it at *Shiloh*, and it was not carry'd about with them from place to place as formerly: Yet this alteration of the age of the *Levites* Service was not made

Ezra iii. 8. till the time of *David*, but ſerv'd ever after.

And there was no Prophecy going before to warrant theſe changes; nor had *Moſes* ſpoke any thing of them.

Deut. xviii. 15, 18, 19. But he ſpoke expreſly of the *Meſſiah*, and imply'd changes to be made by him: For he gives ſtrict charge to *hearken to what he ſhould command*; and threatens God's Judgments to thoſe who ſhou'd refuſe. Now what occaſion was there for this, if he had no more in commiſſion than *Moſes* had, and were to command nothing more or leſs than *Moſes* had done? If he were only to reinforce what *Moſes* commanded; that was the buſineſs of leſſer Prophets, and wou'd make him leſs than *Moſes*; which I ſuppoſe none of you will ſay.

But beſide *Moſes*, we have the joint voice of all the Prophets, which do in expreſs terms declare, that the *Meſſiah* would make great changes from what *Moſes* commanded, and introduce a much more glorious ſtate into

Iſa. lxv. 17. lxvi. 22. lxv. 15. the Church; which *Iſaiah* expreſſes by new Heavens, and a new Earth; and tells us, that at that time, God wou'd throw off the *Jews*, and make others his choſen; *And ye* (ſays God to your Nation) *ſhall leave your Name for a curſe to my choſen; for the Lord God ſhall ſlay thee, and*

Jer. iii. 16. *call his Servants by another Name.* And, *In thoſe days, ſaith the Lord, they ſhall ſay no more, The Ark of the Covenant of the Lord; neither ſhall it come to mind, neither ſhall they remember it, neither ſhall*

Chap. xxxi. 31, 32. *See* Ezek. xvi. 61. *they viſit it, neither ſhall that be done any more. Behold the days come, ſaith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the Houſe of* Iſrael, *and with the Houſe of* Judah; *not according to the Covenant that I made with their Fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the Land of* Egypt.

Not by thy Covenant.

And it is told that the *Meſſiah* ſhould be a Prieſt, but not of the Order of *Levi*, as before ſhewn. And, as your Prieſthood, ſo it is ſaid, that God wou'd reject and put an end to your Sacrifices, and bring in their

place

place the great and only expiatory Sacrifice of the *Meſſiah*. *Sacrifice and offering thou didſt not deſire; Burnt-offering and Sin-offering haſt thou not required:* What then? *A Body haſt thou prepared me,* (ſays the *Meſſiah*) *and lo I come, to do thy Will, O God: In the Volume of the Book it is ſo written of me.* Pſal. xl. 6, 7.

Thus it is written of the *Meſſiah*, and of the changes which he was to introduce: Yet you will have none of them, becauſe they are changes; tho' you make no ſcruple of the changes by *David*, *Solomon*, and others, of which there were no Prophecies: Nor did they atteſt their *Miſſion*, as our *Meſſiah* has done, by ſuch a multitude of Miracles, and of ſuch a wonderful nature, as never before were ſhewn upon the Earth.

Nay, you your ſelves have made alterations, without the command of any Prophet that you can produce, or of any Miracles to warrant you. For you are commanded not to add to what *Moſes* commanded, as well as not to diminiſh: Yet how many Traditions of your Elders do you obſerve, that were never commanded by *Moſes?* As the waſhing of Pots and Cups, *&c.* Neither is that all; for you have Traditions quite contrary to the Laws of God, and which render them of none effect. *Moſes* ſaid, *Honour* (that is, ſupport) *your Father and Mother:* But ye ſay, if a Man has made a voluntary *Corban* or Gift of what he has, tho' in reverſion, to the Temple, or other uſe of your Law; he is free from that part of the fifth Command, which you have thus enervated by your Tradition. And many other ſuch like things do ye. Nay, you have laid an eternal fund of Traditions to vie with the written Law: Theſe you ſuppos'd deliver'd to *Moſes*, and by him orally convey'd to your Elders, of which they have the keeping, and their ſtock is inexhauſtible. And theſe you make of equal Authority to the written Law. Deut. iv. 2. ℣. 32. xii. 32. Joſh. i. 7. Prov. xxx. 6.

What Prophet or Miracle had you for changing of the poſture in eating the Paſſover, ſo poſitively commanded, *Exod.* xii. 11? Yet after you were at reſt in *Canaan*, you made your own conſtruction upon the equity of the Command, and releas'd your ſelves from the trouble of that manner of eating it.

You likewiſe added a *Poſt-Cœnium* to it, which you obſerv'd with as much ſtrictneſs as the Paſſover it ſelf.

You added Baptiſm to Circumciſion. And ſeveral other things which were not commanded in your Law.

Yet you reject your *Meſſiah*, becauſe you ſay, he made alterations in the ordinances which *Moſes* deliver'd.

X. From what has been ſaid, I hope it will not be a difficult task to remove from you all ſcruple as to that Maſter Objection, which you moſt inſiſt upon, grounded upon the xiii. of *Deut.* ℣. 1, 2, 3. where it is ſaid, *If there ariſe among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreams, and giveth thee a Sign or a Wonder, and the Sign or the Wonder come to paſs, whereof he ſpake unto thee, ſaying, Let us go after other gods (which thou haſt not known) and let us ſerve them: Thou ſhalt not hearken unto the words of that Prophet, or that Dreamer of Dreams; for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your Heart and with all your Soul.* From hence you wou'd infer, that you are not to believe our *Meſſiah*, let his Miracles be never ſo great, becauſe he ſeeks to turn you after other Gods.

Anſw. 1. The Sign or Wonder here mention'd, is not any true and real Miracle; but only telling of ſomething which might afterwards come to paſs. And this has happen'd, and may happen many times by chance, which yet may ſeem a Wonder to the People, and it is only againſt theſe

falſe and ſeeming Miracles that God here guards his People; which he ſometimes permits for the trial of their Faith. Therefore obſerve the Word Miracle is not us'd here, only a Sign, a Wonder, or a Dream.

But none can work a true and real Miracle but God: And it cannot without the higheſt Blaſphemy be ſuppos'd, that God would work a Miracle, on purpoſe to ſet his Seal to a Lie. If this were poſſible, it would deſtroy all revelation; for how cou'd we know when it were true or falſe? Therefore where there can be no doubt as to the Miracle, there can be no ſcruple as to the Revelation which that is brought to atteſt.

Now the Miracles of our *Jeſus* were ſuch as that there can be no manner of doubt concerning them: The moſt harden'd *Deiſt* upon the face of the Earth, if he allow'd the matters of fact, would grant them to be true and real Miracles. And you muſt either allow them to be ſuch, or throw off all thoſe of *Moſes*, which were neither ſo great, nor ſo many.

This is the firſt Anſwer I give, which concerns the nature of the Sign or Wonder that is ſpoke of *Deut.* xiii. The next Anſwer is concerning that thing for which ſuch a Sign, or Wonder, or Dream, is produc'd; and that is, *to go and ſerve other Gods.* And as to this, conſider,

2. What are theſe Gods here ſpoke of? It is told, ℣. 7. *Namely, the Gods of the People which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, from the one end of the Earth, even unto the other end of the Earth*; that is, all the Gods of the Heathen World: And againſt all theſe our *Jeſus* is as ſevere as your *Moſes*, and confirms this very Text, and all that *Moſes* commanded againſt them. They are called Devils over and over again. And Chriſtianity, wherever it has come, has rooted out all the *Pagan* Idolatry more than ever the Law has done.

1 Cor. x. 20, 21.

Obj. 1. If you ſay that our *Jeſus* would have Men to worſhip himſelf. *Firſt*, That is none of the Gods mention'd in this place of *Deuteronomy*; for you will not ſay that any of the Heathen did worſhip the *Meſſiah*. *Secondly*, You do not refuſe Worſhip to the *Meſſiah*: *David* call'd him Lord, and ſaid of him, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever*—— And *God, even thy God, hath anointed thee*—— And ſays to the *King's Daughter* (that is, the Church) *he is thy Lord, and worſhip thou him.* And God calls him his Fellow or Aſſociate, and commands all the Kings of the Earth to *kiſs* (that is, to worſhip) *the Son* (for that was an act of Worſhip.) And *David* ſpeaks of him (which can be apply'd to *Solomon* no otherwiſe than as he was a Type of the *Meſſiah*) *They ſhall fear thee as long as the Sun and Moon endure, throughout all Generations*—— *He ſhall have Dominion from Sea to Sea, and unto the Ends of the Earth*—— *All Kings ſhall* worſhip, or *fall down before him*; *all Nations ſhall ſerve him*——*Prayer ſhall be made ever unto him*; or, he ſhall ever be adored—— *All the Nations of the Earth ſhall be bleſſed in him, and all the Heathen ſhall praiſe him.* Theſe are the very Epithets given to the *Meſſiah* (and can belong properly to no other) who is called the *Deſire of all Nations*; and that *in him all the Nations of the Earth ſhould be bleſſed*; and *to him ſhall the gathering of the* Gentiles *be:* Which is to *Chriſt* our *Jeſus*, but was not to *Solomon*, unleſs in a very low ſenſe, as he was greatly fam'd for his Wiſdom, which made him much reſpected by many of the Heathen; but they had no relation to him, nor were gather'd unto him as their King or their Saviour, as they are now to our *Jeſus*, whom *Solomon* did but faintly repreſent: And if you ſhould apply the Worſhip before-mentioned to *Solomon*, then ſurely, much more to the *Meſſiah*. So that the Worſhip of him is eſtabliſh'd in your own Scriptures, and comes no way within the prohibition of *Deut.* xiii. which reſpects only the Worſhip of the heathen Deities. Let me add here what your *Talmud* (*tit. de Synedrio*) ſays, that

Pſal. cx. 1.
Pſal xlv. 6, 7, 11.
Zech. xiii. 7.
Pſal. ii. 12.
Job xxxi. 27.
1 Kings xix. 18.
Hoſ. xiii. 2.
Pſal. lxxii. 5, 8, 11, 15, 17.
Hag. ii. 7.
Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. xxii. 18. xlix. 10.

Jeſus is not the Name of any Idol, nor can be reckoned ſuch, when the Chriſtians do refer the honour they pay to him, to God the Creator of all. And (*tit. Schebuoth & Shabbath*) agrees with *Rabbi Solomo*, who upon *Gen.* xxii. 18. does acknowledge, that God might take upon him human Nature, and thinks that he had done it, for a time. And the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe (upon *Hoſea* i. 7. and other places) calls the *Meſſiah* the *Word of God*, the ſame that our St. *John* calls him, (*Joh.* i. 1, *&c.*) And your *Talmud* upon *Taanith*, ſays from *Iſa.* xxv. 9. that at that time God would be pointed at and ſhewn even with the Finger.

The above-quoted *Pſalms*, which ſpeak of the Worſhip of the *Meſſiah*, are own'd to refer to the *Meſſiah*. The ſecond *Pſalm* by *David Kimchi*, *Abraham Eſdra*, *R. Jonathan* in *Bereſhith rabba*, and that moſt learned *Rabbi Saadia*, who owns the ſame of *Pſalm* cx. as the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe does of *Pſalm* XLV.

But there needs not atteſtations: For theſe Scriptures are expreſs'd in ſuch a ſtrain, as may indeed be accommodated, at an infinite diſtance, to tranſactions here below; but cannot be properly apply'd, nor verify'd of any but the *Meſſiah*: And ſome are ſuch as can in no way be adapted to any other. What other did *David* call his Lord? What other claims the Worſhip of all the Kings upon the Earth? Whoſe Kingdom but his is without end? And extends to the *uttermoſt part of the Earth?* All which, in the ſecond *Pſalm* is given to the *Son*, but was not given to *David*. Neither was it given to *David* that his fleſh ſhould not ſee corruption, as it is promis'd, *Pſal.* xvi. 9, 10. but was verify'd of none that ever enter'd the grave, except only of our *Meſſiah*.

Obj. 2. You urge our doctrine of the holy Trinity as inferring plurality of Gods; and ſo to be brought within the prohibition, *Deut.* xiii. But you cannot ſay that this is any of the Gods of the Heathen, who only are expreſs'd in that command: When we profeſs to worſhip none other but that one only God, who ſpoke to your Fathers in *Horeb*, out of the midſt of the Fire; and we deteſt all thoughts of any other God. Our great *Meſſiah* taught us this to be the *firſt of all the Commandments*, that *the Lord our God is one Lord.* And all expoſitions of the bleſſed *Trinity*, or inferences from it, that do in the leaſt interfere with this, we condemn as impious and heretical. Mark xii. 29.

But whether this one moſt ſimple and un-compounded Nature of God may not be communicated to three eternal Perſons, without either confuſion of the Perſons, or dividing of the Subſtance, does in no way interfere with the Unity of the Nature; becauſe this very hypotheſis does ſuppoſe the Unity of the Nature in the ſtricteſt ſenſe that is poſſible. And if we ſhould be under great difficulty (as how can it be otherwiſe?) in explaining ſuch an unfathomable Myſtery, yet can it not infer Poly-theiſm upon us, while we are ready to part with all rather than to admit of that.

You know we bring many proofs for this out of your Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, (ſome are nam'd hereafter) and you cannot infer from hence that we do not own theſe Scriptures, (nay this is a proof that we do own them) only that we do not underſtand them aright. And if you ſhould prove againſt us that we do not rightly underſtand (who does?) the divine incomprehenſible Nature, while we contend as earneſtly as you for the neceſſity of its Unity, you cannot charge us with Poly-theiſm for our miſtake in other matters: And therefore this can never come under the prohibition of *Deut* xiii.

I ſay not this that I would wave entring with you upon this ſubject; but there is not room for it in this ſhort Eſſay: It wou'd require a diſcourſe by itſelf. All that I am at preſent concern'd in, is to ſhew you, that this can

be

be no cauſe for your rejecting of our *Meſſiah*. There are ſome call'd Chriſtians who ſay that we have miſtaken our *Meſſiah* in this point; but I would be loath to clear you from the objection by that method: Only thus much it ſhews you, that if we have miſtaken the Goſpel, ſo have we the Law too, as to the doctrine of the holy Trinity: And this can be no more an argument that we ſet up Poly-theiſm againſt the Law, than againſt the Goſpel, which as ſtrongly aſſerts the Unity of God as the Law, and confirms all that the Law ſays of it. Therefore if you reject the Goſpel becauſe we would infer a Trinity from thence, you muſt upon the ſame account reject the Law too. If our inferences are not juſt, the Goſpel is cleared as well as the Law; and if our arguments do hold, then the Law does infer a Trinity as well as the Goſpel.

Nor is it we Chriſtians alone that would infer a Trinity from your Law, your own Cabaliſts do diſtinguiſh God into three Lights; and ſome of them call them by the ſame Names as the Chriſtians, of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and yet ſay that this does not at all break the Unity of God. Your famous *Philo* expreſſes the ſame in many places: Upon the *Sacrifices of* Cain *and* Abel, he ſays, That *God was accompany'd with his two ſupreme Virtues of Power and Goodneſs: And that God being one, did produce, out of his clear Mind, three Operations, of which each is unmeaſurable or infinite; for that his Powers are unlimitable.* And in his ſecond Book of the *Husbandry of* Noah, he diſtinguiſhes theſe into τὸ ὄν, τὸ δεσποτικὸν, τλεω ἵλεω δύναμιν, i. e. *Being, Power,* and *Goodneſs.* In his *Allegories* he calls the Word by the Name of God, and the Maker of the World, or the great Inſtrument of God, whereby he made the World, the ſame as our Goſpel, *Joh.* i. 3. And in his Book before quoted of Husbandry, he calls the Word by the ſame name as we do, *Heb.* i. 3. Χαρακτὴρ, the *expreſs Image of God. Moſes* the Son of *Nehemannus* calls him the *Angel, the Redeemer*, who is called the *Face of God*; that is, ſays he, *God himſelf*, the ſame that appeared to *Jacob* at *Bethel*, and ſaid to *Moſes* in the Buſh, *I am the God of thy Father*, &c. the Lord that ſhould come to his Temple; and the *Angel of the Covenant* prophefy'd of *Mal.* iii. 1. *Maimonides* in his Book of *Foundations*, and after him *Joſeph Albo*, diſtinguiſh in God. *Firſt*, That which knows. *Secondly*, That which is known. *Thirdly*, The knowledge it ſelf.

But I will not detain you here with quotations; our *Euſebius*, in his Book of the *Preparation of the Goſpel*, p. 327. tells you that all your Rabbies, *after the God of all and his Firſt born Wiſdom, do join into the ſame divine Nature a third, whom they call the Holy Ghoſt, by whom your inſpir'd Perſons were enlightened.* And you do all generally agree, that this Holy Spirit was not any thing that was created; and yet you diſtinguiſh it from him that ſent it. Your *Rabbi* tells us that in the Word *Elohim* there are three degrees, each diſtinct by its ſelf, yet all one; join'd in one, yet not divided from one another.

And, as you make that Holy Spirit which inſpir'd the Prophets, not to be a Creature, yet diſtinct from him who ſent him: So you make what you call the *Schekinah* to be a Divine thing; and diſtinguiſh it not only from God, but from that Holy Spirit. As in your *Jeruſalem Gemara*, of *Documents*, chap. 3. And the *Babyloniſh Gemara, tit. Joma*, cap. 1. Your *R. Jonathan*, in the Preface *Ecka Rabthi*, ſays, That the *Schekinah* waited three Years and a half upon Mount *Olivet*, expecting the Converſion of the *Jews*.

Luk xxi. 37. xix. 29. This was the place where our *Jeſus* (the true *Schekinah*) made his abode: And whence he rode into *Jeruſalem*, to accompliſh his bleſſed

Luk. xiii. 7. Paſſion. And the time of his preaching, was about three Years. So long he

he ſaid, he wou'd bear with the obſtinate *Jews*. This may be apply'd, as to what your High-Prieſt ſaid, tho' himſelf knew not the true import of it. Joh. xi. 51.

Now then, all theſe fore-cited Teſtimonies to the holy Trinity, whether of *Jews* or Chriſtians, are not the ſetting up of any other God, but only ſearching into the nature of that God whom we acknowledge: As, to give an example (tho' any parallel to God muſt be at an infinite diſtance) we argue three great Faculties in our Soul, the Underſtanding, the Memory, and the Will; and that theſe may be underſtood, without either confuſion of the faculties, or diviſion of the ſubſtance of the Soul. And ſuppoſe that ſome ſhou'd object, that this was making of three Souls. I ſay, that whatever the conſequence might be from this *Hypotheſis*, yet that no Man cou'd be juſtly charg'd with holding three Souls in Man, who profeſs'd that he held but one. We are not to be charged with the conſequences of an opinion, ſo as to infer that we do not hold that opinion: For we may not ſee all the conſequences of what we hold. Therefore tho' three Faculties ſhou'd infer three Souls, yet cannot he who holds three Faculties, be charg'd with holding of three Souls, while he does but hold one Soul; and thinks that the contrary, does not follow from his holding of three Faculties in the ſame Soul.

Thus, tho' three Perſons did infer three Gods: Yet does not he hold three Gods, who holds three Perſons in one and the ſelf ſame God.

If you ſay, that this will excuſe all Idolatry, as of thoſe who worſhipped the Sun, *&c.* becauſe of God's ſuppos'd reſidence there: I anſwer, no; becauſe ſuppoſing of that reſidence, yet it wou'd be Idolatry to worſhip the Sun, or any thing elſe, merely becauſe of God's reſidence in it. As you wou'd have thought it Idolatry to have worſhip'd the Temple, or the cloud of Glory, becauſe of God's ſpecial preſence, which was there afforded.

But they did not think it to be Idolatry, was it therefore none? No, our thoughts cannot alter the nature of things: And there are ſins of ignorance. None ever confeſs'd, no, nor I believe, thought himſelf to be an Idolater: For then, it muſt be ſuppos'd, that he would not continue in it. But he that adores one God in three Perſons (ſuppoſing him miſtaken in his judgment) comes not under either of the branches of Idolatry. *Firſt*, Of a falſe Object. *Secondly*, Of a falſe manner of Worſhip. For the manner, there is no pretence: That conſiſts in the Worſhip of God by Images (which he has forbidden) whether artificial, of our own making; or natural, by any Creature of God's making; as any of the Hoſt of Heaven, Sun, Moon, or Stars; or any thing here below, as of Men, Birds, Beaſts, Fiſh, *&c.* tho' the Worſhip be referr'd to God, as repreſented by them; or from his ſuppos'd reſidence or preſence in them. This is Idolatry in the manner of our Worſhip. But nothing of this can be apply'd to the three Perſons, which are ſuppos'd to be God himſelf. This was your Idolatry in the golden Calf; which you did not take to be God himſelf, that you your ſelves had made; nor could ſuch folly be ſuppos'd in your *Solomon*, as to think the Images he made, to be that God that made him. This was the Idolatry forbidden in the ſecond Command.

Then, for the firſt Command, which relates to the object of Worſhip. If that be taken for ſetting up any Creature as the ſupreme Being; or giving divine Honour to Angels or other Miniſters of God, as inferior or middle Deities, betwixt the ſupreme Being and us, as the *Heathens* thought their *Dæmons*, whom therefore they call'd *Dii Medioxumi:* In neither of theſe ſenſes, can Idolatry be apply'd to the three Perſons ſuppos'd to be in the Divine Nature. For 1. They are not Creatures: Nor 2, any inferior Deities; nor ſo ſuppos'd to be; but all equally to partake of the ſame

one Divine Nature; as the three Faculties do of the ſame one and indiviſible Soul. And therefore whatever miſtake may be ſuppos'd in the *Hypotheſis*, yet it cannot come under any notion of Idolatry. And no otherwiſe can the Worſhip, or paying of Divine Honour to the Son or *Meſſiah* (already prov'd) be excus'd from Idolatry, than by acknowledging him to be the Word of God (as you your ſelves have call'd him) that is, one of the Divine Perſons in the Godhead. And this does avoid all notion of Idolatry in the Worſhip of him; and can no ways come under that prohibition of *Deut.* xiii. againſt worſhipping of the falſe Gods of the *Heathen*. You lay not this to the charge of your own *Talmud* and *Rabbies*; who give the ſame expoſitions of your Scriptures as we do. And you know how many of them do think, that a plurality of Powers in the one nature of God is intimated in the very Name of God, *Elohim*, which is the Plural Number; and in theſe Texts, among many others of the Old Teſtament. *Gen.* I. 1, 26. III. 22. XIX. 24. *Pſal.* XLV. 6, 7. LXVIII. 18. CX. 1. *Iſai.* IX. 6. XLVIII. 16. *Jer.* XXIII. 6. *Mich.* X. 2. *Zech.* II. 8, 9. III. 2. XII. 10. Now may we not reaſon upon theſe Texts, as you have done, without imputation of Polytheiſm? And ſo of the Texts in the Goſpel? And when you come to embrace the Goſpel, (which God ſend) we will reaſon with you, as with ſome amongſt our ſelves, upon what proofs are there, anſwerable to, and explanatory of thoſe Texts in the Old Teſtament, which favour the Doctrine of the holy Trinity; and then, and not till then, will be the proper time to enter with you, at large, upon this Controverſy.

But what I have now ſaid, I hope, will be ſufficient to remove all ſcruple from you againſt the Goſpel, from that Text of *Deut.* XIII.

And then that other Text. *Deut.* XVIII. 19. will look very terribly upon you, that whoever ſhould not hearken to the *Meſſiah*, when he came, God wou'd require it of him. And you feel it ſeverely, that God has requir'd it.

3. But to put an end to this objection from *Deut.* XIII. the *Jews* have yielded it; if they will allow that learned *Jew* who diſputed with *Limborch* to give their true ſenſe: And that according to their own *Talmud* before-quoted (*tit. De Synedrio*) which ſays, *That any Command may be tranſgreſſed, by the Command of a Prophet*, i. e. who can work Miracles to prove his Miſſion.

And ſays that learned *Jew**, *If* Chriſt, *after he roſe from the Dead, had publickly ſaid to the whole Congregation of* Iſrael; *Hear, O* Iſrael, *I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of* Egypt; *and now have redeemed you from a greater captivity of ſin; whom you have ſacrilegiouſly put to Death: Abſque dubio* (ſays he;) *without doubt, all* Iſrael *had believ'd, even to this preſent day. Nor had there been room left for any doubt, or ſuſpicion.* Thus he; and he thereby yields, that ſuch a Miracle as this, wou'd have convinc'd all the *Jews* to believe *Chriſt*, when he call'd himſelf God. And therefore he muſt grant, that, notwithſtanding of what is ſaid, *Deut.* XIII. Miracles are ſufficient to vouch even the Divinity of *Chriſt*. And then the diſpute muſt only lie upon the Miracles recorded in the Goſpel. For the truth of which I refer to what is ſaid in the firſt part againſt the Deiſts

XI. I wou'd in this place call upon you to reflect, how very exact and particular God has been in fulfilling all the promiſes he has made unto your Nation. One eſpecially; which does confound the Deiſts, who call for ocular demonſtration, and have it, to their aſtoniſhment, in ſeeing, at this

* Limbor. *Collat.* p. 132.

day

day the fulfilling of a moſt wonderful Prophecy and promiſe made to your Nation, ſo many ages paſt.

The Deiſts have made you, of all People, their reproach, becauſe you have been call'd the peculiar People, the holy Nation choſen of God before all Nations upon the Earth. Yet *ye were the feweſt of all People.* Deut. vii. 7.

And they call'd you the moſt inconſiderable and contemptible: And thence argue (in their bold and prophane manner) the injuſtice and nonſenſe of God's preferring theſe to all the great Nations and Monarchies upon the Earth.

They will not believe that God had more regard to the *Jews* than to any other People; or gave any Prophecies concerning you. They ſay, you coin'd thoſe Prophecies after the facts they ſpeak of. But they demand the fulfilling of a Prophecy, which they may ſee. And this that I ſpeak of is obvious to the eyes of all the World, it is recorded, *Jer.* xlvi. 28. *Fear thou not, O* Jacob *my Servant ſaith the Lord, for I am with thee, for I will make a full end of all the Nations whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee, but correct thee in meaſure, yet will I not utterly cut thee off.* You will find the ſame, *Ch.* xxx. 11. And *Ch.* xxxi. 36, 37. it is written, *If thoſe ordinances depart from before me, ſaith the Lord, then the ſeed of* Iſrael *alſo ſhall ceaſe from being a Nation before me for ever. Thus ſaith the Load, if Heaven above can be meaſur'd, and the foundations of the Earth ſearched out beneath, I will alſo cut off all the ſeed of* Iſrael, *for all that they have done, ſaith the Lord.* See the ſame repeated, Chap. xxxiii. 24, 25, 26. And confirmed, *Iſa.* xxvii. 7. xxix. 7, 8. liv. 9, 10. lxv. 8. *Ezek.* vi. 8. xi. 16. xii. 15, 16. *Amos* ix. 8, 9. *Zech.* x. 9. And this was purſuant to what was promis'd in the Law, *Lev.* xxvi. 44. *Deut.* iv. 31, *&c.*

Now let us ſee how literally this is fulfill'd at this day. The great and famous Monarchies, who, in their turns, govern'd the World, and ſucceſſively had deſtroyed the *Jews* (the *Aſſyrian*, the *Babylonian*, and the *Roman*) are all vaniſh'd as a dream; there is not one of them left: Their very names are loſt in the Earth. But your Nation, tho' *ſifted among all Nations* (as your Prophet *Amos* expreſſes it in the place above quoted) *like as Corn is ſifted in a Sieve*, yet are you preſerv'd a viſible diſtinct People, in all the Nations whither you have been ſcatter'd. And the rage of many Kings and Governments have been let looſe againſt you to root you off from the face of the Earth, and you had no helper; yet the Lord was your Helper, and put it out of the power of all the Earth (tho' without any viſible oppoſition) to infringe the Promiſe he had made to you.

The Deiſts dare not ſay that theſe Prophecies were made yeſterday, or not before the fall of theſe Monarchies; eſpecially of the *Roman*, the greateſt of them. And what a folly, as well as vanity, had it been in the *Jews* to have forged ſuch audacious and provoking Prophecies, to have thus dar'd all the powers of the Earth to extirpate them, who hated them, and had them perfectly at Mercy!

And here let the Deiſt take notice of this wonderful inſtance, freſh before their eyes, of God's particular regard to this moſt deſpis'd and contemptible People (in their account) above all the other Nations of the Earth, how great and honourable ſoever: This is a ſtanding Miracle exhibited to the whole World.

Yet is there no partiality in this, as the Deiſts weakly reaſon; for as *Moſes* was a Type of the *Meſſiah*, ſo the Church of the *Jews* was of the Chriſtian, whoſe Pales are enlarged to take in the *Gentiles*, as often promis'd in your Prophets: By which means your Nation was indeed a Type of the whole World, (repreſented in the long garment of the High-prieſt,

Wisd. xviii. 24. by *Israel* call'd the *First-Fruits of God's Increase*, Jer. ii. 3.) And consequently the Blessings of which the *Jews* partook; the Promises made to them, and miraculous Protection over them, was taking possession in the Name, and securing the reversion of the *Gentile* World in the same glorious Inheritance. And it was indifferent as to the good of the World which Nation had been pitch'd upon as their Type: But God chose the least, that his Power and Protection over his Church might be more visible; and to shew that she must struggle thro' many difficulties and temptations; yet never be extinct (tho' often distress'd) when all the powers and glory of this World shall vanish as Smoke before the Wind.

Moreover, if God had chosen any of the great and powerful Nations of the Earth for his peculiar People, to whom if he had given his Promise to continue them for ever, the scorners would have blasphem'd, and said, that God was still on the strongest side: And they would have ascrib'd their preservation to their own power and greatness. This is the reason God gives why he chose the *fewest of all People*, lest they should say it was thro' their own power and might that they were preserv'd: Besides, the peculiar Nation being (as before has been said) a Type of the christian Church, it was necessary that the odds, as to the World, should be against that Nation; which should subsist not by worldly strength and politicks, but by signal and miraculous Providences. Thus the Church was best represented as greatly Distressed, but wonderfully Preserved.

Deut. vii. 7. viii. 17.

And here, O ye *Jews*, behold an equal Promise of our *Messiah* to his Church, and as miraculously fulfill'd, as that before-mention'd to yours. He promis'd, as before quoted, that his Church should continue *even unto the end of the World*; that he would be all that time with her, to preserve her, and that the *Gates* of *Hell* should never *prevail* against her. And when was this promis'd? Even at the beginning, when his Religion was low and contemptible, hardly yet known in the World. And the Devil has been let loose (as against *Job*) to spare only her Life; all things else have been put in his power: All the rage and madness of Kings and States and Mobbs have been exerted against her to destroy her, for many ages together: And she was destitute of all human help; nay it was made unlawful for her to help her self, or take arms in her own defence, against her persecuting Kings, as it was not permitted to you, tho' an army of six hundred thousand Men harnessed, besides a great mixed multitude, against *Pharaoh*, *Ahasuerus*, &c. But she was commanded, as you, only to *stand still, and see the Salvation of God*; yet still she insisted upon the Promise of her Preservation made to her by her *Messiah*; nay more, of her Victory at last over all these her Enemies; and boasted of it before them while they were worrying of her without controul; and told them, that it was not in their power to destroy her. Yet all this notwithstanding, how miraculously did our *Jesus* perform his Promise, in his now almost seventeen hundred years preserving and supporting her under all her Persecutions, and giving her Victory and Triumph! And she still trusts in that Promise, that it can never fail. Could any Power less than divine have foretold this Preservation, and have effected it for so long a time without human means, without sword or policy? This is not the least of the Miracles which God has shewn, as to you, so to us, in these Promises so full of wonder, so visibly fulfill'd, and now every day fulfilling. And this is not a mean argument to join you to us, when you see the same God working so wonderfully for you and for us, for us only of all the whole Earth; none of whom can boast such Promises, and such Performance, so uncontestably true, and so truly miraculous. Therefore I beseech you to hearken at last to the wise reasoning of your own *Gamaliel*, *lest ye be found Fighters against God. For if this Work* had not been *of God*,

Exod. xii. 37, 38. xiii. 18. xiv. 13, 14.

Acts v. 38, 39.

God, it could not have ſo ſtood. You firſt ſpent your rage againſt this *Stone*, which your *Builders* refuſed, and as he foretold you, it has *grinded you to powder*. Will you not yet confeſs that *this is the Lord's doing*, and that it is *marvellous in your Eyes!* Mat. xxi. 42, 44.

And now, O ye People greatly beloved, and grievouſly puniſhed, did your God ever fail you in any Promiſe that ever he made to you? You are, and have been many Centuries preſerv'd only upon the Almighty Power that there is in his Promiſe, too ſtrong for all the armed Legions of Earth and Hell, which have overthrown mighty Empires, and every thing elſe but you, and his Church repreſented by you. Believe it, your Preſervation ſince your return from *Babylon*, has been greater than in it, in *Ægypt*, or in the Wilderneſs. And can you imagine that he who has wrought ſo many *Miracles*, and ſtill continues them, leſt any of his works ſhou'd fall to the Ground; can you think that his great Promiſe of the *Meſſiah*, and the time of his coming, ſo particularly deſcrib'd, is come to nought? As to the time, you confeſs it has fail'd, if not fulfill'd in our *Jeſus*. And where the time (as of your ſeventy years Captivity, 2 *Chron.* XXXIV. 21. *Jer.* XXIX. 10.) is nam'd, there it is impoſſible that there ſhould be a failure as to the time.

See how the Promiſe made to you of your deliverance out of *Ægypt* was fulfill'd, even to a day; and how exactly your forty Years in the Wilderneſs anſwer'd to the forty Days of your ſpying out the Land. Nor did your many and repeated Provocations all along that time, put off God's Promiſe one day farther. See then and conſider, how punctually our *Meſſiah*'s coming was according to the ſtated times and ages prefix'd, as it is ſet down in the firſt Chapter of our Goſpel according to St. *Matthew*, ℣. 17. The Generations from *Abraham* to *David* fourteen Generations; from *David* to the Captivity fourteen Generations; and from the Captivity to *Chriſt* fourteen Generations. God's fix'd and determinate times are not to be alter'd. Exod. xii. 40, 41. Numb. xiv. 34.

The time and place of the *Meſſiah*'s coming, as foretold in the Prophets, is one of the ſureſt marks by which we muſt know him. To that end they were ſo particularly ſet down: And if theſe fail, ſo may all the reſt.

How do you expect to know your *Meſſiah* when he does come? He cannot vouch himſelf from the time of his coming foretold by the Prophets; for that is paſt, and there is no other time prefix'd.

Will he prove his Miſſion by Miracles? And will he ſhew greater than our *Jeſus* has done? Can he fulfil the Prophecies of the *Meſſiah* by not coming at the time they have nam'd; ſo much as our *Meſſiah*, by fulfilling all the circumſtances of the Prophecies, as to time, place, *&c.*?

XII. Born of a Virgin, [a] of the ſeed of [b] *David*, in the Town of [c] *Bethlehem*; within four hundred and ninety [d] years of the building of the ſecond Temple; before the Scepter had quite departed from [e] *Judah*; to whom the gathering of the *Gentiles* has been, as to their *Meſſiah*, as well as the *Meſſiah* of the *Jews*. This is an aſtoniſhing mark and notorious, and inſiſted upon over and over again in the [f] Prophets; and of which none that ever took upon them to be the *Meſſiah*, except only our *Jeſus*, had the leaſt ſhadow of a pretence. And conſequential to this, that he ſhould make the [g] *Heathen* Nations forſake their Idolatry, and deſtroy their Idols. No Nation of the *Heathen* was ever brought to this by the Law; but how many have by the Goſpel? By the way, you may ſee by this, how unreaſonable your exception is againſt our *Meſſiah* from *Deut.* XIII. as if he introduc'd the Worſhip of the *Heathen* Deities; which he only has

[a] Iſai. vii. 14.
[b] xi. 10.
[c] Mich. v. 2.
[d] Dan. ix. 25.
[e] Gen. xlix. 10.
[f] Pſal. ii. 8. lxxii. 8, 11, 17. cx. 2. Iſai. ii. 2. xi. 10. xlix. 6. lii. 15. lv. 5. lx. 3. lxv. 1. Zech. ix. 10. Hoſ. ii. 23.
[g] Iſai. ii. 18, 20. xxxi. 7. Ezek. xxx. 13.

Zech. xiii. 1, 2. has effectually deſtroy'd. He only ſtopp'd the Mouths of their Oracles; which within a hundred Years after his coming, were all totally ſilenc'd in the reign *Trajan*. He only depoſited his [h] fleſh in the Grave, in hope that it ſhou'd not ſee corruption. They *gave* him [i] *Gall to eat, and Vinegar to drink. They* [k] *pierced* his *Hands and* his *Feet*; *and caſt Lots upon* his *Veſture*. They upbraided him in the ſame [l] Words foretold. His very [m] price was foretold, and how the Money ſhould be diſpoſed of; That *æ* [n] *Bone of him ſhould not be broken*. Again, the particular manner [o] of his riding into *Jeruſalem* upon an Aſs; which your moſt learned *Rabbi Saadia* expounds of the *Meſſiah*; as alſo the II. and CX. *Pſalm*, and other Scriptures before-quoted. I cou'd enlarge upon this Head, and ſhew many more particulars, wherein our *Jeſus* did, and does exactly anſwer to the ſeveral marks given of the *Meſſiah* by the Prophets.

h Pſal. xvi. 9, 10.
i lxix. 21.
k xxii. 16, 18.
l Matth. xxvii. 43.
m Zech. xi. 13.
Matth. xxvii. 6, 7.
n Exod. xii. 46.
Joh. xix. 36.
o Zech. ix. 9.

Which is ſo ſtrong an argument, ſo paſt all poſſibility of cheat or contrivance, that the firſt of our Apoſtles reckon'd it even beyond Miracles, or rather, as the greateſt of Miracles, greater than thoſe ſhewn to our outward Eyes. For proving the Miſſion of *Jeſus*, from their being eye-witneſſes of his Majeſty in his miraculous Transfiguration; and the voice which then came to him from the excellent glory, *Which Voice* (ſays he) *we heard when we were with him in the holy Mount*; he adds as a yet further proof, *We have a more ſure word of Prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a Light that ſhineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts*. Pray God it may; and that he may *open your underſtanding*, as he did of his Apoſtles, *that they might underſtand the Scriptures*, that *thus it is written*, and that *thus it behoved* Chriſt *to ſuffer, and to riſe from the dead the third day*: and that *repentance and remiſſion of ſins ſhould be preached in his name among all Nations, beginning at* Jeruſalem. All which you ſee fulfill'd, yet you will not believe it! You ſee all fulfill'd that he foretold ſo particularly of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and that that age in which he ſpoke, ſhould not paſs till it was fulfill'd, tho' there was then no appearance of it.

2 Pet. i. 18, 19.
Luk. xxiv. 45.
See. Ezek. xxi. 10, 13. vul. *The Sword. that deſtroyed* Jeruſalem *call'd the Scepter of God's Son.*

XIII. What Witchcraft then is it, what heavy Judgment lies upon you, that you ſhou'd harden your hearts againſt this *Meſſiah*, in expectation of another, in whom the Prophecies of the *Meſſiah* can never meet (for the time is already paſt, as you your ſelves confeſs) againſt this *Meſſiah* who ſhed his Blood for you, who dy'd praying for you, who offer'd up himſelf a ſacrifice to purchaſe eternal Redemption for you; which the Blood of Bulls and Goats could never do! The very Inſtitution of ſacrifices does declare, that God would require ſatisfaction for the ſins of Men; and that without *ſhedding of Blood* there could be *no remiſſion*; not of Blood leſs noble than our own; but of the great *Meſſiah*, of dignity and merit ſufficient to make ſatisfaction for the ſins of the whole World. And now I appeal to your ſelves, whether this Scheme of God, in *Chriſt*, reconciling to himſelf laps'd humanity; and thus triumphing over all the powers and malice of that Serpent the Devil, who ſeduc'd Man into diſobedience, be not more worthy of God; a demonſtration of greater power, and wiſdom, and goodneſs; and a more literal fulfilling of that firſt Promiſe of the *Meſſiah*, than giving to any one Nation (tho' it were your own) the conqueſt over your Enemies, and a temporal reign upon Earth?

Gen. iii. 15.

Yet this is the Objection you have againſt your ſecond *Moſes*, as againſt the firſt. Where is *the Inheritance of Fields and Vine yards* that was promis'd to us? You hanker after theſe poor periſhing things, and neglect your eternal Inheritance; which was figur'd by them. You long

Num. xvi. 14.

more

more after an earthly than a heavenly *Canaan*; and for a little reſt there, than a reſt for ever. Therefore you reject our Spiritual, and chuſe to your ſelves an earthly and fighting *Meſſiah*: But you cannot have him. And God, in Mercy, has turn'd you out of your beloved *Canaan*, and given it to the baſeſt of Men, to take off your minds from it; and to inſtruct you that that is not the end of the Promiſe; and becauſe you prefer it to the glorious Purchaſe that our *Meſſiah* has made for us; which the Angels deſire to look into. But ye think *ſcorn of that pleaſant Land*, where there is everlaſting Victory, and Triumph, and Sabbath, and Jubilee! O ſhut not your eyes wilfully againſt your own Happineſs! Call it to mind, and ſhew your ſelves Men. Is not this a more exalted and rational completion and archetype of your Law, than the Tables for municipal Statutes, to diſtinguiſh you of ſome ſhort time from other People? If that be all the import, (as you would have it) of the whole glorious Diſpenſation to *Moſes*: Was this worth or proportionable to that aſtoniſhing Appearance upon mount *Sinai*, and all that wonderful œconomy of Miracles, by which your Law was eſtabliſhed? But if you will look (with us) to the end of your Law, then you will ſee every tittle and iota of your Law fulfill'd, exalted, glorify'd in the heavenly Reign of our *Meſſiah*, the ſecond *Adam*; the innocent *Iſaac* that was ſacrific'd; the *Joſeph* that was ſold by his brethren, for their future Preſervation; the *Moſes* who delivers us out of *Ægypt*, the ſlavery and thraldom of Sin and Hell; and conducts us ſafe thro' the wilderneſs, the tentations and diſtreſſes of this wretched life; our *Joſhua*, who opens our way into the heavenly *Canaan* thro' Faith; in whoſe bleſſed Paſſion and Sacrifice for us, when lifted up upon the Croſs, like the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderneſs, the mortal biting of our ſpiritual Serpent the Devil is cur'd, and our Souls eternally ſav'd. Theſe are the glorious things that were ſhewn to *Moſes* in the Mount; after which pattern he was commanded to frame the Tabernacle, and all the Inſtitutions thereof, as Types and Shadows of thoſe things *(by Faith* in which *the juſt ſhall live)* which were to be *perfected in the Heavens*. And will you now reject the pattern for the Types? Will you degrade your Law, to mean nothing beyond the outward ſenſes? Nothing but what is viſible and temporary? To have no ſpiritual and eternal ſignification? Do we therefore make void the Law? Yea, we eſtabliſh the Law: We carry it whither it was intended: We ſhew an eternal and heavenly Light ſhining thro' it all, and every inſtitution of it: We look with reverence and great veneration upon it, as the School-maſter that was ordain'd to bring us unto *Chriſt*, as the ladder that was ſet to climb up into Heaven. But you will not climb with us; you ſay that the top does not reach to Heaven, therefore you ſtop ſhort upon the lower ſteps. The patriarchal Diſpenſation before the Flood was one ſtep; the *Abrahamical* another; the *Moſaical* another; and you ſtill expect another, the laſt and moſt perfect under the *Meſſiah*: Yet you reject it now it is come, and there is to be no other.

Exod xxv. 40. Hab. ii. 4.

Be not afraid to loſe your Law or your Prophets, you will hear them read every day in our Churches; and their true and full import explain'd and fulfill'd in the Goſpel: For the Goſpel is the beſt Comment upon the Law, and the Law is the beſt Expoſitor of the Goſpel: They are like a pair of Indentures, they anſwer in every part; their harmony is wonderful; and is of itſelf a conviction: No human contrivance could have reach'd it: There is a divine Majeſty and Foreſight in the anſwer of every Ceremony and Type to its completion. And there is one yet to be compleated. O the glorious day when that ſhall come! That is, the grafting you in again to your own *Olive-Tree*, the *Fatneſs*, the *Sweet*, the *Marrow* of your *Law*, fulfill'd in the *Meſſiah*. For we do believe, *that blindneſs*

Rom. xi. 25, 26, &c.

is happen'd to Iſrael but *in part, till the fulneſs of the* Gentiles *be come in; and ſo* that *all* Iſrael *ſhall be ſaved: For the gifts and calling of God are without Repentance. God hath concluded all,* us firſt, and then you, *in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all;* that the praiſe may be to God, and not to us; that no fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence. *O the depth of the Riches both of the Wiſdom and Knowledge of God! How unſearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways paſt finding out! For of him, and thro' him, and to him are all Things. To whom be Glory for ever.* Amen.

XIV. But tho' the Judgments of God are in themſelves unſearchable, yet they generally move in the road of ſecond cauſes: And ſo far it is lawful for us to look into them; and ſometimes neceſſary in order to our duty, as being not only brought upon us for our Sins, but continu'd by them: So that by diſcovering the cauſes, we may prevent or ſhorten our Judgments.

Therefore I would here enquire a little into ſome of thoſe moſt viſible cauſes which have all this time, and do ſtill harden the *Jews* in their obſtinacy, againſt the receiving the Doctrine of *Chriſt*.

And ſome of theſe are on the *Jews* ſide, and ſome on the Chriſtians.

I. Firſt for the *Jews*. They have ſince *Chriſt* came quite altered their own Doctrine and Topicks from whence they us'd to argue before, on purpoſe to avoid the plain proofs thence drawn for our *Jeſus* being the *Meſſiah*. To inſtance in a few:

1. There are great preſumptions, that they have alter'd and corrupted the very Text of their own Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, in thoſe places which ſpeak of the *Meſſiah*, which gave the marks of him, and pointed out the time of his coming. However this they cannot deny, that whether by the loſs of the Vowels in the *Hebrew* Tongue, or from whatever cauſe, that Language is now render'd ſo uncertain, beyond any other in the World, as that one word bears many different ſignifications, inſomuch that every Text almoſt will afford perpetual jangling: Which has made ſome of your moſt learned *Rabbies* complain that your Scriptures are become, in the Words of the Prophet, before quoted, as a *Book ſeal'd up* to you: And that the true ſenſe of them will not be known till the coming of the *Meſſiah*, who will reſtore the Vowels and right Knowledge of the *Hebrew* Tongue.

It is long ſince the *Hebrew* has ceas'd to be the vulgar Language of your Nation, and conſequently to be well underſtood by the *Jews* themſelves, who now learn it at Schools, as other Men do. *Joſephus* complains of the loſs of the *Hebrew* Tongue among the *Jews* in his time, and it was ſo long before.

This occaſion'd that the *Greek* Tranſlation of the ſeventy was publickly read in the *Jewiſh* Synagogues many years before the coming of *Chriſt*.

This Tranſlation they thought to have been divinely inſpir'd, and made great boaſts of it; as you may read in *Joſephus*, and many other of your Authors: And it continu'd in this reputation with you, and was read in your Synagogues till *Chriſt* came, and for about an hundred years after: Then you rejected it becauſe of the plain proofs that were brought out of it for our *Jeſus* being the *Meſſiah*; and ſet up the ſpurious *Greek* Tranſlation of *Aquila*, who was an Heathen, a Chriſtian, and a *Jew*, which he then made when the *Hebrew* Tongue was ſo greatly decay'd from that Purity which it confeſſedly retain'd when your ſeventy Prieſts made that famous Tranſlation for *Ptolemy* King of *Ægypt*, about three hundred years before *Chriſt:* And was never queſtion'd by any of you, but held in the

higheſt

higheſt veneration all that time, till after the coming of our Saviour, becauſe of the flagrant teſtimonies it bore to him: And were it now admitted as it formerly was amongſt you, and as it truly is, the beſt comment at leaſt, upon the *Hebrew* Text, to determine the ſenſe of it when the words are doubtful, and (becauſe of the preſent defect in that language) of various and different ſignifications; I ſay if this were admitted, (which you cannot refuſe, without caſting reproach upon all your predeceſſors for three hundred years before *Chriſt*, who did admit it, and upon your ſelves for ſo doing, and confeſſing that you have done it unreaſonably) you wou'd not be able to maintain your hold againſt Chriſtianity. Are not the quotations of your Scriptures, which are in your learned *Philo*, (who liv'd in the days of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles) and of others your chief *Rabbies* before that time, more according to the Tranſlation of the ſeventy than of the *Hebrew* Text, as you have it at preſent? And what reaſon can you give why you dare not quote that Tranſlation ſtill? But becauſe it renders the ſenſe of the *Hebrew* ſo, as leads it directly upon our Saviour, and cannot be extended farther; and it cuts off thoſe vain and precarious excuſes which you would draw from the preſent uncertainty of the *Hebrew* Text. Yet none of your latter Expoſitions can pretend to any authority equal to that of the ſeventy, even your ſelves being the Judges. This ſhews that you are not diſpos'd to find out the Truth, but bent to ſhut the door againſt it.

2. As the *Jews* have thus manifeſtly ſtood out againſt the conviction of the holy Scriptures, by inventing and uſing theſe Arts to corrupt them, at leaſt to hide and obſcure their true meaning; ſo have they for the ſame reaſon, *viz.* in prejudice to our *Meſſiah*, alter'd their former principles and notions, which they had received by Tradition from their Fathers. Thus finding that the notion of the Λόγος, or *Word* of *God*, which was univerſally receiv'd amongſt the *Jews* before *Chriſt* came, and largely inſiſted upon by *Philo*, that learned *Jew*, even in the apoſtolical age, that, as before has been noted, he was God, and yet a diſtinct perſon from God, the Father of all; that he was Χαραχτὴρ, the expreſs *Image* of *God*; the great Δύναμις, *Inſtrument* or *Power* by which God made the Worlds; the Ἀρχιερεὺς, *Supream* Archetypal, *High-prieſt* and *Mediator* betwixt *God* and *Men*; of whom the High-prieſt under the Law was a Type and Figure, by outward communion with whom, Men were made capable of, and had a title to the inward and ſpiritual communion with the Λόγος, and by him of reconciliation and acceptance with God. From this notion of the Λόγος, St. *John* diſputes according to the receiv'd principles of that age: And having prov'd *Chriſt* to be the Λόγος, he in his *Goſpel*, *Epiſtle*, and *Revelation*, gives him the titles which were uſually aſcrib'd to the Λόγος, of *Light*, and *Life*, and *Truth*; and from having communion with him, infers that we have alſo communion with the Father. But the *Jews* finding that theſe principles led directly to the Divinity of our Saviour, and all that is ſaid of him in the Goſpel, preſently forſook their own principles, and as early as *Juſtin Martyr* began to deny them; as *Trypho* the *Jew* did, and put *Juſtin* upon the proof of the Λόγος, being a divine Perſon, *&c.* which he did out of *Philo*, and other approv'd Authors of the *Jews*.

It is plain that the *Jews* thus underſtood it when they accus'd our Saviour of Blaſphemy, and of making himſelf God, becauſe he call'd himſelf the *Son* of *God:* For they call'd themſelves the Sons of God, in a large ſenſe, as ſo adopted, and in federal Covenant with God. But they knew it was the receiv'd notion among them, that the manner how the Λόγος was the *Son* or *Word* of *God*, was natural, as proceeding from the Nature of God; and that for any to call himſelf the Son of God, in this ſenſe, was to make himſelf God: Whence it is plain that they thought the Λόγος to be *God*. Joh. x. 33, 36.

3. The *Jews* finding that the myſtical and primary ſenſe of their Law did refer to the *Meſſiah*, and was moſt exactly and particularly fulfill'd and compleated in our Saviour; rather than be convinc'd by this, they have now (as the learned *Jew* that diſputed with * *Limborch*) deny'd that the Law was typical, or referred to any more perfect State: The contrary of which is plainly intimated, *Exod.* xxv. 40. From whence our Apoſtle convincingly argues, *Heb.* VIII. 5. But the *Jews* now will have no Type in the Law, or the Office of the *Meſſiah* to extend beyond temporal Conqueſts, to any ſpiritual or heavenly Acquiſitions; ſticking in the bare Letter of the Law.

But *Philo*, and the *Jews* before him, did largely inſiſt upon the myſtical, which they made the principal end and intendment of the Law: As indeed it is, and moſt apparently ſo, if we duly conſider the Law itſelf, and the Prophets, who often mind us of it: And without which they cannot be verify'd (as before is ſhewn) and their meaning runs low and contemptible, no way anſwering the Magnificence and Glories which are there reveal'd.

Gen. xlvii. 9. Heb. xi. 14, 15, 16. *Jacob* confeſs'd himſelf and his Fathers to be *Strangers* and *Pilgrims* on the Earth: Whence our Apoſtle does argue very forcibly, *That they who ſay ſuch things, declare plainly, that they ſeek a Country: And truly if they had been mindful of that Country from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have return'd; But now they deſire a better Country, that is, an heavenly.* If the Land of *Canaan* had been all their view, and they had underſtood the Promiſe made to them of *Canaan* to have had no farther meaning than the Letter, only the temporal enjoyment of that pleaſant Country, they needed not have wander'd from it as they did; for *they might have had Opportunity to have return'd* to it.

1 Chr. xxix. 15. When *David* was in poſſeſſion, and King of it, he declar'd himſelf to be then in a Pilgrimage, and a *Stranger* in it.

This ſhews they had a farther proſpect, and that they extended the Promiſe made to them of *Canaan*, to mean principally and ultimately the heavenly *Canaan*; of which they underſtood the earthly *Canaan* only as a Type: And if *Canaan* it ſelf was a Type, no doubt *Jeruſalem* muſt be ſo too, and the Temple with all the Service of it, that is all your Law.

Your *Cabala* makes your outward Law but the *cortex* or ſhell of the hidden Myſteries that are contained it.

Yet you are now grown to that violent prejudice againſt this (tho' you would ſtick to your *Cabala* too, and think it divinely inſpir'd) becauſe it leads directly upon Chriſtianity, that your learned *Jew* has ſet up this Principle † *Quòd Cultus externus, ut talis, eſt interno multo perfectior*: And as a juſt conſequence of this, *Quòd externus non minùs Deo gratus, quàm internus*, i. e. *That the outward Worſhip, as ſuch, is more perfect than the internal*, And therefore, *That the outward Worſhip is not leſs grateful to God than the internal.* Theſe are the Titles of his Chapters. And the end of ſetting up theſe deſperate Poſitions is, to obviate the chriſtian Argument, That the inward and ſpiritual Worſhip is chiefly regarded by God: And conſequently the inward and ſpiritual meaning of the Law is much preferable to the Letter and outward obſervances: That therefore there is a ſpiritual ſenſe in the Law, which exceeds the Letter; or which is typify'd by it: That this is fulfill'd in *Chriſt*, who has thereby conſummated and perfected the Law. To oppoſe this, the *Jews* are driven to that extremity, as here you ſee, to prefer the outward Worſhip, as ſuch, to the inward; contrary to the tenor of their own Law, and their

* Limbor. p. 62. *& alibi.* † Limbor. Collat. n. xi. xii. p. 118, 120.

Prophets,

Prophets, where the inward Circumciſion of the Heart is ſo often inculcated and preferr'd to that outward in the Fleſh: Nay the outward Inſtitutions of the Law, where the inward and ſpiritual meaning and intendment of them is not regarded, are declar'd to be hateful and abomination to God, The inward is not only preferr'd, *(I deſire mercy and not ſacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings. Sacrifice and offering thou didſt not deſire, but mine ears haſt thou opened)* but, in reſpect to the inward, the outward are ſaid not to have been *commanded* by God; that is, they were commanded for the ſake of the inward: And therefore, without reſpect to the inward, the outward were not commanded. Iſai. i. 11, to 21. Hoſ. vi. 6. Pſal. lx. 6. Jer. vii. 22, 23.

To rid you out of this perplexity, your learned *Jew* has advanc'd a ſtrange ſort of an Argument to maintain his Paradox before mention'd, of preferring the outward, as ſuch, to the inward Worſhip and ſenſe of the Law; where he explains his foreſaid Poſition thus, That the outward is not to be ſuppos'd without the inward: And that the outward, as including the inward, is preferable to the inward. But this, inſtead of ſolving the caſe, makes no caſe at all of it. It is no more than this, whether two be not more than one? Whether both outward and inward be not more than the inward alone? Which no body will diſpute with him. But then this cuts off all compariſon betwixt the outward and the inward: And conſequently makes no ſenſe of thoſe Texts before mentioned, and many others, where the ſame compariſon is inſiſted upon. And when the *Jew* ſays, that the outward, as ſuch, is preferable, *&c.* what does he mean by as ſuch? Is it, the outward, as outward? Which any one would take to be the meaning. But his meaning, as he explains it, is, the outward, as ſuch, that is, as both outward and inward.

So very thin, and contradictory are theſe ſtrain'd excuſes you have ſet up againſt the ſpiritual, which is the main and principal intendment of your Law: Becauſe it cannot be fulfill'd but only in our bleſſed Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his ſpiritual Kingdom.

4. The modern *Jews* have, ſince *Chriſt*'s time, gone away from the conſtant Tradition of their Fathers before *Chriſt* came, *viz.* That the *Meſſiah* wou'd ſhew himſelf to the World, and vouch his Commiſſion by Miracles; of which ſufficient has been ſaid before. And this contrivance diſcovers plainly their guilt, that it is not conviction which they want, but that they are reſolv'd not to be convinc'd. Joh. vii. 31.

5. They have not only departed from the Traditions of their Fathers; but they have invented new and ſtrange conceits, of which their Fathers, before *Chriſt* came, never dreamt. As of two *Meſſiah*'s, the one a ſuffering, the other a triumphing *Meſſiah*: To anſwer theſe two ſtates of ſuffering and triumphing, which were foretold of the *Meſſiah*; and both fulfill'd in our bleſſed Saviour. To avoid which, the *Jews*, ſince his time, have invented theſe two *Meſſiah*'s. The *Jews*, in our Saviour's time, even the Apoſtles themſelves, till after his Reſurrection, had not the true notion of the ſufferings of the *Meſſiah*, much leſs of his Death. When he ſpoke of it, his Diſciples rebuked him; and underſtood nothing of it. And the *Jews* told him, *We have heard out of the Law, that* Chriſt *abideth for ever: And how ſay'ſt thou, the Son of Man muſt be lift up?* that is, crucify'd. They were looking out then, as you are now, for a temporal fighting *Meſſiah*, who ſhou'd *reſtore again the kingdom to* Iſrael. They thought not then of the ſufferings of the *Meſſiah:* Far leſs did they dream of two *Meſſiah*'s; one to ſuffer, the other to conquer. You can ſhew no footſtep of any ſuch Doctrine amongſt the *Jews* before *Chriſt* came. And it ſhews the diſtreſs your latter *Rabbies* were driven to, when they cou'd find no ſhift, but ſo groundleſs and fooliſh an Invention: Which is of a piece with Matth. xvi. 22. Luk. xviii. 34. Joh. xii. 34. Act. i. 6. Luk. xxiv. 26.

with your other fulſom and ridiculous Legends (before mention'd) of the *Meſſiah*'s ſitting theſe one thouſand ſix hundred years amongſt the *Lepers* at the Gates of *Rome*. That he is in Paradiſe, but ty'd in a Womans Hair that he cannot come. The mad and nonſenſical Stories of your *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*: Of God's weeping when your City was deſtroy'd: Of his daily ſtudy in the reading of your Law: And ſuch other delirous fancies, as ſhew the greatneſs of your Judgment, threaten'd 2 *Theſſ.* II. 11. and viſibly fulfill'd upon you, more than upon any People, God ſending *you ſtrong deluſion, that you ſhou'd believe* ſuch monſtrous, and even contradictory *lies*; *becauſe you received not the truth, that ye might be ſaved*; *but had pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs*, in ſuch rabbinical and ſhameleſs Fopperies, they deſerv'd not to be call'd Forgeries, on purpoſe to elude the infallible demonſtrations which our *Jeſus* gave of his being the *Meſſiah*. Theſe are the great, tho' pitiful Obſtacles, on the *Jews* ſide, which hinder their embracing of Chriſtianity.

II. I come now to other Obſtacles, which lie on the *Chriſtians* ſide.

Firſt, The learned *Jew* that diſputes with *Limborch**, complains of the great ſcandal given to the *Jews* in the Popiſh Countries.

1. By the Idolatry which they ſee practis'd there. They cannot bear to ſee the great God painted like an Old Man in their Churches and Maſs-Books, in their Shops and Houſes, and publickly ſold by allowance: This they take to be the ſin ſo ſtrictly prohibited, *Deut.* IV. 15, 16. in the many other Scriptures. Beſides their worſhipping of Saints, Angels, *&c.* See *Sandys*'s *Speculum Europæ*.

2. There is another ſtrange ſort of Impediment, which the *Jews* have met with in Popiſh Countries; that is, That if any of them turn'd Chriſtians, they forfeited all their Eſtates, on pretence that they or their Anceſtors had got them by Uſury. Of this ſeveral good Men in the Church of *Rome* have complain'd; as *Bradwardinus*, l. 1. *de Cauſa Dei*, chap. 1. *Coroll.* part 32. *Cardinalis a S. Severina in Catechiſmo generali pro Catechum.* cap. 20. *Gaſparus Belga* a *Jeſuit*, *in Epiſt. Ormutina* (*eſt inter Epiſtolas Indicas*) wrote *An.* 1549. ſpeaking of one *Rabbi Solomon*, who deſir'd Baptiſm, ſays, that he, and many others would have embrac'd Chriſtianity, if it had not been for that Law amongſt the Chriſtians, that they ſhould be oblig'd to reſtore whatever they had got by Uſury. This I have taken out of *Hornbeck contr. Judæos. Lugdun. Batav. An.* 1655. *in Prolegom.* p. 31. where he cites more Authorities; as of *Joh. Gerſon apud Bochellum. tit. de Judæis.* and amongſt us, *Edwin Sandys*, *de Statu Relig. cap.* 41. *Georgius Theodorus*, *de ſtatu Judæorum in Repub. Chriſtian. cap.* 9. He ſays that this cuſtom was taken away by a particular Bull of Pope *Paul* III. by the Council of *Baſil.* Seſſ. 19. And of *Lateran*, under *Alexander* III. c. 26. How it is at this day at *Rome*, in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Popiſh Countries, I cannot tell; but Sir *Edwin Sandys* in his Book before-quoted, wrote *An.* 1599. ſays, that when he was in *Italy*, the ſame forfeitures were ſtill exacted of the *Jewiſh* Converts, except where the Pope gave diſpenſation; which he knew was granted only to ſome few Phyſicians, their gains not being ſuppos'd as got by Uſury: But it ſtopp'd the Converſion of others.

Secondly, I come now to the reformed Churches, where the *Jews* meet with neither of the fore-mentioned impediments: But whether many of the *Jews* do come out of the *Popiſh* Countries, as the learned *Jew* confeſſes to

* Limbor. *Collat.* p. 102.

Limborch

Limborch, on purpose to avoid the Idolatry in the Church of *Rome*, to which many of them are forced to comply, to save their Lives or estates; and others are tempted to it, and counterfeit Christianity for the sake of preferments, especially in *Spain* and *Portugal*, as before has been told; and whence many of them do fly into *Holland*, where there is universal Liberty of Conscience, and that they may profess and practise their *Judaism* openly: This has brought so many of them into *Holland*, more than to other of the Countries reformed.

1. But there is another sort of impediment which they meet with there, that is, the various Sects which are tolerated, and own'd as Churches, tho' most opposite and contradictory to one another. This goes violently athwart the fixed and stated principle of the *Segullah* or *Peculium*, which God deliver'd to the *Jews* from the beginning, and implies the true notion of a Church, as being a *Peculium* or select Society, gather'd from amongst the rest of Mankind; under Governors and Laws, with promises and privileges of their own, peculiar to themselves, and independent of all others upon the Earth. Now the *Jews* cannot think this *Segullah* transferred to a christian Church, where there is no notion of any *Segullah* at all; or such a lame one, as admits and excludes no body. A Park without Pales! Which reduces the Church from a Society to a Sect, only to believe such things, without being subject to the Governors or Laws of the Society, without any principle of Unity. A Church without a Bishop! A Body without a Head! This *Latitudinarian* no-principle is so perfectly adverse to the receiv'd notion of the *Jews* all along, that they can as easily believe no Faith as no Church: And can never think their Faith terminated or fulfill'd in that Church, whose constitution is not fram'd alike to theirs: For how otherwise was theirs a Type of ours? A Type is so call'd from its likeness to what it does represent: And what resemblance is there betwixt the Church in *Jerusalem*, under one High-priest; and in *Holland*, where Episcopacy, of which that was the Image, is abolished? What agreement betwixt the Temple, into which none were admitted but Proselytes to the Constitution as well as Faith of the *Jews*; and that Church whose doors are open to all comers and goers; which has no Communion, by admitting of all Communions; and makes no Communion necessary? How was the one Altar of the *Jewish* Church a Type of Altar against Altar in every Parish? Of one hundred opposite Altars, that is, Communions, at *Amsterdam*, yet all acknowledg'd to belong to the christian Church? It is true, opposite Communions may agree in many things, as all do in some things; but how they can be call'd one Church, is as difficult for a *Jew* to apprehend, as a Church without a Communion, that is, a Society which has no Society. A Church, and not a *Peculium*, is an open Inclosure: And a Society without Government is as great a contradiction. And other Government than monarchical in the Church the *Jews* never understood, nor did God ever appoint: Not that all Churches in the World should have one visible and universal Head upon Earth; more than all the Kingdoms of the Earth are to have one universal Monarch under God; to whom the whole World is one Kingdom, tho' compos'd of many different and independent Kingdoms: As the one catholick Church may consist of many independent Churches, which all make one Church to Christ. Of each of these under her own Bishop, the Church of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* (being itself a particular Church) was a Type under her High-priest. And as he was a Type of *Christ*, the Ἀρχιερεύς, the archetypal and universal High-priest and Bishop of the catholick Church; so the Church of the *Jews* may be call'd a Type also of the universal Church; as that Nation was a Type of the whole World; of which the High-priest wore a representation as well as of the *Segullah*, as before

has been obſerv'd from *Wiſd.* XVIII. 24. For *God is King of all the Earth*, tho' more eſpecially of his Church.

The miraculous performance of that Promiſe of Perpetuity which God made to the Nation of the *Jews* has been diſcours'd before; but here I would take notice of one great means by which it has been brought to paſs: Which is, the ſtrict notion that the *Jews* ſtill retain of the *Segullah*. Thoſe many *Myriads* of them, who, at firſt, went over to Chriſtianity, found as ſtrict a notion of the *Segullah* there; and ſaw how it was transferred, as from the beginning it was intended, from the *Segullah* of *Moſes*, to that of the *Meſſiah*. It was indeed but the ſame Church or *Segullah* under different œconomies or diſpenſations. But thoſe whoſe eyes were blinded, that they ſaw not this, remain'd in their Infidelity, and ſtuck to their old *Segullah*: And God, who brings good out of evil, has made this a means, the great means, of keeping them a diſtinct People to this day. For ſhould the *Jews* turn ſo much *Latitudinarians* as to loſe this notion of the *Segullah*, and grow indifferent in their rites and cuſtoms; if they ſhould inter-marry with the Nations whither they are ſcatter'd, and conform to their cuſtoms and manners; they would ſoon loſe both their Name and Religion; and by being mix'd with the reſt of the World, grow undiſtinguiſh'd from them, as a River when it is emptied into the Ocean.

If it be objected, that then the aforeſaid Promiſe of God would be broken, of preſerving them for ever a diſtinct People; and therefore, that this Promiſe ſtands in the way againſt their converſion:

I anſwer, that it did not ſtand in the way againſt their converſion in the beginning of Chriſtianity; for the *Jews* who then turn'd Chriſtians did not at all, for that, loſe their Name or Nation: And they were plainly diſtinguiſh'd from the converts of the *Gentiles*.

Acts vi. 1. xxi. 25.

To make this more clearly underſtood, let us conſider, that when *Chriſt* firſt ſent forth his Apoſtles, their Commiſſion was limited to the *Jews* only, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe; *Go not into the way of the* Gentiles, *and into any City of the* Samaritans *enter ye not. But go rather to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of* Iſrael. Here the *Samaritans*, tho' *Jews*, are excluded becauſe they were Schiſmaticks, and not ſtrictly within the *Segullah*. And thus it continu'd all *Chriſt*'s Life-time: The Goſpel went not without the pale of the *Segullah*. After *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection, then he extended their commiſſion farther, and bade them go and preach *among all Nations*, but ſtill *beginning at Jeruſalem:* To ſhew that there the chriſtian *Segullah* was firſt eſtabliſh'd, and derived from thence, as from the root, to ſpread among all nations. But it appears not that the Apoſtles, even long after that time, underſtood the full extent of this their commiſſion: For till the Viſion of the *Sheet*, *Peter* himſelf did not know that the *Gentiles* were capable of being admitted into the chriſtian *Segullah:* Of which he was convinc'd by a great Miracle then ſhewn in the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon *Cornelius*, *&c.* which ſatisfy'd the reſt of the Church who contended with him, for his preaching to the *Gentiles*. So that till this time the chriſtian *Segullah* conſiſted of none but of the *Jews* only: Into which the *Gentile* Proſelytes were afterwards admitted, even as into the *Jewiſh Segullah* under the Law. *Chriſt* foretold the future calling of the *Gentiles: Other Sheep I have which are not of this Fold*; *them alſo I muſt bring, and they ſhall hear my Voice*, ſaid *Chriſt* to the *Jews*: And ſignify'd to them, that the *Gentile* converts ſhould at laſt be made equal to them, and in ſome reſpects be preferred before them, in that parable of thoſe call'd at the eleventh hour; and that the firſt call'd ſhould be laſt, and the laſt, firſt. He ſhewed likewiſe that his Mercy extended even to the *Gentiles*, by his Compaſſion to the Woman of *Canaan:* But at the ſame time he aſſerted the prerogative of the *Segullah*,

Mat. x. 5.

Luke xxiv. 47.

Acts x.

Acts xi.

Joh. x. 16.

Mat. xx.

or

or Church of the *Jews*: Whom he calls the Children, in compariſon of whom the *Gentiles*, were but *Dogs*, (as it is expreſs'd, *Rev.* XXXII. 15.) that is, out of the *Segullah*. *I am not ſent* (ſaid *Chriſt* to her) *but to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of* Iſrael; that is, the *Segullah* was to be ſet up only with them, to whom only he himſelf preach'd: The *Gentiles* were to come in only as Proſelytes to the *Jews*. And that not by the Miniſtry of *Jeſus* himſelf, but only of his Apoſtles, after his Aſcenſion. In all things the preference was given to the *Jews*. And the Chriſtian *Segullah* was firſt fixed amongſt them. They are the *natural Branches*. *Theirs is* Chriſt, the Apoſtles and firſt Chriſtian Church. And we freely confeſs, as our Bleſſed Lord has taught us, that *Salvation is of the* Jews. He reveal'd not himſelf to the *Gentiles*, he wou'd not anſwer a word to *Herod*, or *Pontius Pilate*: But he declar'd himſelf expreſſly to your High-Prieſt and *Sanhedrin*. He did *good* to all, even to the *Gentiles*, and *heal'd their ſick*; his mercy is over all his works: But much more eminently to his Church, his *Segullah*. The *Childrens Meat* is reſerved only for them: There only it is to be had. Therefore all are invited to go thither for it. All are capable of being adopted Children, by their admiſſion into the *Segullah*: And the Children who forſake it, or are juſtly turn'd out of it, fall to the condition of Dogs, *for without are Dogs*.

Matth. xv. 26.

Rom. xi. 24.

Joh. iv. 22.

Luk. xxiii. 9. Matth. xxvii. 14. xxvi. 64.

The twelve Apoſtles were choſen with reſpect to the *Segullah* of the twelve Tribes. Our Saviour himſelf makes the alluſion; when he ſaid to them: *Ye ſhall ſit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of* Iſrael. And the Names of the twelve Tribes are deſcrib'd as written upon the twelve Gates of the *New Jeruſalem*; and anſwering thereunto, the Names of the twelve Apoſtles, upon the twelve Foundations. Then the calling of the *Gentiles* after the *Jews*, was in the like manner ſignify'd in the number of the *ſeventy* whom our Lord ordained ſome time after the Apoſtles. For the *Jews* divided the World into ſeventy Nations; there being juſt ſo many Sons of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japheth*, recorded in the x. of *Gen.* who are ſaid to be divided, after their Tongues, and after their Nations. Thence the *Jews* conclude, that there were ſeventy Nations, and ſeventy Languages, the Languages diſtinguiſhing the Nations; becauſe each ſorted to thoſe of his own Language; and ſo thoſe of each Language made a diſtinct Nation. It would be hard otherwiſe to conjecture how the World ſhou'd be divided into ſeveral Nations, without ſuch a force and neceſſity put upon them, and leading them, I may ſay, irreſiſtibly into it, by the miraculous diviſion of Languages. For we cannot very eaſily ſuppoſe, that the whole World ſhou'd meet together, to canton it out into ſeveral Nations, by a free and equal Vote, and to number out who, and how many ſhou'd belong to each Nation, and to name all the Kings or Governors of each Nation, as it is done in the x. of *Gen.*

Matth. xix. 28. Rev. xxi. 12, 14.

Luk. x. 1.

Now the *Jews* believe that this diviſion of the World into ſeventy Nations, was done by God with a particular reſpect to his *Segullah* to be afterwards ſet up in *Iſrael*; whoſe Sons, that deſcended with him into *Ægypt*, are recorded, *Gen.* XLVI. and are juſt ſeventy. They think this to be intimated, *Deut.* XXXII. 8. where it is ſaid, *When the moſt High divided to the Nations their Inheritance, when he ſeparated the Sons of* Adam, *he ſet the bounds of the People according to the number of the Children of* Iſrael. And ℣. 7. ſhews this to have been a Tradition of the *Jews* in the days of *Moſes*.

Therefore, as our bleſſed Saviour ſent out at firſt twelve Apoſtles, with reſpect to the twelve Tribes, and limited them to preach to none other: So did he afterwards appoint other ſeventy alſo, with reſpect to the other Nations of the World, who were, in time, to be brought into the *Segullah*.

And

And it is obſervable, that in the Commiſſion given to the ſeventy, *Luke* x. there is no ſuch reſtriction as is given to the twelve, *Matth.* x. 5. of not going to the *Gentiles*, or *Samaritans*. Tho' the Door was not fully open'd to the *Gentiles*, till the *Viſion* of the Sheet, *Act.* x. as before has been ſaid.

After this, the *Gentiles* came in abundantly to the *Segullah*. But the firſt Chriſtian Church was wholly of the *Jews*, and eſtabliſh'd in *Jeruſalem*; whoſe Biſhop did anſwer to the High-Prieſt; and was the Principle of Unity to the Chriſtian *Jews*, as the High-Prieſt was to the other. So that the *Segullah* was preſerv'd intire; only transferr'd from the *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt, to the *Jewiſh* Biſhop. It was not the *Gentiles* who converted the *Jews* to Chriſtianity; but the *Jews* converted the *Gentiles*: And the *Gentiles* came into the Chriſtian *Jewiſh* Church; and appeal'd to it, upon all occaſions. And thus it continu'd till after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. But the Name of *Jews* ſeems to have been appropriated to the Infidel *Jews* upon their many and notorious Rebellions, under their ſeveral *Falſe-Meſſiah*'s; in which the Chriſtian *Jews* were not concern'd, nor in the puniſhments and *odium* which thereupon follow'd, nor in the Laws that were made againſt the *Jews*; and ſo, by degrees, came to loſe the Name of *Jews*, and become undiſtinguiſh'd from the *Gentile* Chriſtians: For then the Name of *Jew* grew by Cuſtom, to be a diſcrimination of Religion, and not only of a Nation: So that when a *Jew* now turns a Chriſtian, he is no longer call'd a *Jew*.

Act. xv.

But when the time ſhall come (God ſend) that there will be a general Converſion of the *Jews*, then there will be no reaſon to take from them the Name of *Jews*: That Name will then only diſtinguiſh their Nation. And it will then, no doubt, be the moſt honourable of any upon the Earth: *To whom pertaineth the Adoption, and the Glory, and the Covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the Service of God, and the Promiſes; whoſe are the Fathers; and of whom, as concerning the Fleſh,* Chriſt *came.*

Rom. ix. 4. 5.

Then it will no longer be thought a reproach in *Spain* and *Portugal* to own, that they are (as before has been quoted from the learned *Jew*) deſcended of the race of the *Jews*; and to take that Name upon themſelves. And other Nations will ſtrive for the ſame Privilege. Then may be fulfill'd, even literally, what is written, *One ſhall ſay I am the Lords; and another ſhall call himſelf by the Name of* Jacob: *And another ſhall ſubſcribe with his hand unto the Lord, and ſirname himſelf by the Name of* Iſrael. And thus the Name and Nation of the *Jews* will be magnify'd and exalted above all that are upon the face of the Earth; and perpetuated according to the forementioned Promiſe of God, while Sun and Moon ſhall endure. And then, when the fulneſs of the *Gentiles* ſhall come in, the *Jews will* be the head, and not the tail, and, as God has promis'd you, *Thou ſhalt be above only; and thou ſhalt not be beneath.* And *the Lord thy God ſhall ſet thee on high, above all the Nations of the Earth.*

Iſai. xliv. 5.

Deut. xxviii. 17. 12.

Then ſhall the ten Tribes appear: Who now perhaps are the greateſt Monarchies upon Earth: And then will be acknowledg'd as ſuch.

See what a glorious ſtate of your Nation depends upon your Converſion! And it may be more glorious than all this that I have ſaid: Even all that temporal Grandeur and Empire which you expect. Tho', when all that is done, it comes infinitely ſhort of the heavenly and eternal glories, which our *Meſſiah* has purchas'd for us: And of which all theſe earthly greatneſſes are, in their utmoſt extent, but faint types and ſhadows; and therefore far from the primary and ultimate intendment of the Law; which is already fulfill'd in the ſpiritual conqueſts and reign of our *Meſſiah* over all the powers of Hell and Death.

I take not upon me to determine, that the Preſervation of the Name and Nation of the *Jews*, upon their Converſion, will be juſt as I have ſaid. But this we may depend upon, that the Promiſe of God will be fulfill'd; and that he will never want means to bring it to paſs: And therefore, that the Converſion of the *Jews* will be no hindrance to the perpetuating of their Name and Nation, as he has promis'd.

And let their Converſion begin *(cum Bono Deo)* in this Church and Nation; where the good providence of God has prepar'd the way, by freeing you *Jews* here from thoſe Obſtacles which obſtruct your way in other Chriſtian Countries. Here you ſee no Images or Pictures of the great God in our Churches; nothing in our worſhip which you can call Idolatry or Superſtition. * Here you may ſee an Epiſcopacy, Presbyters, and Deacons, anſwerable to your High-Prieſt, Prieſts, and *Levites*: And the *Segullah* of the Temple perpetuated and continu'd in the Church: In which, as in the Temple, and now in your Synagogues, the publick Service and Worſhip of God is celebrated in the vulgar Language of the Nation, with the Solemnity and Gravity of a well compos'd and digeſted Liturgy. And laſtly, here are no Forfeitures or Mulcts upon you for your acknowledging and returning to your true *Meſſiah*: But you may reaſonably preſume, that all due encouragement will be given to you towards ſo glorious a change: And to convince you, that we ſeek not yours but you. The Lord open your eyes.

2. Let me add, that you will be here free from another great ſcandal which you have met with more frequently in *Holland*, that is, *Socinianiſm*, to which ſome, that oppos'd you there, made too near approaches. And if they had converted you, it had not been to Chriſtianity; but rather to Idolatry, in paying divine honours and adoration to *Chriſt*, while they ſuppoſe him but a Creature. † And they deny any to be Chriſtians who refuſe this divine adoration and invocation to *Chriſt*. Whereby they have excluded all our *Engliſh* Unitarians (as the *Socinians* here call themſelves) from being Chriſtians, who deny this to *Chriſt*; tho' they ſometimes (when they boaſt of their antiquity and univerſality) derive themſelves from theſe tranſmarine *Socinians*; and pretend to be of one faith with them. But your learned *Jew* before-mention'd, argues againſt them, that *Chriſt* cou'd not be the Heavenly King, unleſs he were God himſelf (whatever the *Socinians* dream to the contrary) becauſe that no mere Creature cou'd be preſent and aſſiſt every where. ‡ *Non poteſt eſſe Rex cœleſtis, niſi fuerit Deus ipſe (quidquid Sociniani contrarium ſomniaverint) etenim nulla pura Creatura poteſt ubique aſſiſtere & providere.* This vaſt prejudice you will likewiſe avoid in the Church of *England*, where theſe *Socinian* Hereſies, on both ſides, are deteſted and exploded.

If you take ſcandal that ſuch differences ſhou'd be amongſt thoſe who call themſelves Chriſtians, remember that your *Sadducees* deny'd the *Reſurrection*, and *both Angels and Spirits*; which takes away the future State of Heaven. ** And this you now believe, and make it a great Article of your Creed; and ſay, that it was always the faith of the *Jews*; therefore you cannot object it againſt us, that there ſhou'd be diviſions, even in fundamental points, and Schiſms amongſt us; ſince there has been the ſame amongſt your ſelves, your *Samaritans*, *Saducees*, &c. And you will not think that this hurts the truth, to thoſe who hold it. Act. xxiii. 8.

III. There is yet one great, and the Maſter difficulty of all, that ſtops the way to your Converſion, which I have reſerv'd to conſider by it ſelf

* Hierom ad Evagr. † Racov. Catech. *Sect.* 6. *c.* 1. ‡ Limbor. Collat. *p.* 69.
** Limbor. Collat. *p.* 106.

in this laſt place, becauſe it is the foundation of all thoſe that lie on your ſide: And which, if clearly remov'd, will compleat your Converſion ſo far as to leave you no other defence, but plain obſtinacy. It is that looſe and precarious account which you give of the ground and foundation of your faith, on purpoſe to avoid that demonſtration which there is for the truth of the Goſpel, and as ſaid before, there is the ſame for the truth of the Law: But you will rather quit that irrefragable and ſure foundation, and loſe the certainty of your Law, than yield to the ſhame or greater certainty that there is for the Goſpel: Or otherwiſe you have not yet known the true foundation upon which you ought to ſtand.

For the learned *Jew* * before-mention'd eſtabliſhes the faith of the *Jews*, not upon any grounds of certainty of which other Men may judge beſides the *Jews*, which are common to all Men, and ſtand upon the general reaſon and conviction of Mankind: But only upon the credit they are to give to their Fathers; not as Men but as their Fathers, and as they ſtand in that particular relation to them: For *God* (ſays he) *does not ſend us to the* Gentiles, *to ask of them; but bids us ask only of our Fathers, and give full credit to them. And therefore* (continues he) *if the Tradition of our Fathers told us the ſame of* Moſes, *as it does of* Chriſt, *that is, That thoſe matters of fact which are written of him in the Law, were not ſo done as he there tells; we ſhou'd as little believe* Moſes, *or what he wrote, as we do the Goſpel; which we disbelieve for the ſame reaſon,* viz. *Becauſe our Fathers tell us, that thoſe things related in the Goſpel, were not ſo done, as is there related.*

Anſw. 1. Your Fathers have not told you ſo: They have confeſs'd to the matters of fact recorded in the Goſpels. Nor can you deny them, without anſwering the firſt part of this Diſcourſe, and joyning with the Deiſts againſt all Revelations whatſoever, as well thoſe made to *Moſes*, as thoſe given by *Chriſt*. Your Fathers indeed ſaid, that *Chriſt* wrought wonderful works by the power of *Beelzebub*: But that is confeſſing to the matter of fact: And may be objected againſt the Miracles of *Moſes*, or any other whatſoever. Which is before conſider'd, p. 37

But as your Fathers who believ'd not in *Chriſt*, when he came, cou'd not, nor did they deny the matters of fact of *Chriſt*; and ſo give the ſtrongeſt ſort of evidence, that of Enemies, to the truth of them; and conſequently, to the truth of his Doctrine, which they were brought to vouch: So, as before is told, p. 60. many Myriads of your Fathers did embrace his Doctrine; and by the computation there made, there muſt be many more Myriads of their Poſterities, than of the Infidel *Jews*. So that here the queſtion is not betwixt the Tradition of your Fathers and of the *Gentiles*; but of thoſe of your Fathers who did believe, and thoſe who did not believe in *Chriſt*. For Chriſtianity is nothing elſe but a Tradition of the *Jews*; to which the *Gentiles* did come in: For as ſhewn before, the firſt Chriſtian Church was wholly *Jewiſh* without any mixture of the *Gentiles* for a conſiderable time.

Now then, ſince you have the Tradition of your Fathers on both ſides, what method are you to take? What method did you take in the contrary Traditions of the ten Tribes, which grew among them in ſucceeding Ages, after their defection to Idolatry, under *Jeroboam?* Your learned *Jew* † gives a good Rule, *viz.* To recurr to the original pretended of each Tradition; and there ſee upon what foundation it began. That of *Moſes* was grounded upon Miracles exhibited before all the People. Not ſo of *Jeroboam*, who pretended to no ſuch thing; only to give a different expoſition

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* Limborc. Collat. *p.* 130. † Limbor. Collat. *N. v. p.* 138, 140.

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of the Law of *Moſes* to countenance his Idolatry; which Expoſition became, in time, a Tradition to their poſterities.

And this is exactly your caſe, as to Chriſtianity. Your Fathers did at firſt embrace it upon the conviction of thoſe many Miracles ſhewn publickly before their faces; but thoſe of your Fathers who did not believe, did not deny the matters of fact, only put a different conſtruction upon them, ſaying that they were wrought by *Beelzebub*.

And thoſe *Jews* who believed and their poſterities, are many more (as before ſhewn) than thoſe *Jews* who remained in their Infidelity: If that were an argument: For the Tradition of two Tribes was true, and that of ten was falſe. Therefore we muſt recurr to the Original, and that muſt determine the Tradition on either ſide. And the argument inſiſted upon in the firſt part againſt the Deiſts ſtands wholly and irrefragably on our ſide: And beſides has the Tradition of all your Fathers, ſo far as to acknowledge the matters of fact (which in conſequence is the whole) and the major number were convinc'd by them: Or if not the major number then, yet certainly much more ſo now in their poſterities; having, by the miraculous Providence of God, eſcap'd the dreadful Deſtruction at *Jeruſalem*, and under your ſeveral falſe *Meſſiah*'s, which purſu'd thoſe of your Fathers only who harden'd themſelves in their obſtinacy againſt *Chriſt*. So that the Tradition of your Fathers does not lie in your way, to prejudice you againſt Chriſtianity: The moſt it can oblige you to is to examine the ſeveral Traditions of your Fathers: And that is it to which we would invite you. Conſider then firſt the Tradition of your chriſtian Fathers, who call themſelves by the name of their *Meſſiah*, as you have done by the names of your Fathers, *Heber*, and *Iſrael*, and *Judah*: And this was foretold by the Prophet, *Thou ſhalt be call'd by a new name, which the Mouth of the Lord ſhall name.* Therefore tho' theſe your Fathers have loſt the name of *Jews*, yet they may ſay in the words of the ſame Prophet, *Doubtleſs thou art our Father, tho'* Abraham *be ignorant of us, and* Iſrael *acknowledge us not; thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer, thy Name is from everlaſting.* This is an everlaſting Name by which they are now call'd, even the Name of our God; whereas they were heretofore call'd only by the name of your Fathers in the Fleſh; but now of your Father in Heaven. Conſider I ſay the Tradition of theſe your chriſtian Fathers, that it is on the affirmative ſide; whereas the Tradition of your unbelieving Fathers is altogether upon the negative, particularly in that great article of our Faith the Reſurrection of *Chriſt*: Which being done in the ſight only of a few Soldiers who were capable of being brib'd, you truſt wholly to their no evidence, that *his Diſciples ſtole him away while they ſlept*. For how could they know this if they were aſleep? Yet this is all the foundation you have for your negative. But for the affirmative, there were *many infallible proofs*, Chriſt *being ſeen of* his Diſciples *forty days, and ſpeaking of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God. He was ſeen of* Cephas, *then of the twelve, after that he was ſeen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part* (ſays our Apoſtle) *remain unto this preſent*, when he wrote. Theſe were too many to be *brib'd*, not with *large money*, as you *gave* to *the Soldiers*, but with ſtripes and impriſonments and death, to have conceal'd ſuch a forgery; when any one of them might not only have avoided theſe Perſecutions, but, no doubt, have got much more large money than you gave to the Soldiers for ſuch a fooliſh excuſe as they made: For any one of theſe five hundred could have effectually diſcover'd the contrivance, if it was one, and ſtifled Chriſtianity in its cradle: And one evidence on that ſide would at that time have born down five hundred on the other. And the Chriſtians putting you to the tryal of this, when theſe

Iſa. lxii. 3.

Iſa. lxiii. 16.

Acts i. 3.

1 Cor. xv. 5, 6, 7, 8.

Mat. xxviii. 12.

theſe many witneſſes were alive: And that not one of them could be tamper'd with either by bribes or threats! That all ſhould ſtand it out even to the death!

But we have ſurer evidence than all this, even infallible. And that is, the many Miracles which the Apoſtles ſhew'd in atteſtation to the truth of this: Miracles as flagrant and notorious as thoſe which *Chriſt* himſelf had wrought: And which have all the four marks before-mentioned, that do infallibly demonſtrate the truth of any matter of fact.

Theſe are the grounds of the Tradition of your chriſtian Fathers.

And all the ground for the Tradition of your unbelieving Fathers is nothing elſe but that ſenſeleſs ſtory of the Soldiers, ſufficiently ridiculous to confute itſelf, were there no evidence at all on the other ſide.

Let me add to this, that your chriſtian Fathers had all theſe difficulties to ſtruggle with, which do now keep you back from Chriſtianity: They hung as much as you upon the expectation of a temporal Kingdom of the *Meſſiah*. The very Apoſtles of our Lord were not wrought off of this, all the time that he liv'd with them: And they reſum'd their hopes of it after his Reſurrection. They were ignorant of his Reſurrection: *For as yet they knew not the Scriptures, that he muſt riſe again from the dead.* And ſo far were they from concerting of this, that they would not believe it when it was firſt told them by thoſe who had ſeen it: *Their Words ſeem'd to them as idle Tales, and they believed them not.* And when all the other Apoſtles had ſeen the Lord, yet would not *Thomas* believe even them, till he had more than even ocular demonſtation, to *thruſt* his *Hand into his Side*, and put his *Finger into the print of the Nails.* Nor was this peculiar to *Thomas:* For when *Chriſt* appeared firſt to the reſt, they were as hard to believe: And he afforded them the like demonſtration, not only to *ſee* and *hear* him *ſpeak* to them, but to *handle* him, and examine the Wounds in his *Hands and Feet*, and farther, to *eat before them.* And as a yet more forcible conviction, he minded them how he had told them all this before: And that it was agreeable to the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament; *And he ſaid unto them, theſe are the words which I ſpake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things muſt be fulfill'd which were written in the Law of* Moſes, *and in the Prophets, and in the Pſalms concerning me. Then opened he their Underſtanding, that they might underſtand the Scriptures, and ſaid unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved* Chriſt *to ſuffer, and to riſe from the Dead the third Day: And that Repentance and remiſſion of Sins ſhould be preached in his Name among all Nations, beginning at* Jeruſalem: *And ye are witneſſes of theſe things.* Our bleſſed Lord ſuffer'd his Diſciples to be thus ſlow in believing, thereby to confirm our Faith the more; but he would not permit them to proceed upon their miſſion, notwithſtanding of all this evidence, till they ſhould have yet farther credentials, ſuch as no Man could refuſe without the higheſt obſtinacy, and which is the utmoſt that God can outwardly exhibit, that is, the Power of Miracles. *But tarry ye* (ſays he) *in the City of* Jeruſalem, *until ye be endued with Power from on high.* And this was granted them at firſt by a moſt ſtupendious Miracle, in the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt at *Pentecoſt*, inſpiring them, in an inſtant, with all Languages: Which was viſible not only to the *Jews*, but to multitudes of other Nations, then at *Jeruſalem: And the ſame day about three thouſand were converted.* And by the many Miracles which the Apoſtles were enabled to work afterwards, many Μυριάδες, *Myriads* of the *Jews, and a great company of* your *Prieſts were obedient to the Faith.* Theſe were your Fathers; therefore reject not their Tradition. Compare with this the Tradition of your other Fathers, who believed not; which is built only upon a negative, of which there is no proof at all. Then

Acts i. 6. Joh. xx. 9. Luke xxiv. 11. Joh. xx. 25, 27. Luke xxiv. 39. *to* 49. Acts ii. 41. Acts xxi. 20. vi. 7.

Then I deſire you to recollect what has been ſaid before, from p. 77. to p. 79. of your having forſaken the conſtant Tradition of your Fathers before *Chriſt* came, in ſo many particulars as are there ſet down; and having invented new and contrary Traditions on purpoſe to prejudice your ſelves againſt Chriſtianity. See likewiſe before *Sect.* IV. p. 46.

And if Traditions muſt take place, why not the moſt ancient? Theſe ſure are moſt authentick: And they are more Traditions than the latter; for it is age that makes Tradition: Yet you reject the moſt ancient Traditions of your Fathers, while you ſet up their Tradition as your only infallible rule!

This is the firſt anſwer I give to your objection of following the Tradition of your Fathers, upon which you lay ſo great a ſtreſs; and which being remov'd, you will have little left to ſay. But tho' I think this anſwer very ſufficient, yet becauſe this is the main hinge of the controverſy, as your learned *Jew* has ſtated it, and inſiſts mightily, and almoſt ſolely upon it, thro' all his diſpute with *Limborch*; and thence we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that it is the *jugulum cauſæ*, the laſt effort you have to defend your ſelves; I will therefore proceed upon it, even as ſtated by your ſelves, and ſhew farther the weakneſs of it, ſuppoſing that none of your Fathers had embrac'd Chriſtianity.

Anſ. 2. This as ſtated by your ſelves, is running into that circle in which the Church of *Rome* have intangled themſelves, of proving the authority of the Church by the Scriptures, and the authority of the Scriptures from the Church: Which cannot be avoided while, in this diſpute, they conſider the Church as exerciſing any act of authority; for that authority muſt be prov'd before it can be acknowledg'd: And if it be prov'd from the Scripture, and the Scripture receives its authority from the Church, then the authority of the Church is prov'd only from the authority of the Church.

But if the Church be brought herein only as a witneſs, with the reſt of Mankind, upon the common reaſon and principles of Mankind; the aſſurance of the ſenſes of Mankind, and the infallible manner of deducing matters of fact from former ages, and diſtinguiſhing the true from the falſe, and thoſe which are certainly true, from thoſe which only may be true (which is the method taken in the firſt part of this diſcourſe) then the authority of the holy Scriptures, and the facts therein contained, being eſtabliſhed upon the common principles of Mankind, the Church may juſtly build her authority upon what ſhe finds given to her in the holy Scriptures.

And thus may you juſtly argue from what you find attributed to your Church by the Law; having firſt vouched the truth of the matters of fact of *Moſes*, as deliver'd in your Law, from the notoriety of the facts, and impoſſibility of any impoſture therein, as is done in the firſt part.

But if, as this your learned *Jew* does, you ground the truth of *Moſes* himſelf and all that is ſaid of him in your Law, and conſequently of the Law it ſelf, upon that credit only which your Law bids you to have to your Fathers, as being your Fathers; you give up the whole cauſe, you run into the circle of believing the Law for your Fathers, and your Fathers for the Law, which is proving the ſame thing by itſelf.

Anſ. 3. Your *Samaritans* vouch'd the Tradition of your Fathers and theirs againſt you: *Our Fathers worſhipped in this Mountain, and ye ſay that in* Jeruſalem *is the place where Men ought to worſhip.* Joh. iv. 20.

Your ten Tribes did vouch likewiſe the Tradition of their Fathers for their Idolatries and many vile abominations: Nay even the two Tribes in their captivity vouched the ſame; *We will burn Incenſe unto the Queen of Heaven, and pour out Drink offerings unto her, as we have done, we* Jer. xliv. 17.

Jer. xi. 14. *and our Fathers, our Kings, and our Princes, in the Cities of* Judah, *and in the Streets of* Jeruſalem.

If you ſay, that they deviated in this from the Law; and that in this caſe we muſt have recourſe to the firſt giving of the Law, and the ocular evidence that was then ſhewn to all the People of its being ſent to them from God, as has been before quoted from your learned *Jew*; I anſwer, that this is ſtill appealing from the Tradition of your Fathers; and ſhews that there is ſomething elſe to be look'd to: This is owning that there may be a corrupt Tradition of your Fathers.

And therefore tho' the *Jews* were bidden to learn theſe things from their Fathers, who had ſeen them, (there was all the reaſon in the World for it, for they could learn them from none other) yet the aſſurance and credibility of what their Fathers had ſeen was not grounded upon that relation in which they ſtood to them, as being their Fathers; but as their Fathers were Men, and as ſuch could not be deceiv'd in what they ſaw and heard: And the aſſurance of that Tradition by which theſe facts were convey'd to after-ages, was not ſolely grounded upon the kindneſs and affection of their Fathers, who cannot be ſuppos'd willing to impoſe upon their poſterities, as this learned *Jew* does argue; but upon the nature of the Tradition, which was incapable of any impoſture, as has been argued in the firſt part.

For other Men will pretend to the ſame kindneſs towards their children as the *Jews*: And Men that are deceiv'd themſelves, will tranſmit their deceits to their Children: Thus all Errors are continu'd. Therefore we muſt recurr to the original, and there examine the truth upon the common principles of Mankind; and ſee how this has been tranſmitted to us; and bring the nature of the Tradition to the ſtandard of the ſame common principles.

But if the *Jews* will ſtick to the Tradition of their Fathers, as the ultimate rule, from which there is to be no appeal, then they muſt ſtick to all their Traditions, right or wrong: For if they pretend to any rule whereby to judge of their Traditions, then their Traditions are not the ultimate rule.

And it is ſtrange to ſee how far this falſe notion has carry'd the *Jews*, even to acknowledge no other certain proof of the being of a God, but the Law of *Moſes*; nor any other for that, but the Tradition of their Fathers, which I come next to inſiſt upon.

Anſ. 4. This foundation which the *Jews* have given of their Faith, can never convert any other People to their Religion; becauſe others have the ſame deference for their Fathers, as the *Jews* have for theirs: And the *Jews* can give no reaſon for the contraty. Therefore the *Jews* inſiſting only upon the Tradition of their Fathers, without farther proof, give the ſame liberty to all in whatſoever they have receiv'd from their Fathers.

This our learned *Jew* confeſſes: For being preſt by *Limborch* to ſhew what Arguments the *Jews* have againſt the Heathen, he freely owns, that they have none at all; and beſtows a whole Chapter to prove it*. That the *Jews* can only diſpute with the Chriſtians, who acknowledge the Books of *Moſes*: For that the *Jews* have no other Topick whereby to prove certainly even that there is a God; nor any other proofs for the Books of *Moſes*, than the Tradition of their Fathers, who they ſuppos'd wou'd not deceive them; and becauſe theſe Books bid them hearken to their Fathers, and not to the Heathen. And if any ſhou'd deny theſe Books, ſays he, *Eſt Atheus, quia non habet aliunde Dei exiſtentiam certiſſimè & indubitanter credat: Quamvis ex aliis principiis poſſit probabiliter conjectari. Neque enim ſufficit Ratio, neque quod aliquis dixerit, de quo eadem fie-*

* Limbor. Collat. p. 136.

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rit Inquiſitio. Hanc igitur convincere eſt impoſſibile, æquè ac Dei exiſtentiam ac Moſis *Prophetiam, per quam nobis unicè conſtat eſſe Deum*, i. e. *He is an Atheiſt, becauſe he has no other way whereby certainly to believe the exiſtence of a God: Tho' from other Principles it may probably be conjectur'd: For neither is reaſon ſufficient, nor what any Man ſays, of which the ſame inquiſition is to be made. Therefore it is equally impoſſible to convince ſuch a one, as well of the exiſtence of a God, as of the Prophecy of* Moſes; *by which only it appears to us that there is a God.* This is mad work! For there cou'd be no ground to believe *Moſes*; but upon the ſuppoſition of the previous notion of a God, who ſent him: How elſe did his *Miracles* vouch his being ſent of *God?* And yet, ſays the *Jew*, by the Prophecy of *Moſes* only it appears to us that there is a God. And therefore he concludes, that as for a Heathen who rejects both the Law and the Goſpel, *ille neque ad Legem* Moſis, *neque ad Evangelium ſolidâ ratione convinci quit.* i. e. *That he cannot be convinc'd by any ſolid reaſon, of the truth either of the Law of* Moſes, *or of the Goſpel.* And therefore, that there is no diſputing with ſuch an one: *Contra Ethnicum non oportet diſputare*, is the Title of this Chapter. i. e. *That we ought not to diſpute againſt an Heathen.* For this the *Jew* confeſſes freely, when being ask'd, *If an Heathen ſhou'd deny that* Moſes *was a Prophet, only a cunning Man who impos'd upon the People, by what Arguments the* Jew *cou'd prove the Divine Miſſion of* Moſes, *which wou'd not as ſtrongly prove the Divine Miſſion likewiſe of* Chriſt? *Reſpondeo* (ſays he) *me nullâ demonſtratione* Moſis *Prophetiam Divinam eſſe, contra Ethnicum probare poſſe: Quippe id demonſtrabile non eſt.* i. e. *I anſwer, that I cannot prove by any demonſtration againſt an Heathen, that the Prophecy of* Moſes *is divine, becauſe it is not demonſtrable.*

And he ſays the ſame as to the *Mahometans*, that they have their Tradition too, deriv'd from their Fathers of the Miracles and divine Miſſion of *Mahomet*. And therefore that they can ſay to us, *Quòd ſi* Mahometi *revelationem negaverimus*, Moſis, *etiam* & Chriſti *negare poſſunt, cùm nullam rationem producere queamus, quæ ſuæ ſectæ confirmationi non inſerviat.* i. e. *That if we deny the revelation of* Mahomet, *they may likewiſe deny thoſe of* Moſes *and of* Chriſt, *ſeeing we can produce no reaſon for them, that will not ſerve likewiſe for the confirmation of their Sect.* And he grounds all upon this bottom, which he takes as granted; *Quòd alicujus præteriti, nec etiam Dei, exiſtentia, ullâ ratione demonſtrari poteſt.* i. e. *That the exiſtence of any thing that is paſt, or even of God, cannot be demonſtrated by any reaſon: Ideo argumentum nequit eſſe cum Ethnico.* That *therefore there cannot be any Argument againſt an Heathen.*

Now here I beſeech you to conſider how you have given up the whole foundation upon which the truth of your Law does ſtand, leſt you ſhou'd be forc'd to ſubmit to the truth of the Goſpel, which ſtands upon the ſame foundation. You have render'd your Law wholly precarious, while you tell all the World, that there is no reaſon to be given for it, that is, none to convince an Heathen, a *Mahometan*, or any who denies it. For reaſon is reaſon to all the World: And nothing can be true, for which there is not a reaſon ſufficient to convince Gain-ſayers.

You have by this confirm'd both Heathens, and *Mahometans*, as well as Chriſtians in what you think to be groſs Errors, and diſpleaſing to God, by allowing them the ſame foundation for their Faith that you have for yours: *i. e.* The Tradition of their Fathers. And therefore you think that they have the ſame reaſon to ſtick to theirs, as you have to ſtick to yours. Which your learned *Jew* often confeſſes: Speaking of the reaſons produc'd

on the Chriſtian ſide, he ſays, * *Et meâ ſaltem ſententiâ ſatis bonæ ſunt & efficaces, ut Chriſtiani eas amplectantur, & in ſuâ fide roborentur: Non verò ut* Judæi *Chriſtiani fiant*, i. e. *They are in my opinion good reaſons, and ſufficient for the Chriſtians to embrace them, and to be ſtrengthned in their faith: But not for the* Jews, *that they ſhou'd become Chriſtians.* This is a ſtrange ſort of reaſoning! For theſe reaſons cannot be good reaſons, unleſs they are true. And they cannot be true to one, and falſe to another, if they are rightly apprehended; unleſs the ſame reaſon can be both true and falſe. It is impoſſible that both Judaiſm and Chriſtianity can be true; as impoſſible as that our *Jeſus* is the *Meſſiah*, and that he is not the *Meſſiah*. And there can be no good reaſon for our believing him to be the *Meſſiah*, which muſt not operate as ſtrongly for your believing of it. That is, if it be true, you ought to believe it: And if it be not true, we ought not to believe it. Therefore your yielding that we have ſufficient reaſon to believe it, muſt conclude inevitably againſt your ſelves, that you think it to be true: Otherwiſe you cou'd not think that we had ſufficient reaſon to believe it.

If you ſay, that this was a ſlip in that learned *Jew*: That he ought not to have made that conceſſion: And that you are not bound by it. Conſider, that this was all that was left him to ſay: That he has manag'd your cauſe with great ſubtilty: That he took this way to avoid anſwering the plain and undeniable reaſons which prove the truth of the Goſpel; by yielding them to be ſuch as to Chriſtians, but that they are not the ſame as to the *Jews*: Which turns the cauſe upon a new foot, and diverts the queſtion.

But if you like not his management, and think you can make a better plea for your ſelves; then you muſt anſwer the reaſons given on the behalf of Chriſtianity, particularly thoſe urg'd in the firſt part againſt the Deiſts: And this is all that I deſire to bring you to. And now you have your choice, whether you will do this; and put your cauſe upon this iſſue: Or otherwiſe ſtick to that evaſion which this learned *Jew* has made for you.

There is another thing I wou'd ask you upon this head. You expect the converſion of all the World to your Religion, in the reign of your *Meſſiah*: And you have given this as one reaſon of your diſperſion, that you might convert all Nations, among whom you are ſcatter'd, as has been taken notice of before.

Now I wou'd ask, how you are to convert them? You confeſs that there are no arguments to be us'd againſt them. You leave the Chriſtians in full poſſeſſion of their faith, and ſay, they have ſufficient Reaſon for it. And for Heathens, *&c.* who do not acknowledge the Books of *Moſes*, you ſay, they are not to be diſputed with; how then are they to be converted by you?

Beſides that your learned *Jew* complains (ſee before p. 59.) That the *Jews* are perverted to the Idolatries and other corruptions of the Nations where they live, inſtead of converting theſe Nations.

But ſuppoſe that it will be otherwiſe when your *Meſſiah* comes, and that then, or ſome time before, you will begin to convert the Nations; this converſion cannot be by arguments, for you confeſs you have none againſt them. How then? There is no other way but that of *Mahomet*, by the ſword: And this is the way it ſeems that you expect. Your learned *Jew* ſays †, That there is no other Miracle needful for the *Meſſiah*,

* Limbor. Collat. *p.* 132. & alibi paſſim. † Limbor. Collat. p. 55.

whereby

whereby to vouch his Miſſion, but one only, this, *viz. To gather the* Jews *out of all Countries of the World; to reſtore the Throne of* David *to its ancient and a greater Majeſty: And to bring all Kings and Nations to the true Worſhip of God; and to love and eſteem the* Jews, *which* (ſays he) *wou'd be ſuch a Miracle, and ſo notorious, as to leave no room to doubt of it.*

The uncertainty of this mark of your *Meſſiah*, is ſhewn before, p. 53.

In the next place, this wou'd be no greater a Miracle than the ſucceſſes of the *Romans* and others, from a ſmall beginning; or of *Mahomet*, who boaſts the ſame; and to which every wickedneſs has a title, ſo it be proſperous enough.

Your *Rabbi Menaſſeh* (de *Reſurrectione*, *l.* II. *c.* XXI. as quoted by *Hornbeck* contr. *Judæos*, *l.* II. *c.* I. p. 114.) gives up this Argument, and ſays, *Non eſt tantum Miraculum*——That *it is not ſo great a Miracle, if the* Meſſiah *ſhou'd conquer many Nations and Empires; ſince we ſee it often happen, that mean and abject Men have ariſen to Kingdoms and Empires, and became Lords of many Lands.* Yet this learned *Jew*, who writes later, is forc'd to come back again to this no Miracle; for they can find none other.

And in expectation of this, you reject all the true and indubitable Miracles of our *Meſſiah*; and his much more miraculous conqueſts of the *Gentile* World, as well as of *Myriads* of the *Jews*, without force of Arms or any allurements to fleſh and blood, but on the contrary, by inviting them to ſelf-denyal, ſufferings, and death: Which ſure is a more extraordinary, and more miraculous ſort of conqueſt, and ſhews more of divine power, than what is perform'd by the arm of fleſh, outward force, or ſenſual incitements, like that which you expect, and like that of *Mahomet*, and other Impoſtors.

But tho' you ſhou'd conquer, as you expect, yet it will not follow that you will thereby convert all Nations.

It is not in a Man's own power to change his ſentiments of things, without ſufficient reaſon to convince him, at leaſt what he thinks a ſufficient reaſon; much leſs can ſuch a force be put upon him by any other. No outward conqueſt can reach to the Soul, or alter our judgment and underſtanding.

And therefore, according to what you now profeſs, that you have no Argument on your ſide, but your long expected conqueſt, it will not follow, if you obtain'd it to morrow, that you ſhou'd thereby convert any one Man in the World to your Religion; for perhaps there is not one Man in the World that thinks conqueſt alone to be the true deciſion of controverſies in Religion: And if ſo, then every Man muſt think that Religion to be falſe, which pretends to no other title but that of conqueſt.

See how inextricably you have involv'd your ſelves on all ſides, in thoſe various ſhifts you have ſet up to harden your ſelves againſt the flagrant truth of the Chriſtian Religion! You have thereby undermin'd the whole foundation upon which the truth of your Law it ſelf is demonſtrable; and which you can never recover by any other means than thoſe which eſtabliſh the truth of our *Jeſus* being the *Meſſiah*; which are the ſame that eſtabliſh the truth of *Moſes*, and (as has been ſaid) are not compatible to any Impoſtor whatſoever.

You pretend to us Chriſtians, that you have no Arguments againſt the Deiſts or Heathen. Why? Becauſe it is impoſſible for you to bring any Arguments for the truth of *Moſes*, which will not likewiſe demonſtrate more ſtrongly the truth of our *Jeſus*. But to the Heathen you ſay not ſo; you pretend to argue with them, when you can get out of ſight of Chriſtianity. Then you proceed freely upon the certain and indubitable

proofs which you have for the truth of *Moſes*, when you are not afraid that Chriſtianity ſhould come in at the ſame door: This appears in your Book *Coſri*, (whether that ſtory be real or feign'd) which contains your arguments againſt the Heathen. But in the preſence of Chriſtianity they are all ſtruck dumb, like the Oracles among the Heathen: Not that the arguments for the truth of *Moſes* are fallacious like thoſe Oracles; but as their deceit was ſuperſeded by the brightneſs of the Goſpel, ſo are you ſtopt from daring to make uſe of the Truth, becauſe it makes againſt you: And you are forc'd to betray the cauſe of *Moſes*, while you ſtand out againſt that of *Chriſt*. You cannot be true *Jews* or Diſciples of *Moſes*, till you turn Chriſtians. Then you may (as we do freely) urge the abſolute certainty of the Revelation made to *Moſes:* Which now you dare not do, becauſe the ſame topicks prove as demonſtrably the Truth of Chriſtianity; rather than admit of which, you have laid your foundation in the ſand of your Fathers Traditions, ſo explain'd, as to give you no advantage above all the traditionary fables of other Nations; which you allow to have the ſame motives of credibility to them, as yours to you; and conſequently, to be as true as yours.

This was not the method you took to make proſelytes before *Chriſt* came. Then you had free uſe of your arguments, and a ſucceſs proportionable: But now you ſeem careleſs what becomes of your Religion, ſo you can overthrow Chriſtianity: Therefore having choſen a falſe and inſufficient foundation for your own Faith, you would complement ours with the ſame.

As your learned * *Jew* does when he asks, *What reaſon there is why a Heathen ſhould believe any who preach'd to him the chriſtian Faith, and Miracles of* Chriſt *and his Apoſtles?* The firſt part of this diſcourſe againſt the Deiſts is a direct anſwer to this queſtion, and ſerves the *Jews* as well as the Deiſts: But this learned *Jew* did, and all the reſt of you muſt think that queſtion to be unanſwerable: And as ſuch it is here propos'd. But then will not the queſtion occurr, what reaſon the Chriſtians have to believe it? Or the *Jews* to believe the Law and Miracles of *Moſes?* Your learned *Jew* was aware of this; and therefore obviates it thus, *Neque par ratio eſt de Chriſtianis* & Judæis, *qui interruptâ Traditione*, &c. That there was not the ſame reaſon for the belief of the Chriſtians and the *Jews* who receiv'd it by an uninterrupted Tradition from their Fathers. This puts the chriſtian Faith upon as good a bottom as the *Jewiſh*, that is the ſame, *viz.* Tradition from their Fathers; and if they have no other, they both ſtand precariouſly, and have no more to ſay for themſelves even than the Heathen. This the learned *Jew* does not oppoſe, and therefore explains himſelf, that by his queſtion he did not mean thoſe Heathens who had long ſince believed the Goſpel, and ſo receiv'd it by tradition from their Fathers. *Sed quare nunc barbaræ Gentes, in ſuis Ritibus ſemper educatæ noſtris Traditionibus fidem præſtabunt, eò ſolùm quòd à nobis proponantur?* i. e. *But why the now heathen Nations, who have always been educated in their own Rites, ſhould embrace our Traditions, merely becauſe they are propos'd to them by us?* Indeed merely becauſe they are propos'd, is a very bad reaſon; and yet it is all that the *Jew* thinks there is in the caſe, as before is ſhewn. But here he joins the chriſtian and the *Jewiſh* Faith together, and makes both ſtand upon the ſame bottom; and that the ſame with the foundation even of the heathen Religion: That rather than not overthrow Chriſtianity, he would ſink his own Religion with it, and leave no true reveal'd Religion in the World, (all others but theſe falſly pretending to it) and ſo ſerve the ends of the Deiſts to all intents and purpoſes.

* Limbor. Collat. p. 51.

He endeavours to rivet this, as he thinks, ſecurely by the long Tradition of the *Popiſh* Legends, which, he ſays*, were believ'd by all *Chriſtendom* for more than a thouſand years, and no leſs Faith given to them than to the Goſpel itſelf. His miſtakes in reciting matter of fact I am not now upon; theſe prevail'd only in the *Latin* Church, nor in all that neither; nor for ſo long a time as he imagines. The greateſt part of the chriſtian church, in the Eaſt in *Africa*, &c. never heard of moſt of them, nor have to this day: And thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, who, tho' Men of ſenſe, pretended to believe them, yet durſt not put them upon the ſame foot with the holy Goſpel: The learned and more knowing among them called them *piæ fraudes*, and pleaded for them only as ſuch, as pious cheats to raiſe the devotion of the ſimple and more ignorant amongſt the People. But (as ſaid before, p. 24.) none of them can pretend to thoſe four marks ſet down, p. 11. n. 2. whereby the truth of the Miracles of *Moſes* and of *Chriſt* are infallibly demonſtrated. And therefore if any of theſe Legends were true, in whole or in part, yet we cannot have the ſame grounds for believing of them, as we have for the Law and the Goſpel.

IV. Both of which you ſeem willing to miſtake, in your deep prejudice to the Goſpel: For the chief end of the coming of the *Meſſiah* being to *bruiſe the Serpent's Head*, who had ſeduced Man to Sin; to *finiſh the Tranſgreſſion, and to make an end of Sin, and to make reconciliation for Iniquity*; you now contend, that Men were never under the Curſe of God: † *Quòd neque aliquando fuerunt homines ſub Dei maledictione——Quòd non conſtat ex toto ſacro textu illa ira Dei contra genus humanum, neque illa æterna maledictio: Neque memini in quatuor Evangeliis me legiſſe hoc ſecretum à* Chriſto *fuiſſe detectum: Quare putamus id poſtea inventum, ut aliis dogmatibus fundamentum ſubſterneretur.* i. e. *That neither this Wrath of God againſt Mankind, nor that eternal Curſe does appear in the whole ſacred Text: Neither do I remember to have read in the four Goſpels that this ſecret was diſcovered by Chriſt: Therefore we think that it was invented afterwards to lay a foundation for other Opinions.* This is a bold and deſperate aſſertion: Let any Man read *Mat.* xxv. 46. and *Joh.* v. 29. and ſee whether eternal Judgment be not there threaten'd; and whether theſe be not as it were repeating the very words of *Daniel*, chap. xii. 2. That *many of them that ſleep in the duſt of the Earth ſhall awake, ſome to everlaſting Life, and ſome to ſhame and everlaſting contempt.* Compare likewiſe, *Mark* ix. 44. with *Iſa.* lxvi. 24. and then tell whether there is not a puniſhment after death for the wicked, and whether this be not reveal'd as well in the Old Teſtament as in the New.

Gen. iii. 15. Dan. ix. 24.

If the *Jew* will criticiſe (as ſome Chriſtians have done) upon the words Eternal and Everlaſting, and ſay, that they mean not a duration without end, I will give two anſwers.

1. That my buſineſs with the *Jew* is not now about the eternity of Hell; but whether there be any puniſhment at all after death: Becauſe all the ends which the *Jew* propoſes of the *Meſſiah*'s coming, reſpect only this life: And they deny any that are dead to have any benefit by the *Meſſiah:* ‡ And if ſo, then his making reconciliation for Iniquity cannot deliver any mortal from the puniſhment after death.

And this puniſhment being deſcrib'd in the Texts before quoted, and ſeveral others of the Old Teſtament, to be exceedingly greater than any we can endure in this life; conſequently the greateſt benefit that we can receive by the *Meſſiah* is totally fruſtrated by the *Jews:* And they cannot deny

* Limbor. ibid. p. 133. † Limbor. Collat. p. 54, 55. ‡ Limbor. Collat. num. 17. p. 70.

but

but that the ends which the Chriſtians propoſe for the coming of the *Meſſiah* are exceedingly more noble and more beneficial than thoſe which they propoſe; and fully as agreeable to the letter of the Text, of bruiſing the Head of the Serpent, and making reconciliation for Iniquity, and ſomething more ſo than our deliverance from worldly enemies, who are not ſo properly call'd the Serpent as the Devil is: And our deliverance from his power is more ſtrictly call'd a making an end of Sin, and finiſhing of Tranſgreſſion; and more truly an everlaſting deliverance (in whatever ſenſe you will take that word) than any temporal deliverance: For if by Everlaſting you mean only temporal, yet it is the higheſt expreſſion of temporal, and the greateſt of temporal deliverances.

Let me not be miſtaken, as if by *Eternal* and *Everlaſting*, *the Worm not dying*, and *the Fire that never will be quenched*, *&c.* I favour'd at all their conſtructions which would make all theſe to mean nothing but temporary, tho' a very long duration; but I would not intermix new ſubjects in this diſcourſe, and expatiate into long digreſſions; eſpecially where the preſent controverſy does not require it: Therefore I go to my ſecond anſwer.

2. If theſe words *Eternal*, *&c.* can be thus turn'd, or if they cannot, I deſire to know from the *Jews*, what plain Text they have in all the Law of *Moſes* for everlaſting Life in Heaven; and in order thereunto, for the Reſurrection of the Dead, which they profeſs firmly to believe? They gather theſe from Texts, which, as themſelves confeſs, do bear another and a temporal meaning, reſpecting their outward ſtate in this World; but which withal do (they ſay) typically repreſent their future glorious ſtate in Heaven, their true and everlaſting *Canaan*. Yet they will not allow any thing in their Law to be a Type of the *Meſſiah*. Why? Becauſe the Law does not expreſſly ſay that ſuch a thing is a Type of the *Meſſiah:* Which yet it ſays as much as that *Canaan* was a Type of Heaven; that there will be any Reſurrection of the Dead, or eternal Life after that. What expreſs Scripture have they for what Rabbi *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, in his treatiſe of *the Reſurrection of the Dead*, does affirm to be the common opinion of the *Rabbins?* viz. **That all the* Iſraelites, *even thoſe that are dead, ſhall be partakers of the Kingdom of the* Meſſiah: *And that to this end all thoſe that are dead ſhall be raiſed again; by which Miracle the wicked being converted, ſhall acknowledge the true God, and forſake their errors: That then there ſhall be an end of this World, and a new one ariſe, or a change of this into a much better condition, wherein the Moon ſhall be as bright as the Sun, and the light of the Sun ſevenfold more than it is now: At which time the Dæmons and evil Spirits ſhall be deſtroyed; and the Trees bear Fruit every Month: And then, that God ſhall make a noble Feaſt to the Righteous out of the Fiſh the* Leviathan: *And that there ſhall be Peace among the wild Beaſts; neither ſhall they hurt Men in that holy Land: That then the Temple of God ſhall be built again; and the holy Land be again divided amongſt the Tribes: Where they ſhall eat and drink, beget Children, and each be marry'd to his own proper wife,* &c. This *Turk*'s paradiſe after death they can gather out of the words of the Law! They can find there their ſumptuous Fiſh-Dinner upon the great Whale *Leviathan!* But nothing of the heavenly Kingdom of the *Meſſiah:* Nothing of their deliverance from Sin and Hell; but eating and drinking, and lying with Women. They ſhould, upon this their ſcheme of their ſtate after death, anſwer the queſtion which one of the *Sadducees* ask'd of our Saviour concerning the ſeven brethren who had one wife, *whoſe wife ſhe ſhould be at the Reſurrection?*

* Limbor. Collat. p. 221, 222.

And now I beſeech you to conſider, is not this a fatal deluſion, that you ſhould reject all the plain Prophecies of the *Meſſiah* becauſe they do not, in ſuch expreſs words as you would dictate, lay open every particular of his ſpiritual State and Government: And (at the ſame time) turn theſe Prophecies to ſuch wild and groundleſs Fancies as are no ways typify'd by your ſacrifices, or any inſtitution in your Law; nor can fill up, in any tolerable meaſure, the glories and extent of all thoſe magnificent Prophecies concerning the Kingdom of the *Meſſiah*, wherein God hath prepared for thoſe who ſhall be thought worthy of it, not Wine and Women, and eating, ſuch groſs carnal pleaſures as we are made capable of in this frail life; but ſuch things as *ſince the beginning of the World Men have not heard, nor perceiv'd by the Ear, neither hath the Eye ſeen?* Yet becauſe they are not particularly deſcrib'd (which cannot be ſo as we could underſtand them) you will not believe them, or that they reach beyond enjoyments of ſenſe. And for this ſole reaſon you reject your *Meſſiah*, becauſe he brings you glories ſo far beyond all that you looked for: Tho' that likewiſe, in the above quoted Text, and many others of your Scriptures, has been foretold to you. Iſa. lxiv. 4.

And it is likewiſe ſhadowed out to you in this, that there was no ſacrifice or expiation in you Law for the moſt heinous crimes, ſuch as Blaſphemy, Idolatry, Murder, Adultery, Inceſt, *&c.* as your learned *Jew* confeſſes *.

Nay leſſer Sins than theſe, as that of *Eli*'s not effectually reſtraining, tho' he reprov'd his Sons, *were not to be purg'd with ſacrifice, nor offering for ever.* 1 Sam. iii. 14.

Some *Jews* fancy that the yearly ſacrifice of expiation made an atonement for all their Sins.

We ſee, not for this of *Eli*'s; and conſequently not for greater Sins.

The yearly ſacrifice was but a ſacrifice, tho' more ſolemn than the daily ſacrifices: And therefore it purg'd all thoſe Sins only which could be purg'd by ſacrifice.

If all the Sins of the *Jews* had been purg'd every year, then had they not been remember'd, brought to account, and ſo grievouſly puniſh'd as we have ſeen, and was oft threatened in the Law, in after ages, more than to the third and fourth generation: And it was a noted obſervation of your Fathers, that there was a grain of the golden Calf in all your after Judgments; *i. e.* that that Sin was never totally forgiven, but ſtill call'd to remembrance upon every freſh provocation: It is ſaid, *I will viſit upon her the Days of* Baalim, *wherein ſhe burnt Incenſe to them:* And all the goodneſs and godly reformation of *Joſiah* could not pacify God for the Sins of *Manaſſeh*; which he would not pardon, but for them remov'd *Judah out of his ſight. And ſurely this Iniquity ſhall not be purg'd from you till ye die, ſaith the Lord God of Hoſts.* Hoſ. ii. 13. 2 Kin. xxiii. 26. xxiv. 3, 4. Iſa. xxii. 14.

Therefore there were ſome Sins which were not purged by the legal ſacrifices; and theſe were the greateſt of their Sins: They were but the leſſer ſort of Sins that were purged by them. How then were the greateſt purg'd? If you will ſay, by repentance only, without any ſacrifice.

Anſ. The leſſer Sins require repentance: And do they need ſacrifice too, when the greater Sins are purg'd without it? Or are greater Sins more eaſily purg'd than the leſſer?

Here then behold your Law declaring of it ſelf that it is not perfect. That there was a farther and more efficacious ſacrifice and atonement for ſin than what was under the Law; and this for the greateſt of your ſins.

* Limbor. Collat. p. 209.

Deut. xxvii. 26. Then caſt your eye upon that Text in your Law, *Curſed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this Law to do them:* And conſider, that there was no atonement or ſacrifice in your Law for the greateſt and moſt heinous breaches of the Law. How then ſhall you be deliver'd from this Curſe? Or can you enter into eternal life without your being purg'd from this Curſe? Do you expect to be admitted into Heaven, while curſed and in your Pollutions? Can any curſed thing enter there? Then reflect upon the deſperateneſs of that poſition of yours. * *Nos verò nec Redemptionem quam expectamus, nec* Meſſiam *ipſum pro animarum ſalute, nec pro gloriâ æternâ conſequendâ, neceſſaria eſſe credimus.* i. e. *We do believe that neither the deliverance which we expect* (by our *Meſſiah) nor our* Meſſiah *himſelf are neceſſary towards the Salvation of our Souls, or for the obtaining of eternal glory.* Now then, if neither in the Law, nor in the future Reign which you expect of your *Meſſiah,* there will be any propitiation or ſacrifice for the greateſt of your ſins, how do you expect to be purg'd from them? Or muſt you enter into Heaven before you are purg'd from them? Or were ſacrifices only needleſs Ceremonies, and not effectual for the purging of thoſe Sins, which were purgeable by them? Or were greater ſins eaſier purg'd, that is, by repentance only; than leſſer ſins, which, beſides repentance, were not to be purg'd without ſacrifice alſo?

I confeſs, all this is out of doors, and urg'd to no purpoſe, if it be true which you have advanc'd (as before quoted) that Men, by the fall, were never under the curſe of God; and therefore needed no deliverance from it. That *Iſrael* was an holy Nation, becauſe they are ſo call'd in Scripture, and that *Aaron* was commanded to bleſs them: And God ſaid to *Balaam* that they were bleſſed. All which ſays your learned *Jew* † is ſo contrary to their being eternally curſed, *ut neque Deus ipſe poſſet ea componere; That God himſelf cannot reconcile it.*

I ſuppoſe he intends to come off by the word eternal, that it is not reconcilable with their being eternally under the Curſe of God: Becauſe there are ſo many places in the Law and the Prophets which ſpeak of their great wickedneſs, and being under the temporal Curſe of God.

But bleſſing is as contrary to curſing in this World, as in the next: For they are oppoſites in the nature of the thing: And therefore if the Authority of ſuch Texts, as thoſe before quoted, will free them from the eternal, it muſt alſo from the temporal Curſe, or from any Curſe at all.

But why then are they call'd holy and bleſſed, if they be under the Curſe? I ſuppoſe neither *Jew* nor Chriſtian need be inſtructed in this, it is ſo known and common a diſtinction; Men are call'd holy or bleſſed upon a perſonal, or a relative account, as they are holy in themſelves, or as related to holy things. Thus a Nation or People taken into federal Covenant with God, more peculiarly than any other Nation upon the Earth, may be call'd bleſſed above all the Nations of the Earth: And an holy People, in reſpect of the holineſs of their Laws, Covenant, Promiſes, *&c.* given to them by God.

Yet theſe may be a wicked and a curſed People, in reſpect to their practice, if they live not purſuant to their holy Law. Thus ſaid *Moſes* to your Nation, *Underſtand therefore, that the Lord thy God giveth thee not this good land to poſſeſs it, for thy righteouſneſs; for thou art a ſtiff-necked People.* And ſays God himſelf, *As I live ſaith the Lord God,* Sodom *thy Siſter hath not done, ſhe nor her Daughters, as thou haſt done, thou and thy Daughters——Neither hath* Samaria *committed half of thy ſins.* And again, *Ye are curſed with a curſe; for ye have robbed*

Deut. ix. 6.

Ezek. xvi. 48.

v. 51.

Mal. iii. 9.

* Limbor. Collat. *p.* 98. ad finem. † Limbor. Collat. *p.* 55.

me,

me, even this whole Nation. Yet all this while, that Nation was call'd the *Holy Nation*; and *Jeruſalem* the *Holy City*, when it was full of Murderers, becauſe there was the Temple and ſtated Worſhip of God. Are theſe now ſuch contradictions that God himſelf cannot reconcile? Behold the ſame People bleſſed and curſed, at the ſame time, but not in the ſame reſpect. Therefore truſt not in your being call'd the Holy People, notwithſtanding of which you ſee you may be curſed; not only here but hereafter: For, as ſaid before, to be bleſſed and curſed, is as great a contradiction in this life, as the next; and for a moment, as for eternity. And you find and complain, that you are curſed here upon many temporal accounts: And urge your great ſins as the cauſe of your *Meſſiah* delaying his coming. Now ſin is as much a contradiction to holineſs, and more than the Curſe of afflictions and puniſhment. Therefore if you can reconcile your being the Holy People with your being, at the ſame time, ſuch great Sinners, you have ſolv'd the contradiction your ſelves, which you thought too hard (when it made againſt you) for God himſelf: And you muſt at laſt grant, after all your ſtruggling, that, by the fall of *Adam*, Men were put under the Curſe of God; from which there were no ſacrifices in your Law ſufficient to purge our Souls: That therefore another and more efficacious ſacrifice than the blood of Bulls and of Goats, was neceſſary for the purging of our ſins. And you reject this ſacrifice of our *Meſſiah*, upon pretence that it is not clearly and in expreſs words reveal'd in the Old Teſtament, without any figurative and dubious Phraſes: While, at the ſame time, you build your hopes of Heaven, and explain the reſurrection of the dead in ſuch a manner, and upon ſuch Texts, as, by no force, can be ſcrew'd to thoſe wild meanings you put upon them. Jer. vii. 4.

And on the other ſide, when the death and ſacrifice of the *Meſſiah*, and the ſatisfaction thereby made to God for our ſins are reveal'd in thoſe plain and expreſs words, That *He made his Soul an offering for ſin:* That God *ſaw the travel of his Soul, and was ſatisfy'd:* That *he laid upon him the iniquity of us all:* That *he poured out his Soul unto Death: And was number'd with the tranſgreſſors: And he bare the ſin of many: And made interceſſion for the tranſgreſſors*, &c. then (as before ſhewn) Death muſt not mean Death, nor muſt any of theſe words be taken literally; but you put ſuch forc'd and figurative interpretations upon them, as can by no means bear, which is prov'd, p. 43. Iſai. liii.

You except againſt figurative expreſſions; yet you uſe them. You turn the plaineſt words into figures; and then tell us, we have no plain words: You deduce conſequences (as your notion of the reſurrection, *&c.*) from words which are no ways plain, nor can mean what you inferr from them: You raiſe Doctrines, (as of the *Leviathan*, &c.) from no words at all in your Scriptures; yet you require for our Doctrines, poſitive words out of your Scriptures; and when you have ſuch, you will not accept of them.

What Scripture can you produce for your monſtrous Story of *Armillus?* which *Hoornbeck* (cont. *Jud.* p. 253.) relates out of your Author *Avkrt Rochel, ſub ſigno Meſſiæ ſeptimo apud* Hulſium p. 51. You ſuppoſe that a Company of moſt profligate Fellows, will invent a new ſin; that they will take a beautiful Stone-Statue of a Woman, that is in *Rome*; and warming it, will lye with it; that from thence it will conceive, and at laſt burſting, there will come forth a Child, whoſe Name ſhall be call'd *Armillus*; that he ſhall be twelve Cubits high, and betwixt his eyes the length of a ſpan: That he will ſay to the wicked, I am your *Meſſiah* and your God; that they will believe in him, and make him their King; and that to him will be gather'd all the poſterity of *Eſau:* That your firſt *Meſſiah Ben Joſeph* of the tribe of *Ephraim* will fight againſt him, with

thirty

thirty thouſand *Iſraelites*; and ſhall have ſucceſs in the firſt Battle; but in the ſecond Battle, that your *Meſſiah* will be kill'd, and his Army routed. That the Angels will take away the dead Body of your *Meſſiah*, and keep it with thoſe of the Patriarchs. That after this ſhall ariſe your ſecond *Meſſiah Ben David*, of the tribe of *Judah*; and *Elias* with him; to whom the *Jews* that are left ſhall be gather'd, and oppoſe *Armillus*. That God ſhall deſtroy *Armillus* and his whole Army by fire and brimſtone and great ſtones caſt down upon them from Heaven. Then that *Michael* ſhall ſound a trumpet ſo loud, as to open the Graves, and raiſe the dead in *Jeruſalem:* And that the firſt *Meſſiah Ben Joſeph*, ſhall then be rais'd, who was kept under the gates of *Jeruſalem*. That then the *Meſſiah Ben David* ſhall be ſent to gather the diſperſed of the *Jews* from amongſt all Nations: All of whoſe Kings will bring them upon their ſhoulders, *&c.*

This is the manner by which you interpret the Scriptures; ſeveral of which are quoted in this relation (as *Pſal.* CX. 1. *Zech.* XIV. 3. *Ezek.* XXXVIII. 22. *Obad.* 1. 18.) as being to be fulfill'd in the above mention'd ſtory of *Armillus*.

Which as it is wholly deſtitute of truth, or even probability, the mad excurſion of groundleſs imagination; ſo does it in no ſort come up to the Prophecies in the holy Scriptures concerning the *Meſſiah*, or the types of him therein exhibited; which are all fulfill'd, even to an *iota* in our bleſſed Lord and Saviour.

Yet you reject him, as not being ſufficiently reveal'd in Scripture; while you think you can deduce from thence this beaſtly and unworthy legend of *Armillus*.

You have been told before of the ſtrange uncertainty you are at in the marks you have ſet up, whereby to know your *Meſſiah*, when he comes. This you have reduc'd all to ſucceſs; which cannot be known till the tryal: And that has ended in your deſtruction, all the way hitherto, in the many experiments you have made under your ſeveral *Falſe-Meſſiah*'s. And you can never be ſure, in any other who ſhall hereafter ſet up.

Nay farther, you muſt be ſure to be ruin'd, by whomſoever ſhall firſt ſet up, by this Scheme which you have laid down: For your *Meſſiah Ben Joſeph* muſt firſt come, and be ſlain, and your Armies routed by *Armillus:* So that it is not ſucceſs, but ruin that muſt be the mark of your firſt *Meſſiah*. This is great encouragement for any of you to follow whomſoever ſhall ſet up next for your *Meſſiah*.

You have had many ſuch *Meſſiah*'s already: And whenever *Ben Joſeph* ſhall come, he muſt be another unfortunate *Meſſiah*. You muſt, by your own reckoning, be once more undone, before your *Meſſiah Ben David* can come. And when your *Meſſiah Ben Joſeph* ſhall come, and be defeated; how will you know, by that mark, that it is he? That mark you have had in all the *Meſſiah*'s you ever yet ſet up: So that you will be ſtill left to expect a farther deſtruction: Thus deplorable is your ſtate!

Beſides, which of theſe *Meſſiah*'s, is it *Ben Joſeph*, or *Ben David*, to whom all thoſe marks given of the *Meſſiah* in the Scriptures do belong, as to the time, place, and other circumſtances of his coming? Or do ſome belong to one, and ſome to the other? Then you muſt tell which belong to which, or elſe you may be deceiv'd in both; at leaſt, you can be ſure of neither.

XV. Neither of them can poſſibly now have that mark inſiſted upon before, *Sect.* V. p. 47, *&c.* of the general expectation of the whole Earth, not only of the *Roman* Empire, but of all the Eaſt, that a wonderful and extraordinary Perſon ſhou'd be ſent into the World, about that time,

who ſhou'd be univerſal Monarch of all the Kings of the Earth. And accordingly three Kings came out of the Eaſt to Worſhip our *Jeſus*, guided by the miraculous leading of a new Star rais'd in Heaven to point him out.

But there is no ſuch expectation now in the World, but only amongſt you. Therefore none of your *Meſſiah*'s can come with that mark, which ſeems even neceſſary, to introduce ſuch a Saviour into the World.

For to ſuppoſe ſuch a Perſon deſign'd by God, from all eternity, to be univerſal Lord and Saviour of the whole Earth; and that all the diſpenſations which God ever gave to Man, were directed to him, as the center, and completion of all; it wou'd ſeem neceſſary and proportionable to ſuch an œconomy, that ſo glorious a Perſon ſhou'd be not only foretold, but prefigur'd in types and obſervances: Nay it cou'd not be otherwiſe, if all the inſtitutions of Religion were to be compleated in him; for that wou'd naturally inferr that they were, that they cou'd be no more than types and fore-runners of him to whom they pointed.

Thus *Chriſt* is ſaid to have been promis'd πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων, which words Tit. i. 2.
if they ſhou'd not reach the length of our *Engliſh* Tranſlation, *viz. Before the world began*; (by which the revelation of the great *Meſſiah* muſt have been made to the Angels in Heaven, before the Creation of Man, or of this lower World) yet this we are ſure of, that *Moſes* has told us he was promis'd to *Adam* and *Eve*, immediately upon their fall. Then were ſa- Gen. iii. 15.
crifices inſtituted, as types of the great and only ſacrifice which cou'd bruiſe the Serpent's head, and make atonement for ſin: Which, by that promiſe, was reſerv'd for the ſeed of the Woman; and therefore cou'd not be fulfill'd in the blood of Beaſts.

This inſtitution of ſacrifices deſcended from that time, thro' all the Poſterities of *Adam*, as a neceſſary part of Religion, and the worſhip of God: And even the Heathen retain'd ſo much of their original inſtitution, that they look'd upon them in the nature of a vicarious ſuffering of others for our ſins: And the wiſeſt of them did thence conclude, that there muſt be ſome more noble ſacrifice than that of Beaſts, whereby our ſin ſhou'd be purg'd. This led ſome of them to human ſacrifices: But ſtill that was not blood more noble than our own: And they cou'd go no farther.

Yet they were in expectation of the coming of a glorious Perſon from Heaven, who ſhou'd purge their ſins; and introduce a new and golden age of juſtice and all goodneſs, to extend thro' the whole Earth: And they generally all over the World did expect him then to come at that time when our bleſſed *Jeſus* was born, as before has been ſhewn.

But that expectation is now over. There never was ſuch at any time, either before or after that very time: The expectation was always long before that time; but no time, except that time, was the time expected for his coming: Therefore none of your *Meſſiah*'s, whom you ſtill expect, can poſſibly enter the World with this neceſſary and glorious mark of the *Meſſiah*. For that time being over, to which the general expectation was determin'd, it ceas'd there; and cannot now be taken up again: Becauſe, as it cou'd not be begun by concert, thro' ſo many diſtant Nations, who held no correſpondence; and its beginning was never known: So for the ſame reaſons, it cannot now be begun again; for then the beginning wou'd be known; and it cou'd not, without a Miracle, gain ſuch acceptance as to become univerſal through the whole World, as it was before.

And without this, it cou'd not be ſaid, *The deſire of all Nations ſhall* Hag. ii. 7.
come. For how was he their deſire, if they expected no ſuch Perſon to come?

But as neither of the *Meſſiah*'s whom you pretend to look for, are expected by any body but your ſelves; and that, not by all, if any of you,

(as we have reaſon to believe) in good earneſt: So, if they were expected according to the Scheme which you have drawn, the firſt wou'd be the Contempt, and the ſecond the Terror, but neither of them the Deſire of all Nations.

And neither of theſe motives either of Terror or Contempt, cou'd perſuade the *Gentiles* towards the fulfilling of what is written concerning the
Iſai. lx. 3. *Meſſiah*. *The* Gentiles *ſhall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightneſs of thy riſing.*

This began remarkably to be fulfill'd in the coming of the three Kings from the Eaſt, to the Light, whether literal, of the miraculous ſtar, or what that ſignify'd, the light of the Goſpel: And theſe came to the *Meſſiah*, not, as you expect, after being reduc'd by force of Arms, and converted by his ſucceſs in War, but they came *To the brightneſs of his riſing*, to his Birth; and ador'd him in his Swadling-Clothes. *They rejoiced with*
Matth. ii. 10. *exceeding great joy*, when they ſaw his Signals hung out in the Heavens. This joy cou'd not come from Contempt or Fear: But he was truly the deſire of all Nations; which neither of your *Meſſiah*'s can be, by your own account of them.

He was not to come as a Terror, but a Light to the *Gentiles*; as he has prov'd, not by conquering, but converting of them.

And towards this, it was neceſſary that he ſhould come under all thoſe circumſtances which were proper for the obtaining of ſuch an end; to perſuade the *Gentiles* to receive him, as a Legiſlator ſent from Heaven, for ſpiritual and eternal purpoſes, and not with any deſign upon their temporal Government, or for any ſecular bye ends of his own.

Therefore he ought not to have come in the outward pomp and grandeur of the World; but the fartheſt remov'd from it that was poſſible: Of mean, but virtuous Parentage, his life to be led in poverty and afflictions, and his death, ignominious. He muſt have come in a corrupt and wicked age, to oppoſe iniquity in its torrent: And hence it naturally follows, that he muſt be perſecuted, even to the death. And that his death cou'd not be defer'd long, after his beginning to preach publickly; for that a wicked World cou'd not long bear it. * Which was the reaſon *Socrates* gave at his tryal, why he taught privately ſo long; for that otherwiſe he muſt have periſh'd ſooner: And ſo have been able to do leſs good.

And we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that this was one cauſe why our bleſ-
Matth. iv. 17. ſed Saviour did not begin to preach, till he was thirty years of age. And
Luk. iii. 23. about three years after, was crucify'd.

Plato deſcribing the character of a perfect juſt Man, ſays†, *that he ſhall be ſcourged, tormented, fetter'd*, and at laſt having *ſuffer'd all manner of* evils, that he ſhall be crucify'd, or *cut in pieces*, as the ſacrifices were.

And ſays, ‡ *That it is neceſſary they ſhould wait till ſuch a one ſhould come, to teach them how they ought to behave themſelves towards God and towards Man. O when ſhall that time come?* (ſays he) *And who ſhall be that Teacher? How greatly do I deſire to ſee that Man, who he is?*

And he ſays**, that this Lawgiver muſt be ſomewhat more than of human race: For that as beaſts are govern'd by Men, ſo muſt Men by a nature which is ſuperior to their own; and therefore, that this Man who was to be the univerſal Lawgiver to Mankind, muſt likewiſe partake of the Nature

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* Plato Apol. Socr. † Ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, στρεβλώσεται, δεδήσεται—Τελευτῶν, πάντα κακὰ παθὼν ἀναστανδυλευθήσεται. *De Repub*, l. 2. ‡ Ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη περιμένειν ἕως ἄν τις μάθῃ ὡς δεῖ πρὸς Θεοὺς καὶ πρὸς Ἀνθρώπους διακεῖσθαι. Πότε ἂν παρείη ὁ χρόνος οὗτος; καὶ τίς ὁ παιδεύσων; ἥδιστα δ' ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἰδεῖν πάντων τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὶς ἐστιν. Alcibiad. *de Precat.* ** *De Leg.* l. 4.

of God. This was the ground of the heathen notion, in feigning their heroes and dæmons to be begotten by the Gods. So agreeable (but far exceeding) was our *Jeſus* in his Nature, and all his Qualifications, to the notion and expectation of the *Gentiles!* And therefore have ſo many of them gladly ſubmitted unto him.

But ſuch a *Meſſiah* as you *Jews* do now deſcribe yours to be, as it was far from what the *Gentiles* expected, and therefore he could never convert, tho' he ſhould conquer them; ſo it ſeems indeed that your ſelves do not expect any ſuch an one, as you pretend, only for an excuſe.

Some of your *Rabbies* ſaying, that he is come; ſome, that he will never come; ſome, that he will not come in this World till the Reſurrection of the Dead; others, that his coming is not material, nor to be plac'd amongſt the fundamentals of your Faith; others, that his coming is no way deſireable, as bringing greater miſchief with it than advantage to the *Jews*; others, forbidding all enquiry into the time of his coming, as indeed deſpairing of it.

Of all theſe particulars ſee the authority of your own *Rabbies*, in *Hoornbeck contr. Jud.* l. 2. p. 114, 115, and 123. There you will find, in *Codice Sanhedrin*, *R. Hillel* ſaying, *That no* Meſſiah *ſhall be given to* Iſrael; *for that they have had him already, in the days of* Hezekiah *King of* Judah. And in your *Talmud*, *R. Ula* ſays of the *Meſſiah*, *Let him come, but let me not ſee it*: That is, for the miſeries it will bring to the *Jews*, in gathering them out of all countries, where they are peaceably ſettled, to forſake their houſes and poſſeſſions, and follow their *Meſſiah* to wars, and the calamities that attend them: Eſpecially conſidering what has been before ſaid, that they muſt certainly expect deſtruction and ruin under their firſt *Meſſiah Ben Joſeph*: For all which, their poſſeſſing, at laſt, the Land of *Canaan*, will be no ſufficient reparation; they living now in Countries as good as that, and enjoying both eaſe and plenty. So that the Conqueſts of their *Meſſiah* may bring greater glory to him; but no good to the *Jews*, proportionable to the miſeries they muſt endure in fighting for him. Upon all which Conſiderations, *R. Ula* had reaſon to ſay, *Let him come, but let me not ſee him.* The ſame ſaid *Rabbi John*, in *Codice Sanhedrin*.

And the many diſappointments you have met with in your *Meſſiahs* hitherto, has made you forbid any to enquire into the time of the *Meſſiah*'s coming; your *Schebet Jehuda*, p. 245. (as quoted by *Hoornbeck* p. 123.) curſes thoſe *who ſet any time for the coming of the* Meſſiah; and gives this reaſon, *That if the* Meſſiah *does not come at that time, the Peoples hearts do fail, and they think that they are put off with perpetual fruitleſs hope.* Therefore in the *Talmud*, *Cod. Sanhedrin.* cap. xi. *Rabbi Samuel* ſays, in the words of *R. Jonathan*, *Let their Bones be broken who compute the Periods of the Times.* And this may the better be forbid, becauſe *R. Joſephus Albo* has ſtruck this article concerning the coming of the *Meſſiah* out of the number of your fundamental doctrines: So that now you may believe it, or not, as you pleaſe.

And how then will the *Gentiles* be converted by you? You have confeſs'd (as before ſhewn, p. 90. *&c.*) that you have no arguments againſt them; and now you ſeem to deſpair even of conquering them: Though if that were done, it would rather obſtruct their converſion, as has been argu'd before.

And plain reaſon does evince, that the Qualifications of a *Meſſiah* for the converſion of the *Gentiles* could be no other than what were found in our *Jeſus*: And ſuch a one they did expect; and therefore, ſo readily, did give up their Names to him.

As his Miracles were ſo flagrant and undoubted as to vouch him ſent of God; ſo could not malice itſelf find out the leaſt poſſibility of any ſiniſter or ſelf end in him: Therefore he lived poor and perſecuted, and poured out his ſoul unto death as a demonſtration that *his Kingdom was not of this World.*

He choſe followers that were poor and unlearned; and this was neceſſary to obviate the objection, that either intereſt or craft had any part in the framing of his doctrine. He enjoin'd to all his Diſciples the doctrine of Self-denial, and the Croſs; and bade them look for nothing but afflictions in this World: And this was neceſſary to obviate the objection, as if either luſt, pleaſure, or ambition, had any part in the framing of his doctrine.

He was rejected by you, of his own Nation; and this was neceſſary to obviate the objection, as if he ſought to gain you to his ſide, upon the account of obtaining the dominion over you; and then to turn your arms againſt the *Gentiles.*

His conqueſt of the *Gentiles*, by their converſion, did not begin till after his Aſcenſion; and this was neceſſary to obviate the objection, as if he had fought the temporal rule over them; as *Mahomet* did over his converts, and as you propoſe of your *Meſſiah.*

And not in the firſt converſion of the *Gentiles*, nor for three hundred years after, were any of their Kings or States brought into Chriſtianity; and this was neceſſary to obviate the objection, as if the forgery of the Goſpel had been ſupported by human authority; which render'd it hazardous for any to have detected the deceit: This was ſo neceſſary, as that we ſee the Deiſts for want of this have yet the impudence to ſuppoſe it contrary to all truth, *viz.* * that authority and Laws being on the chriſtian ſide, was the cauſe that its deceit was not detected at the beginning; which is now too late to be done for the diſtance of the ages.

Therefore we may now ſee the wonderful Providence of God in this conduct: For if the Deiſts had the argument (as they fooliſhly pretend it) of the Goſpel being abetted by Kings or States in its infancy, or before it was fully ſettled and ſpread over the earth; we ſhould never get their mouths ſtopt, and it would bear a great face of ſuſpicion that ſome cheat might have been put upon us, when none who knew it durſt diſcover it without apparent hazard to themſelves.

And again, Kings and States might have come, by this time of day, to think that their authority had ſomething to do in ſettling of the Church; and that the Goſpel was beholden to them; at leaſt ſycophants and flatterers would ſo have complemented them: And *Eraſtianiſm* would have had a plauſible plea: It is a branch of Deiſm; it ſtands and falls with that: And if it had ſuch an umbrage as this, it would over-run us; for it keeps its ground without it.

But *Chriſt* would not permit Kings to become his Servants till he had firſt endured three hundred years of their Perſecution; to teach them that his Church was not built upon their ſhoulders, nor depended upon their authority: And to ſtop the mouths of theſe ſeveral ſorts of Deiſts.

In all things, in every ſtep of his Conduct, there does appear ſuch divine Wiſdom and Foreſight, as that if any part had been otherwiſe than it is, the whole would have been viſibly defective; and conſequently, not from God: Not but that many things defective may not be from God. He makes every thing perfect in its kind to the end for which he has ordained it; but he

* Toland's *Life of* Milton, p. 91, 92. Printed *An.* 1699.

makes ſome things for higher ends than others; and in compariſon, one thing is more perfect than another.

Thus the Law of *Moſes* was perfect in its kind, for thoſe ends and purpoſes to which it was deſign'd; but *Moſes* was not deſign'd for the ultimate and univerſal Lawgiver; he never pretended to it, but, on the contrary, he pointed out to one who was to come after him, and denounces God's Judgments againſt thoſe who ſhould *not hearken unto* him. Deut. xviii. 18, 19.

Moſes was not deſigned, nor his Law calculated for the converſion of the *Gentiles*.

And he had few of thoſe qualifications which the *Gentiles* requir'd in the ſupreme and univerſal Lawgiver. He was bred up at *Pharaoh*'s Court; the adopted Son of *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, and learned in all the Wiſdom of the *Ægyptians*, who were then the moſt learned Nation upon the face of the Earth; he was mighty in words and in deeds; he march'd out of *Ægypt* at the head of ſix hundred thouſand Men; and having reſcued his own Nation, he became their *King:* Therefore he was not free from the ſuſpicion of deſign in the caſe; and was a Man every way qualify'd, both for wiſdom, courage, and education, to have contriv'd and effected it. Deut. xxxiii. 5.

And after him his Diſciples went on, according to his example, conquering with the ſword. And you now tell us, that they had no other deſign but to gain that pleaſant countrey to themſelves; that the Law which *Moſes* gave them, propos'd nothing to them beyond this; and that you hope for no more from the *Meſſiah* whom you expect, but temporal conqueſts to reſtore you to that Land again, and to ſubdue the whole World under you by force of arms; that there is nothing at all ſpiritual or heavenly in his Kingdom, but only a temporal, earthly grandeur; * that it was not meant to carry you to Heaven, but to make you great upon Earth; that the Offices of the *Meſſiah* reſpect only temporal things, and are no ways neceſſary towards the ſalvation of our ſouls, or eternal Life, as your learned *Jew*, before-quoted, has aſſerted. See before, p. 95.

Now what would *Socrates*, or *Plato*, or any of the wiſe Men among the *Gentiles* ſay to this notion of a *Meſſiah?* Wou'd they not have deteſted it, as vicious, as recommending of pride, ambition, covetouſneſs, and the vanity of this World, againſt which they fought, and thought them unworthy of a philoſopher, or a truly virtuous perſon? Therefore ſuch a *Meſſiah* could never have converted them.

But, on the other hand, there is not any one circumſtance or qualification which they could deſire in a *Meſſiah*, which is not fill'd up, nay far exceeded, in their own way, beyond what they could have contriv'd, as to the ſtricteſt rules of virtue, in the Perſon, Life, and Death of our *Meſſiah*, and in all his Conduct: Shewing beyond the poſſibility of a deceit, or a face of ſuſpicion, that he was a Legiſlator, ſent from Heaven, without any temporal deſigns: *Firſt*, To give the Sanction of God to Morality; which, tho' theſe philoſophers taught truly, yet could they not ſtamp upon it ſuch a ſeal of divine authority: And, *Secondly*, To carry them farther, and teach them the true Worſhip of God, and expiation of their Sins; with the aſſurance of everlaſting Life, and the means of obtaining it: All which they confeſs'd they wanted, and that they did expect ſuch a *Meſſiah*, or a Perſon anointed, a *Chriſt*, that is, delegated and authorized by God, to be born into the World, who ſhould teach this Goſpel, or glad Tidings unto them: And he came with ſuch demonſtration of his Commiſſion, and divinely-wiſe Conduct in all his Adminiſtration, that a *Socrates*, a *Pythagoras*, or

* Limbor. Collat. n. iv. p. 53. and n. xiv. p. 66.

a *Plato*, could not only have found no objection, but muſt have admir'd and ador'd, as ſo far exceeding whatever they imperfectly had conjectur'd, tho' they were aſſiſted with the greateſt wiſdom and virtue that was in all the *Gentile* World.

Thus you ſee that the objections which you *Jews*, and ſome of the lewd, and fooliſh Deiſts have made againſt the Poverty, Sufferings, and Death of our *Meſſiah*, turn all into demonſtrations of his truth: And were ſo neceſſary, that, as he could not have fulfill'd the Law without them, ſo could he never, any otherwiſe, have been receiv'd of the *Gentiles*.

For God forces not, tho' he governs the wills of Men: That would be to deſtroy the creature he had made; for without the freedom of will, Man would not be a reaſonable animal: And the wiſdom of God is chiefly known, in ſo diſpoſing of things, as to bring his own purpoſes to paſs, and yet leaving Men to the full Freedom of their own wills.

This was one reaſon why our *Jeſus* would not ſuffer the Devils to confeſs to him: And charg'd ſeveral whom he cured not to make it known till the time ſhould come that he was to ſuffer: For that would have haſten'd his Sufferings, before the time, for the reaſon before given out of *Socrates* his defence.

It was in his power to have forc'd the *Jews* to a confeſſion of him: But then they had not acted freely. Therefore having given them all reaſonable conviction of his Miſſion, he left them to their freedom, whether they wou'd acknowledge him, or not. And their obſtinacy did harden them ſtill more, and deprav'd their judgment; which was a juſt puniſhment of their obſtinacy, as well as a natural effect of it: For ſin does always puniſh it ſelf; it is its own accuſer, judge, and executioner. This blinded the obſtinate among the *Jews*, that they knew not their *Meſſiah*: For, *Had they known him, they wou'd not have crucify'd the Lord of Glory.* And thus that wonderful œconomy for the ſalvation of Man, was brought about, by the greateſt conduct of wiſdom and goodneſs that was poſſible.

And by the ſame means, the converſion of the *Gentiles* was contriv'd: For had the *Jews* all generally follow'd *Chriſt*, the *Gentiles*, being left to their own freedom, wou'd never have receiv'd him; becauſe they wou'd have look'd upon him as a Legiſlator ſent only to the *Jews*; whoſe Law
Gen. xliii.32. kept them at the utmoſt diſtance and deteſtation of the *Gentiles*: Whom therefore the *Gentiles* hated and deſpiſed, and thought it abomination, ſo much as to eat with them; and therefore wou'd have diſdain'd to have receiv'd a Law-giver from them, who pretended to a right and a promiſe to conquer and overcome all the whole *Gentile* World, and ſubdue them under their *Meſſiah*; which they underſtood was to be by force of Arms. And tho' ſuch a *Meſſiah* had ſet up, with never ſo much guiſe of humility and meekneſs, and put out the moſt ſpecious declarations (as other Conquerors have at firſt done) if he had led the whole body of the *Jews* after him, the *Gentiles* wou'd have look'd upon all this as a trick to diſarm them, by rendring them ſecure; and wou'd not have ſo been caught.

On the other hand, the *Jews* cou'd never have receiv'd a *Meſſiah* from the *Gentiles*: That was contrary to all the promiſes made to them in their Law.

Therefore, as it was neceſſary, with reſpect to the *Segullah*, that the *Meſſiah* ſhou'd be of the *Jews*; ſo was it neceſſary, in reſpect of the *Gentiles*, that he ſhou'd be rejected by the chief of the *Jews*; that he ſhou'd be perſecuted and deſtroy'd by them: He cou'd not otherwiſe have become an univerſal Law-giver both to the *Jews* and the *Gentiles*.

And let me ſay, in reſpect of the Deiſts, it was neceſſary that there ſhou'd be a *Segullah*, or peculiar Church of God ſet up ſomewhere, in

ſome

ſome one Nation of the World; elſe the whole Earth wou'd have been irrecoverably ſunk in idolatry: And there cou'd never, in ſuch a frame of things, be any expiation for the ſins of Mankind; who, therefore, were all repreſented in the Nation of the *Segullah*; and to be, by degrees, incorporated into them; and converted by them. As is ſhewn before, p. 82, 83.

And it was likewiſe neceſſary, that this Nation of the *Segullah* ſhou'd be the feweſt and moſt neglected People of the Earth, as ſhewn p. 72.

And it was neceſſary, that the *Meſſiah* ſhou'd have been rejected by the chief and governing part of the *Jews*, the Chief-Prieſts, and *Sanhedrin*: So was it as neceſſary, that he ſhou'd have been receiv'd and follow'd by others of the meaneſt and leſs notic'd of the *Jews*; becauſe the *Gentiles* were to be converted by the *Jews*, and brought into their *Segullah*, as ſhewn before p. 82.

And theſe *Jews*, who at firſt follow'd *Chriſt*, were to be but few, and inconſiderable, during his life: To take away all umbrage from the *Gentiles*, as well as the governing part of the *Jews*, that he deſign'd any infraction upon their civil rights and liberties.

Therefore the great flowing in of the *Jews* firſt, particularly of their Prieſts, and afterwards of the *Gentiles*, was not till after the Aſcenſion of our bleſſed Lord: To put them out of all fear of his going about to ſet up a temporal Kingdom, after his reſurrection (as his Diſciples expected, *Act.* 1. 6.) For that had made a great noiſe, and given the allarm both to the High Prieſt and Governors of the *Jews*, as well as to the *Gentiles*: Therefore, tho' he ſhew'd himſelf openly, after his reſurrection, and to ſo many, and at ſundry times, and by ſuch infallible proofs, as to confirm the truth of it, paſt all poſſibility of a deceit, or ground of ſcruple to after ages; yet he ſhewed not himſelf openly, to *all the people*. That wou'd have ſet the whole World in a flame, all on the ſuddain; who were not prepared, for they knew not as yet the deſign of his Kingdom, that it was to be ſpiritual and heavenly; till he ſhou'd in a long tract of time, and by degrees, bring over the whole kingdom of the Earth to his ſubjection, in the belief of his Goſpel; not by force of Arms (for that cou'd not have done it) but according to the full freedom of their own wills, by a rational conviction.

Acts vi. 7.

Acts v. 40, 41.

And it is obſervable, that tho' one great Article of the Apoſtolical Office, at firſt, was, particularly to be witneſſes of the reſurrection of *Chriſt*; that this, at firſt, was neceſſary to the conſtitution of an Apoſtle; and therefore *Chriſt* did ſhew himſelf, in a miraculous manner, to St. *Paul*, to qualify him for that Office: Yet, as himſelf ſays, it was, *Laſt of all, as one born out of due time.* For he was conſtituted to be the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, who came in to the Goſpel *Laſt of all, as born out of due time.*

Acts i. 22.

And he was the only Man among the Apoſtles, who had acquir'd learning by ſtudy and education: Therefore he was not admitted, till the Goſpel had been firſt preached by the others, and fully eſtabliſh'd: And he was, at firſt, a perſecutor of it; to take away the leaſt ſuſpicion, that his parts or learning had any ſhare in the contrivance of the Goſpel. And then his coming in at laſt, did remove the prejudice, that no Men of learning and ſagacity had embrac'd it. He broke the Ice, for the *Gentiles*, who were admirers of learning; and for this they valu'd him the more, and hearken'd to him.

I cou'd enlarge, in many other particulars; indeed in every particular, thro' the whole œconomy of the Goſpel, to ſhew the wonderful conduct, and moſt minute proportion that there is in every part: Which, of it ſelf,

were ſufficient to convince any conſidering Perſon, that the whole contrivance was divine, and that no leſſer wiſdom cou'd have ſo diſpoſed of it.

But that wou'd require a Treatiſe by it ſelf. And thus much I thought neceſſary for my preſent ſubject: To ſhew how we *Gentiles* were drawn into the belief of the Goſpel, by the cords of a Man; by ſuch methods, as overcame our reaſon, without deſtroying the freedom of our Will; ſuch as give us the utmoſt demonſtration of the wiſdom and goodneſs of God, without the interpoſition of his almighty power, by which he governs the unthinking part of his Creation.

And as the *Jews* firſt brought us into the Goſpel, ſo wou'd we now provoke them to emulation by the ſame methods, in which God has dealt with us; by ſhewing them the beauty, the harmony, and irrefragable demonſtration of fact, that has convinced us of the truth of the Goſpel.

The infidelity of ſo many of you *Jews*, was neceſſary (as ſhew'd before) towards our receiving of the Goſpel, till the fullneſs of the *Gentiles* ſhou'd come in.

Rom. xi. 15. And if the *caſting away of you, be the reconciling of the world; what ſhall the receiving of you be, but life from the dead?* Amen.

XVI. Let me now conclude, and apply all that has been ſaid, by a ſhort recapitulation and enforcement of the principal parts of it.

You have given up all the credibility that there is for the truth of *Moſes* and your Law, rather than admit of the ſame credibility (and ſtronger) that there is for *Chriſt* and the Goſpel. So that, as ſaid before, and as has been prov'd, you have involv'd your ſelves under the neceſſity, either of rejecting *Moſes*, or embracing of Chriſtianity.

Your objections have been anſwer'd, *ex abundanti*; for after the full proof of the Miracles of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, there needed no more to have been ſaid, as to receiving the Doctrine which they taught, and thoſe expoſitions they gave of the Law; which ſtand upon as ſure a foundation, and carry the ſame infallible credentials of divine authority as the Law it ſelf.

And theſe cannot be overthrown by never ſo great a cloud of difficulties or objections, tho' they cou'd not be anſwer'd to ſatisfaction, without diſproving the motives of credibility upon which they are receiv'd.

For we may have ſufficient reaſon to believe many things, and yet not be able to ſolve all the difficulties that may ariſe concerning them.

As in natural things, we cannot explain the manner and conveyance of ſenſible objects, thro' our outward Organs to our Soul; nor the thouſandth part of thoſe difficulties which are ſtarted concerning the Soul it ſelf: Yet no Man doubts but that he has a Soul, that he ſees, hears, thinks, reaſons, *&c.*

So in ſupernatural things, who can ſolve all that may be ask'd concerning the being and operations of God? Yet all this is no Argument againſt the belief of a firſt cauſe, and its eſſential perfections; becauſe it is forc'd upon us by undeniable reaſon.

Therefore, unleſs you can ſhew the fallacy of thoſe four marks, which in the firſt part are ſet down, to aſcertain the truth of matters of fact; or ſecondly, ſhew that the matters of fact of *Chriſt* want any of them; all your objections borrow'd from other topicks, can ſignify nothing againſt the truth of Chriſtianity.

And if you can ſhew the uncertainty of theſe marks; or that they are wanting to the evidence of Chriſtianity: Then down comes your Law with it; and we muſt all together turn Deiſts.

You ſay (as has been before quoted, p. 70.) That if *Chriſt* after he roſe from the dead, had appear'd to the whole congregation of *Iſrael*, &c. That this wou'd have remov'd all ſcruple from you; and that you wou'd, without all doubt, have believ'd him.

And now I beſeech you, have you not had as miraculous confirmation of him, as even this which you require? Was not the viſible deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon him at his Baptiſm, and the audible voice from Heaven, before all the People, telling them from the Mouth of God, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. was not this a much ſtronger indication from God, than if a Man formerly dead, had appear'd? Might not one Man be like another? Have not many been deceiv'd upon that point? Were not the Apoſtles hardly brought to believe it, even by many Miracles? Wou'd there not be more queſtions to be ask'd in that caſe, than in ſuch a viſible apparition from Heaven before the eyes of ſo many People, and in words ſpoke from Heaven in all their hearing?

Our bleſſed Saviour ſaid to ſome of your Fathers, That *if they heard not* Moſes *and the Prophets, neither wou'd they be perſuaded, tho' one roſe from the dead.* And the reaſon is plain, becauſe the proofs for *Moſes*, &c. are more indubitable than the apparition of the dead Man. Luk. xvi. 31.

But do you want even this proof? Did not *Chriſt* appear, after his reſurrection to above five hundred of your Fathers at once? And has not this been atteſted by a multitude of Miracles wrought by thoſe of your Fathers, who ſaw him, who eat with him and convers'd forty days with him, after he roſe from the dead? Did he not appear to *Paul* from Heaven after his aſcenſion? If not, wou'd not ſome of thoſe *Jews* who then journeyed with him, who ſaw that light, above the brightneſs of the Sun; and heard the voice, tho' not the diſtinct words of him that ſpoke to *Paul*; who were ſtruck down to the Earth, and greatly terrify'd; who ſaw *Paul* ſtruck blind upon the ſpot, and led him by the hand into *Damaſcus*: Wou'd none of theſe have diſcover'd the cheat, if all this Story had been a mere invention and forgery of *Paul*'s? Wou'd none of theſe have done it, who were ſo far from being favourable to the Chriſtian ſide, that they were then going along with *Paul* to perſecute that way, even unto the death? Would they not have done it, when *Paul* trumpt it up, and the Chriſtians laid ſuch ſtreſs upon it, that it is told at large in three ſeveral places of the *Acts*, *chap.* IX. XXII. and XXVI. when *Paul*, within three days, began to preach *Chriſt* in *Damaſcus*, and confounded the *Jews* there, where thoſe who journeyed with him were then preſent, and might have confounded him, if they had deny'd that matter of fact, when he adduc'd them as witneſſes of it? But above all, the miracles which *Paul* wrought, as great even as this, do vouch his truth in this matter, ſeeing they are deduc'd to us, with all the four marks before mention'd, which do infallibly demonſtrate the certainty of any matter of fact.

Moreover conſider, that all theſe witneſſes to the Reſurrection of *Chriſt* were *Jews*, and none other. It has been before obſerv'd that *Chriſt* preach'd to none but the *Jews* before his death; ſo after his Reſurrection he ſhewed himſelf to none other but to them: And from the *Jews* only have we *Gentiles* receiv'd the knowledge of his Reſurrection, and of all the Goſpel. This is a Tradition of the *Jews*, and deduced through a greater number of them, and their poſterities, (as before has been ſhewn) than there are *Jews* who now ſtand out againſt it. Theſe reject the Tradition of their Fathers, upon which they now lay the whole ſtreſs of their Religion; and are proof againſt thoſe convictions which have converted the *Gentiles*. The chriſtian *Jews* did not ſet up *Chriſt* for their *Meſſiah*; they choſe not him, but he choſe them: They knew him not to be the *Meſſiah* Joh. xv. 16.

till they were convinc'd by many Miracles; they underſtood not the nature of his Kingdom, but were brought by him from their notion of reigning to that of ſuffering with him upon the Earth. Therefore theſe are to be leſs ſuſpected than thoſe others of your Fathers, who ſet up *Meſſiahs* for themſelves, in hopes to reign with them in the Land of *Canaan*; and have been as often deceiv'd, and ſuffer'd miſerable deſtruction by it.

But, as before has been argued, there is no ſuch viſible means in the World to bring them to that temporal grandeur which they expect, and the Nation of the *Jews* to that univerſal honour, ſuper-eminence, and dominion through the whole Earth, as their converſion to Chriſtianity: Then will *Chriſt* be not only *a Light to the* Gentiles, but *the Glory of his People* Iſrael.

But chiefly and above all, I earneſtly recommend to you *Jews* the conſideration of your eternal State, towards which you expect no benefit from your *Meſſiah*; and yet without whom you can give no account how you ſhall be deliver'd and purg'd from thoſe Sins for which there were no ſacrifices or expiation under the Law, as has been diſcours'd before.

Num. xxxv. 25, 28. There was none for thoſe who *fled to the Cities of Refuge:* Nothing could deliver them from thence but *the Death of the High-prieſt:* Which was a plain Type that nothing but the Death of our great High prieſt can deliver us from the guilt of Sin. The like parallel might be carry'd on through every branch of your Law pointing to the *Meſſiah*; but that would divert too much: You have only a few inſtances here: The whole would take up a diſcourſe longer than all I have written to you.

I wiſh even the temporal glory of *Iſrael:* And ſhould rejoice that, in the day of their converſion, I ſhould be found among thoſe who are ſprung from their ſtock, and ſhall exult to re-aſſume our ancient and moſt honourable name of *Jews*.

And let the chiefeſt glory, as in Heaven, ſo on Earth be to thoſe of you who ſhall lead the way, and be inſtrumental in the reſtoration of the Families of *Jacob*.

Towards which I will with theſe my ſmall endeavours join my hearty prayers; made more effectual as offered up in the communion of the holy catholick Church, that part of it eſpecially in *England*, which prays for you, on this bleſſed day, to your God and our God, through the Mediation and Satisfaction made for us by your and our only *Meſſiah*; and after his holy Example, who, this day, poured forth his Blood with his Prayers for you upon the Croſs. O Lord that this were the time when they ſhould be heard! *Amen.* Lord *Jeſu*, come quickly.

Good-Friday, 1689.

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THE

Truth of Chriſtianity

DEMONSTRATED:

WITH A

DISSERTATION

CONCERNING

PRIVATE JUDGMENT and AUTHORITY.

To which is Prefixed a

VINDICATION

OF

The Short METHOD with the DEISTS.

IN

Anſwer to a BOOK lately Publiſhed with this TITLE:

[A Detection of the true Meaning and wicked Deſign of a Book, entitled, *A Plain and Eaſy Method with the Deiſts*; wherein it is proved, that the Author's *(Leſley)* FOUR MARKS are the *Marks of the Beaſt*, and are calculated only for the cauſe and ſervice of Popery. *London*, Printed and are to be Sold by *B. Bragg* at the *Raven* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*, 1710.]

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PREFACE to the ſhort Method with the DEISTS vindicated.

WHen firſt I ſaw this Detection, *I went to it with great expectation, to ſee what cou'd be ſaid againſt the four marks ſet down in the* Short Method, *&c. But the Title Page calling them the* Marks of the Beaſt, *and charging the deſign to be Popiſh and Wicked, I concluded it to be Grubſtreet, wrote by ſome impotent Whigg or Diſſenter, in ſpite to the Author, rather to give him ill names, than to anſwer his Arguments.*

But when I had read it over, I own it confounded me. I was filled with horror and amazement, to ſee Chriſt *our Lord not only blaſphemed but ridiculed, and the truth of his facts and of the Goſpel, put into a lower claſs of Probability than the moſt ſenſleſs Legends either of the Papiſts or the Heathens. Here the Cloven-foot appear'd notoriouſly, and ſhewed out of what quiver this envenomed arrow came, even of an inveterate and malicious Deiſt, filled with all the rage of Hell againſt the Glory of God manifeſted in that Revelation he gave to the World for the Salvation of Mankind.*

And it gave me a very melancholy reflexion, to ſee the ſpirit of Infidelity let looſe amongſt us, and of late years appear open and bare-fac'd; and by this means to have made ſo many Proſelytes from Chriſtianity among all orders and degrees of Men; inſomuch, that it is become a recommendation, and mark of Wit to be one of theſe free-thinkers; and all others are loaded with the contemptible name of prieſt-ridden and ſlaviſh in their underſtandings.

For these ends this Detection *was wrote: But (blessed be God) so poor and mean, as to the reasoning part, that it must confirm any Man of sense much more in the truth and certainty of the Christian Religion, to see how wretchedly silly all these efforts are which are made against it. For this reason I thought to neglect it, and let it sink under its own weight of nonsense and contradiction. But I was told that it had effect with many, not only of the unthinking and lowest size of understandings, but with others of more capacity, whose prejudice and inclinations made every thing of this sort most acceptable and valuable to them. And that some had boasted of it, not only as a very shrewd but an unanswerable piece, against Priest-craft and all the Fourb of Revelation, to use their own expression as they have given it us in Print.*

This determined me to write an Answer to the Detection. *And in thinking this matter over again, I found there were other marks or evidences for Christianity, very material, besides those four which I have set down in the* Short Method with the Deists. *Not that these four do not sufficiently evince the truth of Christianity, and distinguish it from any false facts which ever were in the World: But there are other evidences of Christianity which no other fact how true soever either has had, or can have. These add to the evidence, tho' not to the truth of Christianity. And it is glorious to see this fact of* Christ *stand single in the Creation, with evidence peculiar to it self alone.*

I have answered the Detection *by the first four marks only, because these are what he undertook to disprove. And I have put that answer first by it self, because I wou'd not intermix it with that demonstration of Christianity which follows, and would be much interrupted, if the Discourse should break off, as frequently as the answering the* Detection *upon every particular would require. And tho' the last four marks which I have now added to this demonstration, would at first sight overthrow all the poor Sophisms in the* Detection, *none of the facts he produces as a dis-proof of the first four marks, having the least shadow or pretence of coming up to the evidence of any of the other marks; yet these not being in his view when he wrote the* Detection, *he might think he had gain'd his point against the first four marks, and so overthrown the* Short Method; *and put me to bring in fresh succours for the support of Christianity. But having demonstrated the truth of Christianity by the first four marks, I now by the others shew the glory of it; which, as the Sun, not only dispels the darkness of error, but obscures all inferior truths, that, like the lesser lights of Moon and Stars, dis-*

appear

appear at the approach of this ſuperior light, and have no glory, by reaſon of the glory that excelleth.

And here I bring in the Jews, *to let them ſee how far the evidence of the fact of* Chriſt *outſhines that of their* Moſes, *who has no ſhare in the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth evidences here produc'd for Chriſtianity; which has likewiſe all the other that are or can be produc'd for* Moſes *or the Law.*

I have not made the Jew *a Party in this diſpute, becauſe indeed I cou'd not find what to ſay for his cauſe, ſuppoſing my ſelf a* Jew; *which is the method I take in repreſenting and diſcuſſing the opinion of my adverſary, to ſay all I can for it, as if it were really my own opinion. But in this caſe, it was not in my power to put any tolerable anſwer in the Mouth of a* Jew, *unleſs I ſhould make him totally give up his cauſe; which in an opponent would ſeem a betraying it. Therefore I have left it to themſelves, to ſay more on their own behalf than did occurr to me, if they can find it out; for I think their cauſe more naked than even that of the Deiſts, becauſe they muſt run counter to their own Principles, and overthrow all their foundations, in defending themſelves againſt Chriſtianity, which is built upon them.*

But in the third part of this diſcourſe, concerning private Judgment and Authority, I have introduced the Jew *as a ſpeaker, becauſe tho' he has ſo very little to ſay againſt the evidence of Chriſtianity, upon the foot of Reaſon, or of the Prophecies concerning the* Meſſiah *in the* Old Teſtament; *yet if we put the proof of Chriſtianity and the truth of the Scriptures, upon the Authority of the Church, as is done in the Church of* Rome, *there the Arguments of the* Jew *ſeem to me irrefragable againſt this foundation of Chriſtianity. And this is the cleareſt manner wherein I can ſhew to a ſincere and honeſt* Roman Catholick *the prejudice which his Church has done to Chriſtianity, in this new Topick ſhe has taken up to defend her ſelf againſt the Reformation, of reſolving our faith into the Authority of the Church, and denying us the uſe of our private Judgment, or the moſt flagrant proofs in the World againſt ſuch Authority.*

But as I ſaid before to the Jew, *ſo I do now to the* Roman Catholick, *That I have made his cauſe my own, and argued for it all that is poſſibly in my power. But not to preclude him from offering whatever farther may occurr to him in defence of his own Tenet; which I ſhall be moſt willing to hear, and promiſe to conſider it as impartially as I can: Becauſe it is for my own ſake, and I would not pawn my Soul for my Party.*

Whoever is in earneſt with Religion, would wiſh all the World

of his mind: And therefore as he is zealous to perſuade others; ſo he ought to be patient in bearing the contradiction of thoſe who oppoſe themſelves; inſtructing them in meekneſs, while they ſhew any docible temper. And when this meets on both ſides, the Chriſtian Church may have hopes of Peace.

All I have deſired of the Roman Catholick *in this diſſertation, is, to give us free liberty of reaſoning together, and not to ſay, I have already determined my ſelf upon the authority of the Church, and will hear no more, nor admit any Argument againſt it: I will not ſuffer any diſpute concerning whatever the Church has propoſed to me as of faith: It is in vain to offer to ſhew a Man any thing, till firſt you have perſuaded him to open his Eyes. Yet I deſpair not, for* Chriſt *is the* λόγος *the Reaſon or Wiſdom of God, and that ray of it communicated to us makes us Men and his image: It is part of our Nature, and we cannot diveſt our ſelves wholly of it; for we muſt make uſe of our Reaſon, in finding out Arguments why we ſhould not make uſe of it. And ſince reaſon muſt be our Inſtructor, why ſhould we deny it to be be our Guide? Why ſhould we exclude it in Religion, where we have the greateſt occaſion for it, to ſee that we are not miſled? Muſt we be ſharp-ſighted in in our temporal Affairs, and carried blindfold as to our eternal? Muſt we not examine why we believe in* Chriſt, *rather than in* Mahomet? *Why we are not* Jews *this day, but Chriſtians? Or do we take up our Religion by chance, according to the place where we were born and bred? And does not this befall moſt Men, by ſtopping their Ears againſt Reaſon? Does God admit us to reaſon with him?* Come now, and let us reaſon together, ſaith the Lord; *does he appeal to our private Judgment? He ſays,* Judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my Vineyard; *did he permit* Abraham *to argue with him?* Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right? *And ſhall Man ſay to us, you are not allowed to ask us any queſtions at all, but to believe implicitly whatever we declare unto you?*

Iſai. i. 18.

Chap. v. 3.

Gen. xviii. 25.

This is the cauſe I have undertaken: And how ſhall I not hope that Reaſon will prevail,

Chriſto *duce*, & *auſpice* Chriſto?

From my Tuſculum.
All Saints, 1710.

THE

The Short and Easy METHOD WITH THE DEISTS VINDICATED.

The four Marks of the truth of Facts, upon which the *Short Method* proceeds.

I. *That the fact be such, as that Mens outward Senses, their Eyes and Ears may judge of it.*

II. *That it be done publickly in the face of the World.*

III. *That not only publick Monuments be kept up in memory of it, but some outward Actions to be performed.*

IV. *That such Monuments and such Actions or Observances be instituted, and do commence from the time that the fact was done.*

I. MY *Short and Easy Method with the* DEISTS, bears Date *July* 17th 1697. And was but two Sheets of Paper, being wrote for the satisfaction of a Gentlewoman (tho' it is address'd as to a Man) who had been stagger'd with the Arguments of Deism even to distraction; for tho' (as she told me) she was not come to be a downright Deist, yet she was not able to answer their Arguments, nor to clear up the matter to her own mind; and what had been so often rung in her Ears, of the Story of *Christ* being but a Fable, like that of *Mahomet* or the Heathen Gods, wou'd dart into her

her thoughts in the midſt of her Devotions, even at the holy Sacrament; which, ſaid ſhe, if Chriſtianity be a truth, ſeem'd to me to be blaſphemous, and that I was provoking God, while I pretended to worſhip him. This at laſt wrought ſo powerfully with her, that ſhe came to abſtain from all prayers, even in private; and was in a moſt deplorable condition, owning that ſhe was often tempted to deſtroy her ſelf, which ſhe was afraid wou'd be the Iſſue. I found diſcourſing with her had but little effect, for in that violent diſcompoſure, ſhe cou'd not give attention, but wou'd fall out into terrible exclamations, and wiſhing her ſelf dead, or that ſhe had never been born. I then wrote this Letter to her, free from all intricacies, and ſuited to her Capacity; and prevail'd with her to copy it in her own hand, thinking that wou'd fix her attention the more, and prevent thoſe wandering thoughts which interrupted her conſideration of what was offer'd to her in diſcourſe. And, by the bleſſing of God, this had the deſir'd effect, for ſhe came to reaſon calmly, and at laſt was fully convinc'd, as ſhe ſtill remains; and ſhe was able to keep her ground with the Deiſts by the four marks, which none of the Stories they told her of the Heathen Gods, of *Mahomet*, or the Legends, cou'd come up to. Some had the firſt mark, ſome the ſecond, and ſome the third, but all ſtuck at the fourth, none of them had all the four. And it was by her perſuaſion, and of ſome others to whom ſhe ſhewed my Letter, that I was prevail'd with to let it be made publick. And it meeting with a favourable reception, I enlarged it to four or five Sheets in the next Edition. And took in the Caſe of the *Jews*, which made a larger Volume.

II. I had ſeveral conferences with ſome Deiſts upon the Argument: And the Iſſue was, They were to find out ſome fact that was falſe which had all the four marks. And tho' they nam'd many, yet none was found that wou'd bear the Teſt. Nor cou'd they find any ſuppoſitious Book which had theſe four marks for its veracity, as the holy Scriptures have, which commenced from the time they ſpeak of, and were written by the Actors of the facts they relate, or by Eye and Ear-Witneſſes. And thus the matter has ſtood theſe 13 Years, till this detection is at laſt come out, and like the Mountain ſo long with Child, has brought forth a Mouſe.

(III.) His proofs begin p. 14. And the firſt inſtance is out of *Livy* of a decree made at *Rome* for one day's ſupplication to *Æſculapius*, to remove a Plague that was in the City.

1. Then he quotes a very modern Author *Freinſhemius*, who wrote a ſupplement to *Livy*, and there tells a ſtrange Story of a Serpent that came into a Ship at *Epidaurus*, and was carry'd to *Rome*, where being arriv'd it ſwam into an Iſland in the *Tiber*, and was no more ſeen. And they ſuppoſing the Deity of *Æſculapius* to be in the Serpent, and that the God had choſen this place for a Temple to be built to him, did accordingly build a Temple in that Iſland for *Æſculapius*, and the Plague ceaſed. And he ſays *Freinſhemius* quotes ſeveral Authors for this. And ſo he might: No doubt a Story may be handed from one to another. But who was the original Author? And what cauſe of knowledge had he? Was he an Eye-witneſs of it? Or did he dream it? Perhaps he had it from an Old Woman in a Chimney-corner, or out of a Romance, or fram'd it as ſuch himſelf. Yet he has the confidence to ſay, That this has all the four marks.

But ſuppoſe this Story were true, what wou'd he make of it? Did this Serpent ſpeak, and teach the World any Doctrine as ſent from God? Or was it to vouch the Miſſion of any Perſon who pretended to be ſo ſent? I think we need ſtay no longer with this.

2. His next is p. 19. Of two unknown young Men, who charged on the

front of the *Roman* Horſe againſt the *Latins:* And the ſame Night they two, or two ſuch like, were ſeen at *Rome*, and told them the *Latins* were routed. And the *Romans* fancying theſe to be *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, built a Temple to them, and appointed a yearly Proceſſion in memory of the happy concluſion of that War with the *Latins*. To which I ſay,

Firſt, That this is told by none who were Eye-witneſſes, or who liv'd near the time.

Secondly, Here is nothing but the pure fancy of the *Romans* that theſe were *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. For it is not ſaid that theſe two Men told them ſo.

Thirdly, Suppoſe the fact true, this was not to confirm any Doctrine, or vouch the Miſſion of any Prophet or Teacher, as ſent from God.

If you ſay, that it was a confirmation of the then *Roman* Idolatry, that God ſuffer'd ſuch a wonderful thing to be done among them; it will not follow: For greater wonders than this Apparition (ſuppoſe it true) were done by the Magicians in *Ægypt*, and by the Devil when he brought down fire upon *Job*'s Cattle: And this Apparition to the *Romans* was not out of the Power of the evil Spirits to perform, if God ſo permitted them. Of this ſee more in what is ſaid hereafter upon the head of Miracles, the laſt *Num.* VII of this Book.

3. His next inſtance is p. 25. of *Sommonocodom* now worſhipped in *Siam:* Where he draws a moſt blaſphemous parallel betwixt him and *Chriſt*, as to his Birth, and ſeveral paſſages of his Life. For anſwer to this I refer you to the Letter hereunto annex'd from an ingenious Friend of mine, whom I deſired to ſearch for Father *Tachard* and Mr. *Gervaiſe* quoted for this Story in the *Detection*, I not having the Books, and being not well able at this time to go about and look after them. There you will find that the *Siameſe* do not reckon this *Sommonocodom* as the founder of their Religion: That they neither know when or by whom the book they have of him was written: That they believe no God, but a continual fluxation and tranſmigration of Souls from eternity: That they have no certain account or hiſtory even of their own Kingdom or their civil Affairs: In ſhort, that they are a moſt ſtupid and brutal people. And as for the ſenſleſs ſtories they have of their *Sommonocodom*, without the appearance of truth or any foundation, thoſe you will ſee in the Letter. But from what they tell of *Sommonocodom*, his being born of a Virgin, and forced to fly when a young Child to another country from a King that would have deſtroy'd him, and ſeveral other paſſages of our bleſſed Saviour's Life, it is apparent that they have heard of the Goſpel, or that Chriſtianity was ſome time in that country, tho' it is now loſt among them, as in other places. But as to the Author of the *Detection*, he is deſir'd to tell us when that book which relates the Facts of *Sommonocodom* was written, and who was the Author of it? Was he a witneſs of the Facts? And has that book been extant ever ſince? Till he can anſwer theſe things he cannot ſay it has the four marks as our Bible has. But it ſhews what true pains he has taken to banter and ridicule Chriſtianity, in picking up ſtories from every corner, which he thinks may blaſt and confound it: *The Lord rebuke* him.

He ſays p. 24, 25. That this *Sommonocodom*, *after a long expectation of the whole Univerſe*, *was born about* 400 *years before our bleſſed Saviour.* For this he quotes none of his Authors; it was a ſtroke put in by himſelf, that he might make it a parallel to what I mention in that part I added to the *Short Method* relating to the *Jews*, Sect. v. p. 47, *&c.* concerning the general expectation among the *Gentiles* from Eaſt to Weſt, about the time of our Saviour's coming. This I proved, not from the holy Scriptures only, but from the beſt of the heathen Authors themſelves, from the Sibyls, and the decree of the Senate of *Rome* purſuant to them; and grounded the time of our Sa-

viour's coming of a *Jew* to be then born, who ſhould be univerſal King of the whole earth, upon this general expectation then current among the *Romans*, as well as throughout all the Eaſt; whence the *Magi* came to worſhip this King newly born. We have hiſtories of the times 400 Years before *Chriſt*; and if there was ſuch a general expectation of the whole univerſe at that time concerning *Sommonocodom*, as the *Detection* ſays, it is ſtrange that no Author in the whole Univerſe ſhould make the leaſt mention of ſuch an expectation of an univerſal Monarch to be born at *Siam*. Therefore till the *Detection* produces his Vouchers, and others beſides the *Siameſe*, who could not anſwer for the whole World, we muſt look upon this as a mere figment of that Author's own brains; and which has fully diſcover'd the nonſenſe and forgery of his *Detection*, and ſhews how hard it is for lies to imitate the truth.

4. He next comes to the Popiſh Legends, p. 30. and quotes one *E. W.* who wrote againſt Dr. *Stillingfleet* for ſome Miracles wrought by *Thomas Cantelupe* Biſhop of *Hereford*; and ſome after he was dead. The only one he names is, p. 31. of a Child who fell from a bridge belonging to *Conway* Caſtle in *Wales* into the ditch twenty eight foot under the bridge, and was taken up dead, as was ſuppoſed, but recovered upon Prayers to St. *Thomas Cantelupe*. Now I can tell him of a Man who fell from a much higher Place, and yet had no Hurt at all: Was not that a greater Miracle? But he goes on, and tells from this *E. W.* p. 31, 32. how the Virgin *Mary* appear'd to a Biſhop of *Arras* with a burning Wax Candle in her Hand in the great Church before all the people; and that the Candle is ſtill preſerv'd there, and *ſpends it ſelf, yet loſes nothing: That is* (ſays he) *like the Buſh which* Moſes *ſaw burn, but not at all conſumed.* Here you ſee the Man, and to what End he brings in all theſe ſtories! He believes the one no more than the other! He ſays of that of the *Candle it is no very difficult matter to give a near gueſs how this juggle was contrived.* And that of *Moſes* he thinks was ſuch another *juggle!* But, Sir, could *Moſes juggle* to make ſix hundred thouſand Men believe that he led them through the Sea in the manner he tells; that they were fed with Manna from Heaven; that he brought Water out of the Rock before their eyes to quench their thirſt? Could *Chriſt juggle* to make five thouſand hungry Men believe he had filled all their bellies with five Loaves they ſaw in his Hands and two Fiſhes? That he had raiſed *Lazarus* after being four Days in the grave? Can all the Miracles of *Moſes* and of *Chriſt* be juggled off like that of the Wax Candle? Yes, you think ſo, and ſay p. 38. "That (Miracle) of *Arras* not only ex- "ceeds the four Marks, but tranſcends any Miracle that was wrought by "*Chriſt* or his *Apoſtles*.

Can chriſtian ears bear this Blaſphemy! *O thou full of all ſubtilty and all miſchief, thou child of the Devil, thou enemy of all righteouſneſs, wilt not thou ceaſe to pervert the right ways of the Lord?*

5. This *Elymas* in the next Words falls a raging with all the malice of Hell againſt thoſe who make uſe of revelation, that is, of the holy Scriptures in matter of Government, deducing it from God, as from the original, and having his Authority; which is here called Slavery and Popery: And he ſays, "They both depend upon the ſame Principle (that is, of Revela- "tion) and whoſoever is capable of entertaining heartily any one of theſe "notions, muſt neceſſarily fall at laſt into the other." And I have obſerv'd on the other hand, that whoever is capable of entertaining heartily the notion of all power being in the people, and making them the original of Government, fall moſt commonly, I will not ſay neceſſarily, into the other of Deiſm, ſo that they are almoſt convertible terms: For throwing off the Authority of God as to Government, leads naturally to the laying it aſide

in Religion too, if that may be call'd Religion which has not God for its Author. And for my aſſerting the Authority of God in both, he ſays, *I am a Papiſt* (ridiculous!) *and have a miſcreated Underſtanding*. And p. 39. " Theſe (Prieſts) are the Dogs of Hell, that are let looſe from the infernal " Regions —— Theſe are the *Harpies* that defile with their filthy odious " gripes whatever was deſign'd by God or Nature, for the pleaſure, health, " or welfare of the poor ſubjected Laity." This is always the burden of the ſong, O, theſe Prieſts! And you ſee in what a handſom manner he treats them! And how they would be treated in *England*, if his Principles ſhou'd prevail! And they have ſadly prevail'd. Pray God ſtop the progreſs, and raiſe Labourers who will be faithful in his Vineyard; for *the wild Boar of the Foreſt doth* now *root it up*, many *Foxes* ſpoil the *Vines, and all they that go by pluck off her Grapes*.

6. He returns, p. 40. to give another inſtance of a falſhood that has all the four marks, which is the known ſtory of the pied Piper at *Hamel*, who piped a hundred and thirty Children out of town, and led them to a little hill, in the ſide of which a wide hole opened, into which they all went, and it cloſed upon them again. But whether this Story be true or falſe, yet he cannot ſay it has all the four Marks; for in the relation which he ſets down of it from *Verſtegan*, it is told, p. 41. that as to this of the opening of the hill, and their going into it, there is but one evidence, that is, of a lame Boy who lagged behind: This wants the ſecond Mark of the Fact being done publickly in the *face of the World*. And if the Boy lyed or was miſtaken in a fright, there is an end of the whole ſtory. But all the uſe this Author makes of it, is, that if it was a cheat, he is ſure, as he ſays, p. 42. *That the Prieſts had the chiefeſt hand in the contrivance*; though there is not a Word of a Prieſt in all the ſtory, unleſs he takes a Piper for a Prieſt. But this ſhews his equality, and how ready he is to do juſtice to the Prieſthood.

7. His laſt inſtance is p. 43. which leads us to the Author of the *Detection*. It is a noble performance of his own which he quotes, intituled, *Prieſt-Craft in Perfection*, &c. And here he enlarges with intolerable aſſurance, upon what he there endeavoured to prove, viz. the detection of a forgery of the *Engliſh* Divines, in foiſting a clauſe into the twentieth Article of our Church: And he has the folly to ſay, that this detection too has all the four Marks. But he has had the mortification ſince to ſee the Church of *England* vindicated, and the forgery turn'd upon himſelf and partners; and to encreaſe his torment, done by a Prieſt; which makes the evil Spirit that poſſeſſes him gnaſh his teeth; and rage in his impotent malice, being now overcome by thoſe who ſhall judge him at the laſt Day.

8. Theſe are all the inſtances brought in the *Detection* to overthrow the four marks: Which he calls p. 45. *deſtruere aliena*, to confute theſe proofs in defence of Chriſtianity. But he promiſes, *ponere noſtra*, to give his proofs for it, in another work of his, ſoon (or never) to ſee the light. If he had intended it, he wou'd have given us ſome ſpecimen of it in this, where he ſpends much the greateſt part of his Book in bitter railing and moſt ſcurrilous reflexions, firſt upon my ſelf, and then upon all Clergy and Prieſthood: Which I think not worth my while to anſwer.

9. He concludes with perſonating a Deiſt, and telling what he wou'd ſay, which he does very naturally, thus, p. 47. " That he wou'd ſo far have en- " tered into a nice and critical diſquiſition of the Matter, Weight, and Au- " thentickneſs of the Books of the Old and New Teſtament, as to have " rendred them both ſpurious and incredible; and conſequently no compe- " tent Witneſſes of what they relate, either concerning Miracles, or any

" other

" other extraordinary accounts, or ſupernatural occurrences contained in " reveal'd Religion.

This is the work he has been lately about in *Holland* with his Friend *Toland* (who conſecrates the Sacrament for his Dog!) and other free-thinkers, of which I have ſeen an account from good hands. And they are in queſt of ſome fine old Manuſcript, which will prove that *Jeſus* was thirty years in *Ægypt*, and more skill'd in all the learning of that Country than *Moſes*; and that they both did their Miracles by Magick. I remember an old *Jew* with whom I had frequent converſation, after I had given him one of theſe Books of the Deiſts and *Jews*, told me that there was ſuch a Manuſcript concerning *Jeſus* being ſo long in *Ægypt*, but that they durſt not produce it in a Chriſtian Country. I ask'd him if the truth of that Manuſcript cou'd be vouched by the four marks, which their Old and our New Teſtament had? He ſaid, No, it cou'd not ſtand that teſt, but it might be true for all that. But this Author can eaſily ſupply the defect, and make it bear the four marks, full as well as theſe Stories to which he applies them. And I wou'd adviſe him, That when his *Opus Palmare* comes out, (which he has concerted with *Toland*, *Le Clerc*, &c. in aid of the Book of the *Rights*, abridg'd and tranſlated into *French* by the latter with high commendations in his *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, to detect the Apocryphal Books of the New Teſtament, that is, all of them) he wou'd take care to fortify his Vouchers with the four marks. Which will be no difficult task, in the manner he has done it to his *Prieſt-craft in perfection*.

IV. When the *Short Method with the Deiſts* came firſt out, I had Verſes ſent me of hideous Blaſphemy, wherein our Lord *Chriſt* was banter'd with diabolical malice.

1. But the firſt that appear'd in print againſt it was Monſieur *Le Clerc* before mention'd, in his *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, in the year 1706. *Tome* viii. p. 394, 395. Where he treats me with a haughtineſs and contempt, I did not think worth notice. Had he been a friend to Chriſtianity, he wou'd not have affronted any one for appearing on its behalf, tho' his performance had been weak; but rather have encouraged him, and kindly inform'd him wherein he had come ſhort, and how to have improved: He wou'd have told him what other topick had been more proper for the proof of Chriſtianity; and wou'd not have run down this, without ſhewing a better: Which he has not done, but refer'd it to another time, like the Author of the *Detection*.

2. And as others, when they have nothing left to ſay, he throws the Revolution at me—— *Can any good thing come out of* Nazareth? He ſays, I have wrote ſeditious and ſcandalous diſcourſes, but names none: So that he may father upon me what he pleaſes, as others have done. And remember that this was in 1706. So that nothing laid to my charge ſince can be here meant.

3. But now as to his arguments againſt the *Method with the Deiſts*, the faireſt way will be to give you them in his own words, that I be not thought to miſrepreſent them, or abate any thing of their force. Take them then thus, tranſlated into *Engliſh*.

" *Pour Moi*—— For my part, I am inclinable to be of Mr. *Hody*'s Opi-
" nion, who thinks there were ſome anniverſary diverſions in that place,
" which being very much frequented by the *Jews* who inhabited that part
" of *Alexandria* which lay on the Sea Coaſt, ſome People tenaciouſly fond
" of the *Greek* Verſion made others believe it was in memory of it that
" theſe rejoicings were made in the Iſle of *Pharos*. Thoſe that have read
" the *Greek* Mythologiſts, or even *Ovid*'s *Faſti* have often obſerved, that
" there were among the *Pagans*, ſeveral Feſtivals inſtituted in memory of

" ſome events which never happened, tho' theſe Feſtivals were ſaid to bear
" date immediately from them. Such Fables having once obtained credit
" in Men's minds, theſe holy-days were eſtabliſhed by degrees, through the
" artifice of the Prieſts, who made their own advantage by them. And as
" their beginnings were not committed to Hiſtory, in a generation or two
" after, the original of them was derived from the very time when the
" things that were thus commemorated were ſaid to have happened. This
" is an uſeful obſervation againſt ſome Perſons full of blind zeal, not to
" give it a worſe name, and little skill'd in Hiſtory, who make uſe of theſe
" inſtitutions to prove the truth of Legends, or even of the ſacred Hiſtory,
" which ſtands in no need of ſuch equivocal proofs that are as applicable
" to falſhood as to truth. There is, I know not whom, who in compa-
" riſon of theſe deſpiſes the ſtrongeſt proofs of Chriſtianity; I know not
" for what end, but I very much ſuſpect it can only be to eſtabliſh ſome
" deceitful Traditions, and put them upon the level with the moſt authen-
" tick Doctrines of Chriſtianity, in order to make a profit or advantage by
" them. The ſeditious, ſcandalous, and violent writings of this Man can-
" not allow me to have a better opinion of him. I need not farther cha-
" racterize an Author who ſeeks to gain a reputation by inſulting thoſe who
" wou'd think it a blemiſh to their own, to loſe their time in anſwering
" him.

I will not pretend to gueſs here whom he means that I have inſulted: For I will not digreſs. But here is the full of the Argument that is made uſe of in the *Detection*, which is nothing elſe but a comment upon this Text. And now we ſee the combination.

4. I am willing to have as mean an opinion of my ſelf as Mr. *Le Clerc* or the *Detection* wou'd have me: And I put not the truth of Chriſtianity upon the iſſue of any topick I can make uſe of to demonſtrate it. No, God forbid. *Let God be true, and every Man a lyar.* But I may be allowed to ſtand by that Argument which has confirmed me and others in the truth of Chriſtianity, till I ſee it fairly confuted, and ſome better given.

5. And I deſire Mr. *Le Clerc* to prove what he charges upon me, That I deſpiſe the ſtrongeſt proofs of Chriſtianity, in compariſon of thoſe I have advanc'd. What other proof have I deſpiſed? What other proof has he named? And he ſhould have named that ſtronger proof at the ſame time that he endeavour'd to overthrow this proof, leſt having taken Men off from one foundation, and giving them no other to ſtand upon, he might leave them no foundation at all; and ſo diſingage them quite from all Chriſtianity, and make them errant Deiſts. And there is more ſuſpicion, by this management, of this being the deſign, than of my endeavouring to introduce Popery or Paganiſm, by ſhewing ſuch proofs of Chriſtianity, as none of their Legends, of the one ſort or the other, can pretend to; notwithſtanding all the zeal Mr. *Le Clerc* or the *Detection* have ſhewed, to make the facts of *Chriſt* as fabulous as the other.

6. Therefore in defence of Chriſtianity, I will ſhew the failings of Mr. *Le Clerc*'s Argument againſt it, and that by the four marks which he ſo much deſpiſes. Firſt then, the fact of ſome *Jews* making others believe that the rejoicings at *Pharos* was in memory of the *Greek* Verſion, wants all the marks; unleſs Mr. *Le Clerc* can ſhew, that the *Greek* Verſion was a fact done publickly in the face of the World, and can produce a Book wrote at the time, by the Actors or Eye-witneſſes, and containing the inſtitution of theſe rejoicings at *Pharos*, to be perpetually kept up in memory of it.

7. Next, for the *Greek* Mythologiſts and the *Faſti* of *Ovid*; they are a plain proof againſt the facts, and ſhew, that they were related not as truths

in fact, but only to expreſs ſome Mythology or Moral, by ſuch feigned repreſentations, like that of *Æſop*'s Fables or Romances wrote for the ſame end.

But he ſays, " That theſe Fables having once obtained credit in Mens " minds, theſe Holy-Days were eſtabliſhed by degrees, through the Artifice " of the Prieſts; and as their beginnings were not committed to Hiſtory, " in a generation or two after, the original of them was derived from the " very time when the things that were thus commemorated were ſaid to " have happened.

But does he not ſee, that the four marks obviate all theſe deluſions? Their Holy Days or commemorative inſtitutions came on by degrees: They did not commence from the time the facts were ſaid to have been done.

8. In the next place, he wholly gives up the cauſe, when he ſays, That their beginnings were not committed to Hiſtory. For then there is no Book to be confronted with our holy Bible, which was wrote at the time when the facts therein related were done, and the inſtitutions in memory of them were then made, by the very actors of the facts, that is, by *Moſes* and by *Chriſt*. And theſe four Marks were thought upon, eſpecially the fourth, on purpoſe to diſtinguiſh the truth of our holy Scriptures, and of the facts therein related, from the Heathen or Popiſh Books of Legends. And tho' Mr. *Le Clerc* upraids me with my little skill in Hiſtory (wherein I do not contend with him) yet he ſees I have conſider'd the matter ſo much, that he (with all his hiſtorical Talents) can find no inſtance of any fabulous ſtories which has all theſe four marks. And beſides I can tell him, That we have in Hiſtory the beginnings of the heathen Feaſts, *&c.* in memory of their Gods, and by whom inſtituted, in after-times, and not by theſe Gods themſelves, nor related by Eye-witneſſes.

9. Yet he ſays, many believed theſe Fables. I doubt it not. It is no news to tell us, that falſe ſtories may be impoſed upon People, and believed by them. But to diſtinguiſh theſe from true facts, and to lead People into a juſt method of thinking in this moſt material point, was my humble endeavour in finding out theſe four marks: Which (bleſſed be God) have yet ſtood their ground againſt all the attacks made upon them.

10. I will take leave of Mr. *Le Clerc* at this time, with ſhewing the good correſpondence betwixt him and the Author of the Book of the *Rights*. No ſooner was that Book made publick, but Mr. *Le Clerc* thought it worthy a place in his *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, and that it might ſpread, he made an *Epitome* of it, and put it into *French*, with high commendations of it. In return to which, the Men of the *Rights* tranſlated his *French* into *Engliſh*, and publiſhed it in *London*, with all due Reſpects to Mr. *Le Clerc*, in a Preface,

And in the firſt *Defence of the Rights*, they forget not how much they owe to Mr. *Le Clerc*, and ſay:

" If the Laws of modeſty allow one to ſay that in his own defence, which " at other times would be unpardonable, the Author of the *Rights*, conſi- " dering how buſy ſo many Pulpiteers, like the Crafts-Men at *Epheſus*, are " to ſtir up the People againſt him as an enemy to their Temple and Re- " ligion, might be excus'd, if, to take off the edge of the envy, and to " allay the force of that prejudice their utmoſt clamours raiſe againſt him, he " mentions the character that is given of it by a Clergy-man celebrated over " all the learned World for his deep penetration, exact judgment, and great " skill in Divinity: But the greater the character is that is given, and the " greater the perſon that gives it, the leſs he preſumes to mention it; and " therefore ſhall only refer the reader to Monſieur *Le Clerc*'s *Bibliotheque* " *Choiſie*, Tom. x. particularly p. 302, 341, 357.

Thus

Thus I leave theſe Gentlemen in one anothers Company, commending each other. For their endeavours were the ſame, to overthrow all reveal'd Religion. In which ſenſe the Book of the *Rights* may well be reckon'd among the oppoſers of the *Short Method with the Deiſts*, tho' it proceeds not by way of direct anſwer to it.

V. And now, that I may not omit any of the opponents I have had in this cauſe of Chriſtianity, I will laſtly name the Obſervator, who has put himſelf into the number, in his paper of the ſeventh of *June* laſt, Vol. IX. N. 41.

1. Where firſt he clears himſelf from being the Author of the *Detection*, which he ſays, was laid upon him: But he vouches for it that it is no Atheiſtical Book: And brings this argument, *that ſome Divines have ſpoke with as much diſregard of the arguments brought from the* Sibylline *Oracles*. A decent compariſon indeed, when the diſpute was concerning the truth of the holy Scriptures! In ſhort, he condemns me, and ſays I have betray'd the cauſe, and may be a Papiſt, becauſe in all the *Short Method* I have not ſaid that the Pope is Anti-Chriſt! And he concludes, " So that as " Mr. *Leſlie* has managed the matter, I cannot help thinking that our holy " Religion is little beholden to ſuch an Advocate.

2. But he has attempted that which neither Mr. *Le Clerc* nor the *Detection* have ventur'd upon; that is, to give his proofs for Chriſtianity, ſince he likes not that of the four marks; and his proofs are theſe.

Firſt, Natural Conſcience and Reaſon; and the depravation of theſe, of which he ſays every Man is ſenſible. Then to ask a Pagan or a Deiſt whence comes this depravation; and they cannot tell: But the Scripture tells by the fall of *Adam*, therefore the Scriptures muſt be true, and a divine revelation, becauſe they tell us that, which we could not have known without them.

Secondly, The agreeableneſs of the Doctrine to the nature of God, and exalting morality.

Thirdly, Its being contrary to the corrupt nature of Man againſt ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts, *&c.*

Fourthly, That by this way of proof it depends not on philoſophy or learning, and ſtands not upon human teſtimony or authority.

Fifthly, The clear evidence that the Pope is Antichriſt, from 2 *Theſſ.* II. 4, *&c.*

As to the *firſt* we find not Chriſtians agreed about original ſin, and its effects upon us: And I doubt a Deiſt would firſt deſire a proof of the authority of the Scriptures, before he believ'd that relation of it, which they give.

As to the *ſecond* and *third*, the moral Philoſophers would contend for their precepts of virtue: And the *Brachmans* would outdo you in mortification of the fleſh; not to name the Papiſts leſt you ſhou'd call me ſuch.

And for the *fourth*, there is no way to know the truth of facts, but what is human, or by Revelation; and you rejecting what is human, conſequently muſt truſt to Miracles for the converſion of a Deiſt: Unleſs your fifth proof of Anti-chriſt will do it.

3. But, Sir, you go altogether upon the Doctrine, and neglect the facts; whereas *Chriſt* appeal'd to the facts for a proof of his Doctrine: *Believe me for the works ſake:* And, *If I had not done ſuch works, you had had no ſin*, tho' you had not believed me. *John* X. 25, 37, 38. XIV. 11. XV. 24.

And as to the Doctrine, you go only upon that of morality: Is Chriſtianity then nothing but morality? Sir, you have not been ſo taught, if you are a right Presbyterian.

The chriſtian Faith is, to believe in *Chriſt* as having made ſatisfaction

for our ſins, by his perfect obedience, and the ſacrifice of himſelf upon the Croſs: And how ſhall a Deiſt have this Faith, but by being convinced that *Chriſt* is this Saviour of the World? And how ſhall he know that, but by his works teſtifying that he was ſent of God for this end? And how ſhall he be ſatisfy'd of the truth of the facts, but by ſuch human evidence as I have given, and as all other facts are proved? Unleſs (as I ſaid) you would have a Miracle to convince him. I doubt this method has made many Deiſts, at leaſt has confirmed them.

VI. I remember ſoon after the *Short Method* came out, ſome diſſenting Preachers deſir'd a conference with me upon the ſubject, and they treated me much more civilly than the Obſervator: They expreſſed a liking of what I had done, but told me withal, that I had omitted the ſtrongeſt proof for Chriſtianity. I took it very kindly, as I ought, and pray'd them to tell it me, that I might add it in the next edition. They ſaid it was the ſelf-evidence of the Scriptures, from the dignity of the matter, and majeſty of the ſtyle, beyond any other writing. I told them I was fully convinc'd of it in my own mind, and found that comfort and exultation in reading them, infinitely beyond any other book or writing in the World; and that I doubted not it would convince any who ſeriouſly attended to it: But that I had to do with Deiſts who were ſcoffers, and trampled theſe pearls under their feet; and therefore that ſome other topick muſt be found out for them, to perſuade them by the plain Principles of Reaſon, to which only they appeal'd, and of which only indeed they were capable. For they had not yet experienc'd that *The Word of God is quick and powerful, and ſharper than any two-edged ſword, piercing even to the dividing aſunder of ſoul and ſpirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a diſcerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.* And reading the Scriptures with prejudice, and minds unprepared, they felt not within themſelves, *That the law of the Lord is an undefiled law, converting the ſoul, that the ſtatutes of the Lord are right, and rejoice the heart; that the commandment of the Lord is pure, and giveth light unto the eyes:* This appears only to thoſe who are religiouſly exerciſed in the holy Scriptures.

Heb. iv. 12.

Pſal. xix. 7, 8.

Then that Text was urged to me 1 *John* II. 27. *You need not that any Man teach you, but as the ſame anointing teacheth you of all things.* I anſwer'd that this was ſpoke only to Believers: As it is ſaid ℣. 20. *Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things:* After which immediately follows ℣. 21. *I have not written unto you, becauſe ye know not the truth, but becauſe ye know it,* &c. Several other Texts of the like nature were quoted, but they were all found to terminate only in Believers. I then ſhewed how differently St. *Paul* argued with the *Athenians*, *Acts* XVII. 24, &c. He took his topicks from Providence, and the works of God, from Principles allowed by themſelves; yet he quoted no Scripture to them, but he quoted *Aratus* one of their own Poets, who ſaid, *We are the Off-ſpring of God:* Whence the Apoſtle reaſoned with them, that the Godhead could not be like the images they made of gold, ſilver, &c. But he reaſoned with the *Jews* out of the Scriptures. One ſaid he was ſatisfy'd every one was convinced of the truth of the Scriptures who read them, tho' they wou'd not confeſs it. I told him I was too well convinc'd there were Deiſts in the World; and I durſt not venture upon that argument with them, to tell them I was ſure they did believe; in regard not only to what they would have thought of me, but to the cauſe, for which I could produce no other proof but what they knew to be utterly falſe. I will do that juſtice to the company I was in, that all, except this one old Man, did at laſt agree with me, that ſuch topicks were not to be uſed with Deiſts.

VII. I have now done with the *Detection*, and all the Adverſaries I have heard of who have appear'd in Print againſt the *Short Method with the Deiſts*; and I hope its force is not abated by all theſe Objections made to it.

I have quite overlook'd all the impertinence in the *Detection*, his ribaldry and *Billingsgate* againſt me, which has made my Anſwer to him ſo ſhort; for by this I have cut off much the greateſt part of his Book. He ſpends to p. 14. upon theſe topicks, before he comes to the argument, and interlards them often afterwards, which has ſwell'd his performance to ſuch a bulk.

But to give the Reader a taſte what ſtreſs is to be laid upon his moſt poſitive Aſſertions, I will name but one with which he fills up p. 28. repeating it over and over again with the utmoſt aſſurance; *viz.* that both Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* have made Collections for me: He ſays, he would prove it, "If it had not been as flagrant and notorious as "our Acts of Parliament, or publick Proclamations." Now is it not ſtrange that what is ſo flagrant and notorious to all the Nation (if this Gentleman's word may be taken) ſhould not be known to the perſon concerned? For I am very poſitive that he never received any ſuch Collections, from both or either of the Univerſities; and I doubt not if Collections had been made, a Method would have been taken to have had them convey'd to him for whom they were intended: After this I ſuppoſe no body will put me to diſprove any Facts related by this Author.

THE LETTER ABOUT *SOMMONOCODOM.*

SIR,

" I Have at your desire look'd into some late accounts of the King-
" dom of *Siam*, and compar'd what they relate of the pretended
" God *Sommonocodom*, with his history, as deliver'd by that truly pious
" and learned adversary of yours, who has so ingeniously prov'd you a
" Popish Missioner; tho' were his Logick orthodox, I think you ought as
" soon to be taken for one of the ancient *Flamins*, or modern *Talapoins*.
" 'Tis obvious to the most superficial Reader, that that fable must be either
" the foundation or corruption of our Gospel; and which of these is the
" most probable, may by the application of your four Rules to each of
" them be quickly discover'd. As far therefore as I can apprehend, the
" only inference to be naturally drawn from this system of modern Pa-
" ganism, is to shew that Christendom was once of a greater extent than it
" is at present; that the Gospel was preach'd in the remotest parts of the
" East, before the *French* or *Portuguese* Missions; and that so prodigious
" a depravation of human Reason stands in great need of being once more
" set right. I am willing to believe, that all the particulars mentioned in
" the *Detection*, are so many Articles of the *Siamese* Creed; tho' there are
" some of them, which I have not been able to meet with, either in *Pere*
" *Tachard*, or two other Authors, of as good or better credit, and those are
" *L'Abby Choisy*, who went as assistant to Monsieur *Chaumont*, the first
" Ambassador sent by the *French* King to *Siam*, and Monsieur *la Loubere*,
" who went afterwards thither, with the Character of Envoy extraordi-
" nary: Perhaps what is omitted in these may be found in Monsieur *Gervaise*
" whose Book I have formerly read, but could not now procure. I must
" however take notice, that our Historian has, as most Authors do, taken
" care to relate only what might serve to his own purpose, which was vi-
" sibly no other than to ground the Worship of *Jesus Christ*, and that of
" *Sommonocodom* on the same degree of probability; and therefore he has
" prudently

" prudently omitted ſuch pretended Miracles of the latter, as could only
" ſerve to make the whole ſtory ridiculous to a ſuperlative degree. Among
" theſe, I ſuppoſe, moſt people will rank the two that follow: And yet they
" ſeem better able to bear the teſt of your rules than any of the reſt. *Sommono-*
" *codom* once flying a Paper Kite (an exerciſe not altogether unknown in
" *England)* found the height and inequality of certain Trees to be a great
" obſtacle to his pleaſure, upon which he commanded the tops of thoſe
" Trees to fall even; they inſtantly obey'd: Flying of Kites has been ever
" ſince a ſolemn diverſion among the *Siameſe*, I mean thoſe of the greateſt
" authority and diſtinction; and to favour them in it, the Trees continue
" ſtill even. Another time *Sommonocodom* being upon an expedition that
" requir'd haſte, took a ſtride from the Iſle of *Ceylon* to the Kingdom of
" *Siam*, which are not above twelve hundred miles aſunder, nor much leſs
" if our Maps are not very defective: To prove the truth of this, they ſhew
" us the Print of both his Feet; that which is to be ſeen in *Ceylon*, is ſtill
" on the top of a high Mountain; that of *Siam* is on a Rock, now almoſt
" even with the plain, tho' a Mountain once as high as the other, having
" ſunk under the mighty weight of the Deity. 'Tis indeed remarkable, that
" this Print of the Foot does not ſhew it to have been above four or five
" times bigger than one of ours, which diſproportion to ſo large a ſtep,
" would be a ſufficient ground to one of our chriſtian Philoſophers to que-
" ſtion the truth of the fact; and even in *Siam*, where the greateſt Wits
" are leſs ſcrupulous, there were thoſe alive in 1688, who affirm'd that Mo-
" nument not to be of above ninety years ſtanding; yet the King and all
" his Subjects, Clergy and Laity, paid it an extraordinary veneration.
" Such inſtances as theſe may ſerve for a taſte of the *Indian* penetration
" and judgment in matters of Religion; and yet they are much of the ſame
" pitch in what relates to Arts and Sciences: Their Hiſtories are all either
" barren, or fill'd up with adventures too groſs to find place in our Ro-
" mances; Truth, Reaſon, and Nature, are what they mind leaſt, they
" think ſticking cloſe to any of them to be a mark of a ſervile Genius, that
" wants fertility and invention; their roving Imagination is continually em-
" ploy'd in queſt of wonders, and when they have done, they will aſſert
" with the greateſt air of conviction, the moſt extravagant abſurdities. Thus
" one of the chief Miniſters of the King of *Siam*, being ſent by his Maſter
" to congratulate Monſieur *Chaumont*, the *French* Ambaſſadour, upon his
" arrival on their Coaſts, he preſently claim'd acquaintance with him, put-
" ting him very ſeriouſly in mind how above a thouſand years before he had
" been ſent by the then King of *France* to conclude an alliance with the
" Crown of *Siam*: The *Mandarin* did in this complement allude to the
" tranſmigration of Souls, the firſt Principle of their Religion, which be-
" ing univerſally believed, gives every one who pleaſes an opportunity of
" relating whatever comes uppermoſt of the various accidents which have
" befallen him in all the Bodies he has paſſed through, and you may eaſily
" gueſs it would be very hard to diſprove him; but indeed they are gene-
" rally too well bred to offer at it, and as ready to believe the wildeſt chi-
" mera's of others, as they are to vent their own. The *Talapoins* never fail
" to make their own advantage of this diſpoſition, and by the fabulous no-
" tions with which they fill the peoples brains, preſerve themſelves in great
" credit, both their perſons and habitations being held ſo inviolable, that
" even the boldeſt Tyrants and Uſurpers have ſcrupled openly to infringe
" their rights; a remarkable inſtance of which happen'd in the laſt Age.
" The chief Miniſter of State, or as others ſay, a Prince of the Blood, hav-
" ing form'd a conſpiracy againſt his Sovereign, broke into the Palace with
" armed force, and oblig'd the unfortunate Monarch to fly for ſhelter to a

" neighbouring

" neighbouring Convent of *Talapoins*, where he remain'd in perfect ſafety,
" till the Uſurper had with much ado wheedled him out; and when he had
" done, got it declar'd in a great Convention of *Mandarins*, that he had
" forfeited his Right by flying, and that his abandoning the Seat of the Em-
" pire was quitting the Gouervment; in conſequence of which vote he ſtep-
" ped himſelf into the Throne.

" Theſe general obſervations on the genius and temper of the People may
" not be improper; but to ſpeak a little more particularly of *Sommonoco-*
" *dom* and his worſhip. Shou'd any *Talapoin* go about to perſuade me to
" adore him, I ſhou'd deſire ſome more ſatisfactory evidence of the truth
" of that Doctrine, than they uſually give. The Language in which it is
" preſerv'd is different from the vulgar Tongue, but they cannot inform us
" whether it ever was a living Language, nor where, nor when they learnt
" it, the few Books they have, bear neither date nor name: They are in
" the ſame uncertainty as to their civil Laws and Government; *Siam* and
" *Laos* a neighbouring Kingdom, derive their origin mutually from one
" another. Neither do their moſt authentick writings agree on the chief
" circumſtances of the birth, life, and death of their *Meſſiah*. Sometimes
" they make him Son to a King of *Ceylon* by his lawful Queen call'd *Ma-*
" *nia* or *Maria*, and tell you that he had a thouſand Brothers, not born
" after the uſual manner, but all ſprung out of the impurities which accom-
" pany'd his birth. At another time they will have him born of a Virgin
" who lived a retir'd life in an impenetrable Foreſt, was during her prayers
" impregnated by the beams of the Sun, and afterwards deliver'd without
" pain. They agree as little about the place, which ſome ſay was on the
" banks of a great lake between *Siam* and *Camboya*, others in the Iſle of
" *Ceylon*. After his birth the fortune-tellers were conſulted by his Father
" King *Taouſout*, to know what the fate of his Son wou'd be: They told
" him that he wou'd be Emperour of the whole Univerſe, or if he choſe
" to abandon the World, and become a *Talapoin*, he ſhou'd at laſt arrive
" to the *Nireupan* or ſoveraign degree of felicity, And here I muſt obſerve
" contrary to what the Author of the *Detection* is pleas'd to aſſert, That
" *Sommonocodom* is not pretended to be the founder of the *Siameſe* Reli-
" gion, or the inſtitutor of their Aſcetick Orders. They hold the one
" and the other to be as ancient as the World, that is eternal. For they
" have not ſo much as the notion of the firſt and ſupreme being which we
" call God, and worſhip as the Creatour and Soveraign Lord of all things.
" Their Scheme in ſhort is this: There is a continual tranſmigration of
" Souls from one Body into another, beaſt, fiſh, or man indifferently. The
" Soul that behaves it ſelf well in one ſtation, meets its reward by being
" plac'd next time in a better, and ſin is puniſh'd after the ſame method;
" yet all this is not ſuppos'd to happen thro' the will and direction of any
" over-ruling providence, but to proceed from a fatal neceſſity, or rather
" from the nature and eſſence of virtue and vice, as the flame aſcends, and
" the Loadſtone attracts Iron. But when a Soul after the revolution of
" many ages, has in all its various habitations, perform'd its part ſo well,
" as to have acquir'd a fix'd and unalterable habit of virtue, it becomes
" *Nireupan*, that is, 'tis freed from the troubles of this World, and diſ-
" charg'd from all farther attendance upon matter, and thenceforward en-
" joys an eternal reſt, without care or concern for what paſſes among Men.
" Of theſe perfect Souls they reckon in all but four, of which *Sommonoco-*
" *dom* was the laſt, who notwithſtanding his incapacity of doing good or
" hurt, is ſtill, ſay they, to be worſhipp'd, till another, whom they daily
" expect, appears. Such were the Gods whom *Epicurus* allow'd, that he
" might

" might avoid the ſcandalous name of Atheiſt, and whom he wou'd have
" to be ador'd for no other reaſon than the excellency of their own na-
" ture. And 'twas perhaps from theſe *Indians* that the *Stoicks* borrow'd
" their notion of Virtue being its own reward, tho by their way of ex-
" plaining it, they made it yet more abſurd. To return to our ſtory; *Som-*
" *monocodom* reſolv'd to become a *Talapoin*, in which pious undertaking
" he had for Companions ten thouſand Young Men, all Princes, all of his
" own kindred. One of his firſt acts of heroick Virtue, was to pluck out
" both his Eyes, and then kill his Wife and two Children, to ſatisfy the
" hunger of ſome of his Diſciples. How to reconcile this action with their
" one Law (which not content to condemn Murther as the greateſt of
" crimes, looks upon all killing, even of a Beaſt, to be extremely ſinful)
" may perhaps be ſomewhat difficult: But this was not the only Blood he
" ſhed, for being transform'd into a Monkey, he kill'd a ſtrange Monſter,
" that was coming to devour a whole City; but this coſt him dear as we
" ſhall afterwards find. Seeing himſelf violently perſecuted by his wicked
" Brother or Kinſman *Thevetar* (for Authors are not agreed how nearly
" they ſtood related) he began to examine his conſcience, that he might
" diſcover what he had done to deſerve ſuch ill uſage; for 'tis in *Siam* a
" a fundamental Doctrine, that every action good or bad, muſt neceſſarily
" meet with a proportionable reward: And he remembred that being once
" in his Cups, he had thrown a ſmall ſtone at a *Talapoin*, and given him
" a ſlight wound, for which he had been puniſh'd during four hundred nine-
" ty nine Generations, and had beſides lain a conſiderable time in Hell. I
" believe you may by this time be tir'd with ſuch a rhapſody of nonſenſe,
" and therefore I ſhall come to a concluſion of *Sommonocodom*'s life. His
" death is related in two different manners: Some tell you that having
" liv'd to his eighty ſecond year, he died of the Colick, which he got by
" eating of Swine's fleſh, and this was a judgment upon him, for his Mon-
" key trick in killing the Monſter mention'd before, the Soul of that
" Monſter having been ſince transferr'd into that very Swine: Others ſay
" he kill'd himſelf, and charitably diſtributed his own fleſh amongſt a par-
" cel of ravenous Beaſts. It is not I think, our buſineſs to examine which
" Tradition is the beſt grounded, and for the *Siameſe* they never quarrel
" about the matter. Let the manner be what it will, they place it five
" hundred and fourty four years before the birth of our Saviour, and from
" thence pretend to number their years. But Monſieur *La Loubere*, an
" Author of great credit, who concludes upon very good grounds there ne-
" ver was any ſuch Man in *rerum natura*, and Monſieur *Caſſini* the fa-
" mous Aſtronomer, are both of opinion, that this can only be an arbitra-
" ry Epoch deriv'd from ſome remarkable Conjunction of the Planets which
" happen'd at that time, and might have been reckon'd a proper beginning
" for Aſtronomical Calculations. Whether this opinion be true or no, till
" the *Siameſe* can produce ſome Monuments or Records, good or bad, Ci-
" vil or Eccleſiaſtical, of what happen'd among them, or any where elſe,
" during the ſpace of one thouſand three hundred years from the pretend-
" ed death of their God, till the foundation of their Monarchy, which was
" but about nine hundred years ago, I ſhall by the benefit of your rules
" preſerve my ſelf from embracing their Religion. Cou'd a chaſm of half
" that time be found in our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, I am apt to believe we
" ſhou'd have but few Chriſtians, in ſo diſcerning an age as ours. I cannot
" take my leave without putting you in mind, to deſire your Antagoniſt,
" that after having ſo compleatly demoliſh'd the Arguments with which
" you undertake to ſupport Chriſtianity, he wou'd at length produce his

"own, and at the ſame time be pleas'd to tell us what the uſe of Miracles
"ſhou'd be, for I have the charity to believe him too much a Chriſtian to
"deny there ever was any ſuch thing, and too much a Philoſopher, not to
"admit of that eſtabliſh'd Axiom; *Deus & natura nihil agunt fruſtra.*
"Had I the honour of his acquaintance, being my ſelf a little inclin'd to
"Scepticiſm, I wou'd adviſe him as a friend not to betray the ſame diſin-
"genuity in arguing againſt Revelation, that he and others ſo often com-
"plain of in thoſe who contend for it. I am, *&c.*

September 21ſt. 1710.

THE

THE

Truth of Chriſtianity

DEMONSTRATED,

IN A

DIALOGUE

Betwixt a

CHRISTIAN and a DEIST.

Wherein the caſe of the *Jews* is likewiſe conſider'd.

1. CHRISTIAN. IT is ſtrange you ſhou'd ſtand it out ſo againſt your own happineſs, and employ your whole wit and skill to work in your ſelf a disbelief of any future rewards or puniſhments; only that you may live eaſie (as you think) in this World, and enjoy your pleaſures. Which yet you cannot enjoy free and undiſturb'd from the fear of thoſe things that are to come, the event of which you pretend not to be ſure of: And therefore are ſure of a life full of trouble that admits not of any conſolation, and of a miſerable and wretched Death, according to the utmoſt that you your ſelf propoſe.

DEIST. How can you ſay that? When I propoſe to live without any fear of thoſe things. I fear not Hell, and I have diſcarded the expectation of Heaven, becauſe I believe neither.

CHR.

CHR. Are you ſure there are no ſuch things?

DEIST. That is a negative, and I pretend not to prove it.

CHR. Then you muſt remain in a doubt of it; and what a condition is it to die in this doubt, when the iſſue is eternal Miſery! And this is the utmoſt by your own confeſſion, that you can propoſe to your ſelf; therefore I called yours a disbelief rather than a belief of any thing; it is we Chriſtians who believe, you Deiſts only disbelieve.

And if the event ſhould prove as you would have it, and that we ſhou'd all be annihilated at our Death, we ſhould be in as good a condition as you: But on the other ſide, if the event ſhould prove as we expect it, then you are eternally miſerable, and we eternally happy; therefore one wou'd think it the wiſeſt part to take our ſide of the queſtion.

Eſpecially conſidering, that thoſe poor pleaſures, for the ſake of which you determine your ſelves againſt us, are but mere amuſements, and no real enjoyments; nay, we had better be without them than have them, even as to this life itſelf: Is not Temperance and a healthful Conſtitution more pleaſant than thoſe Pains and Aches, ſick Head and Stomach, which are the inſeparable companions of Debauchery and Exceſs, beſides the clouding our Reaſon, and turning ſottiſh in our Underſtanding?

DEIST. We take pleaſure in them for the time, and mind not the conſequences——But however, a Man cannot believe as he pleaſes: And therefore notwithſtanding all the glorious and all the terrible things you ſpeak of, it makes nothing to me, unleſs you can evidently prove them to be ſo. And you muſt ſtill leave me to judge for my ſelf, after you have done all you can.

CHR. What I have ſaid, is only to diſpoſe you to hear me impartially, and not to be prejudiced againſt your own happineſs both here and hereafter.

2. DEIST. Well, without more prefacing, the caſe is this: I believe a God as well as you; but for Revelation, and what you call the holy Scriptures, I may think they were wrote by pious and good Men, who might take this method of ſpeaking as from God, and in his Name, as ſuppoſing that thoſe good Thoughts came from him, and that it would have a greater effect upon the people; and might couch their morals under hiſtories of things ſuppos'd to be done, as ſeveral of the wiſe heathens have taken this courſe, in what they told of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and the reſt of their Gods and Goddeſſes; but as to the facts themſelves, I believe the one no more than the other; or that all the facts in *Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſes*, or in *Æſop*'s *Fables* were true.

CHR. You ſeem willing by this to preſerve a reſpectful eſteem and value for the holy Scriptures, as being wrote by pious and good Men, and with a good deſign to reform the manners of Men.

But your argument proves directly againſt the purpoſe for which you brought it, and makes the Pen-men of the Scriptures to be far from good Men, to be not only cheats and impoſtors, but blaſphemers and an abomination before God: For ſuch theſe ſame Scriptures frequently call thoſe who preſume to ſpeak as from God, and in his Name, when he had not ſent them, and given them authority ſo to do; and the Law in the Scriptures condemns ſuch to be ſtoned to death as blaſphemers.

It was not ſo with the heathen, their moraliſts did not uſe the ſtyle of *Thus ſaith the Lord*; and their Philoſophers oppos'd and wrote againſt one another without any offence: For all the matter was which of them could reaſon beſt; they pretended to no more.

And for the facts of the Fables of their Gods, themſelves did not be-

lieve them, and have wrote the mythology or moral which was intended by them.

DEIST. But many of the common people did believe the Facts themſelves; as it is with the common people now in the Church of *Rome*, who believe the moſt ſenſleſs and ridiculous ſtories in their books of Legends to be as true as the Goſpel, tho' the more wiſe among them call them only pious frauds to encreaſe the Devotion of the people: And ſo we think of your Goſpel itſelf, and all the other books you ſay were wrote by Men divinely inſpir'd; we will let you keep them to cajole the Mob, but when you wou'd impoſe them upon Men of Senſe, we muſt come to the teſt with you.

CHR. That is what I deſire; and to ſee whether there are no more evidences to be given for the truth of Chriſtianity, that is, of the holy Scriptures, than are given for the Legends, and all the fabulous ſtories of the heathen Gods: And if ſo, I will give up my argument, and confeſs that it is not in my power to convince you.

DEIST. I cannot refuſe to join iſſue with you upon this. To begin then, I deſire to know your evidences for the truth of your Scriptures, and the Facts therein related.

3. CHR. If the truth of the Book and the Facts therein related be prov'd, I ſuppoſe you will not deny the Doctrines to be true.

DEIST. No. For if I ſaw ſuch Miracles with my eyes as are ſaid to have been done by *Moſes* and *Chriſt*, I could not think of any greater proof to be given, that ſuch an one was ſent of God; therefore if your Bible be true as to the Facts, I muſt believe it in the Doctrine too. But there are other Books which pretend to give us Revelations from God, and we muſt know which of theſe is true.

CHR. To diſtinguiſh this Book from all others which pretend to give Revelations from God, theſe four Marks or Rules were ſet down.

I. That the Facts related be ſuch, of which Men's outward ſenſes, their eyes and ears may judge.

[This cuts off enthuſiaſtical pretences to revelation, and opinions which may be propagated in the dark, and like the Tares not known till they are grown up, and the firſt beginning of them not diſcover'd.]

II. That theſe Facts be done openly in the face of the World.

III. That not only publick Monuments, but outward Inſtitutions and Actions ſhould be appointed and perpetually kept up in memory of them.

IV. That theſe Inſtitutions to be obſerved ſhould commence from the time that the Facts were done; and conſequently that the book wherein theſe Facts and Inſtitutions are recorded ſhould be written at the time, and by thoſe who did the Facts, or by eye and ear-witneſſes; for that is included in this Mark, and is the main part of it, to prevent falſe ſtories being coin'd in after-ages of things done many hundred years before, which none alive can diſprove. Thus *Moſes* wrote his five books containing his Actions and Inſtitutions; and thoſe of *Chriſt* were wrote by his Diſciples, who were eye and ear-witneſſes of what they related. And particular care was taken of this, as you may ſee, *Acts* 1. 21, 22. upon chuſing one to ſupply the place of *Judas*; *Wherefore of theſe Men which have company'd with us, all the time that the Lord* Jeſus *went in and out among us, beginning from the Baptiſm of* John, *until that ſame day that he was taken up from us, muſt one be ordained to be witneſs with us of his Reſurrection.* And St. *John* begins his firſt Epiſtle thus, *That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have ſeen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled——That which we have ſeen and heard declare we unto you.*

I have explain'd this fourth Mark, becauſe the Author of the *Detection*

either willfully or ignorantly, ſeems not to underſtand it. And this alone overthrows all the ſtories he has told, which he wou'd make parallel to the Facts of *Moſes*, and of *Chriſt*; and therefore alledges that they have all theſe four Marks. But he muſt begin again, and own that theſe four Marks ſtill ſtand an irrefragable proof of the truth of any Fact which has them all; till he can produce a Book which was wrote by the Actors or Eye-witneſſes of the Facts it relates; and ſhew that ſuch Facts, having the other three Marks, have been detected to be falſe: Which when he can do, I will give him up theſe four Marks as an inſufficient proof, and own I was miſtaken in them. But hitherto they have ſtood the teſt: For he himſelf will not ſay, he has produced any ſuch Book in all his *Detection*.

If he ſays, that Facts may be true, tho' no ſuch Book can be produced for them, and tho' they have not all the aforeſaid Marks: I will eaſily grant it. But all I contend for is, That whatever Fact has all theſe four Marks, cannot be falſe. For example, Cou'd *Moſes* have perſuaded ſix hundred thouſand Men that he had led them through the Sea in the manner related in *Exodus*, if it had not been true? If he cou'd, it wou'd have been a greater Miracle than the other. The like of their being fed forty years in the Wilderneſs without Bread, by *Manna* rained down to them from Heaven. The like of *Chriſt*'s feeding five thouſand at a time with five Loaves. And ſo of all the reſt. The two firſt Marks ſecure from any cheat or impoſture at the time the Facts were done: And the two laſt Marks ſecure equally from any impoſition in after-ages; becauſe this Book which relates theſe Facts, ſpeaks of it ſelf as written at that time, by the Actors or Eye-witneſſes; and as commanded by God to be carefully kept and preſerved to all generations, and read publickly to all the People, at ſtated times, as is commanded, *Deut.* XXXI. 10, 11, 12. And was practiſed, *Joſh.* VIII. 34, 35. *Neh.* VIII. *&c.* And the Inſtitutions appointed in this Book were to be perpetually obſerved from the day of the Inſtitution for ever among theſe People, in memory of the Facts, as the Paſſover, *Exod.* XII. and ſo of the reſt. Now ſuppoſe this Book to have been forged a thouſand years after *Moſes*, wou'd not every one ſay when it firſt appear'd? we never heard of this Book before, we know of no ſuch Inſtitutions, as of a Paſſover, or Circumciſion, or Sabbaths, and the many Feaſts and Faſts therein appointed, of a tribe of *Levi*, and a Tabernacle wherein they were to ſerve in ſuch an Order of Prieſthood, *&c.* Therefore this Book muſt be an errant forgery, for it wants all thoſe Marks it gives of it ſelf, as to its own continuance, and of thoſe Inſtitutions it relates. No inſtance can be ſhewn ſince the World began of any Book ſo circumſtantiated, that was a forgery, and paſs'd as truth upon any People. I think it impoſſible, and therefore that the four Marks are ſtill an invincible proof of the truth of that Book and thoſe Facts wherein all theſe Marks do meet.

But ſince I am come upon this Subject again, I will endeavour to improve it, and give four other Marks, ſome of which no Fact, however true, ever had, or can have, but the Fact of *Chriſt* alone. Thus while I ſupport the Fact of *Moſes*, I ſet that of *Chriſt* above him, as the Lord is above the Servant. And the *Jews* being herein principally concerned, I will conſider their caſe likewiſe as we go along. Therefore I add this fifth Mark as peculiar to our Bible, and to diſtinguiſh it from all other Hiſtories which relate Facts formerly done.

V. That the Book which relates the Facts contain likewiſe the Law of that People to whom it belongs, and be their Statute-Book by which their cauſes are determin'd. This will make it impoſſible for any to coin or forge ſuch a Book, ſo as to make it paſs upon any People. For example, if I ſhou'd forge a Statute-Book for *England*, and publiſh it next Term, cou'd I make all the Judges, Lawyers, and People believe, that this was their

true and only Statute-Book by which their Cauſes had been determined theſe many hundred years paſt? They muſt forget their old Statute-Book, and believe that this new Book which they never ſaw or heard of before, was that ſame old Book which has been pleaded in *Weſtminſter-Hall* for ſo many ages, which has been ſo often printed, and the Originals of which are now kept in the *Tower*, to be conſulted as there is occaſion.

DEIST. I grant that to be impoſſible. But how do you apply it?

CHR. It is evident as to the Books of *Moſes*, which are not only a Hiſtory of the *Jews*, but their very Statute-Book, wherein their municipal Law, as well civil as eccleſiaſtical, was contained.

DEIST. This is ſo indeed as to the Books of *Moſes*, to which they always appealed; *To the Law and to the Teſtimony:* And they had no other Statute-Book. But this will not agree to your Goſpel, which is no municipal Law, nor any civil Law at all, and no civil Cauſes were tryed by it.

CHR. The Law was given to the *Jews* as a diſtinct and ſeparate People from all other Nations upon the Earth; and therefore was a municipal Law particularly for that Nation only of the *Jews:* But Chriſtianity was to extend to all the Nations of the Earth, and Chriſtians were to be gather'd out of all Nations; and therefore the Goſpel cou'd not be a municipal Law as to the civil Rights to all Nations, who had each their own municipal Laws. This cou'd not be without deſtroying all the municipal Laws in the World, of every Nation whatſoever: And then none cou'd be a Chriſtian, without at the ſame time becoming a Rebel to the Government where he liv'd. This wou'd have been for *Chriſt* to have immediately ſet up for univerſal and temporal King of all the World, as the *Jews* expected of their *Meſſiah*, and therefore wou'd have made *Chriſt* a King. But he inſtructed them in the ſpiritual Nature of his Kingdom, that it was not *of this World*, nor did reſpect their temporal or civil matters: Which therefore he left in the ſame ſtate he found them, and commanded their obedience to their civil Governours, tho' heathen, *not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake.* And as to the Law of *Moſes*, he left the *Jews* ſtill under it, as to their civil concerns, ſo far as the *Romans*, under whoſe ſubjection they then were, would permit them. As *Pilate* ſaid to them, *Ye have a Law:* And *judge ye him according to your Law.*

But the Goſpel was given as the ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical Law to the Church whitherſoever diſperſed through all Nations; for that did not interfere with their temporal Laws, as to civil Government. And in this the fifth Mark is made ſtronger to the Goſpel, than even to the Law. For it is eaſier to ſuppoſe that any Forgery might creep into the municipal Law of a particular Nation, than that all the Nations whither Chriſtianity is ſpread ſhou'd conſpire in the corruption of the Goſpel, which to all Chriſtians is of infinitely greater concern than their temporal Laws. And without ſuch a concert of all chriſtian Nations and People ſuppoſed, no ſuch Forgery cou'd paſs undiſcover'd in the Goſpel, which is ſpread as far as Chriſtianity, and read daily in their publick Offices.

DEIST. But I ſay it is diſcover'd, as appears by the multitude of your various Lections.

CHR. That cannot be call'd a Forgery; it is nothing but ſuch miſtakes as may very eaſily happen, and are almoſt unavoidable, in ſo many Copies as have been made of the Goſpel, before printing was known. And conſidering the many Tranſlations of it into ſeveral Languages, where the Idioms are different, and the Phraſes may be miſtaken, together with the natural ſlips of *Amanuenſes*, it is much more wonderful, that there are no more various Lections, than that there are ſo many.

But in this appears the great providence of God in the care the Chriſti-

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ans took of this, that they have marked every the leaſt various Lection, even ſyllabical, and that among all theſe there is not found one which makes any alteration either in the Facts, or in the Doctrines. So that inſtead of an objection, this becomes a ſtrong confirmation of the truth and certainty of the Goſpel; which ſtands thus perfectly clear of ſo much as any doubt concerning the Facts or the Doctrines therein related.

But I will now proceed to a ſtronger evidence than even this, and all that has been ſaid before; which I have made the ſixth Mark, and that is the topick of Prophecy.

VI. The great Fact of *Chriſt*'s coming into the World was propheſy'd of in the Old Teſtament from the beginning to the end, as it is ſaid *Luke* 1. 70. *By all the holy Prophets which have been ſince the World began.*

This evidence no other Fact ever had. For there was no Prophecy of *Moſes*, but *Moſes* himſelf did propheſy of *Chriſt*, *Deut.* XVIII. 15. (apply'd *Acts* III. 22, 23, 24.) And ſets down the ſeveral Promiſes given of him. The firſt was to *Adam*, immediately after the fall. (*Gen.* III. 15.) Where he is call'd the *ſeed of the Woman*, but not of the Man, becauſe he was to have no Man for his Father, tho' he had a Woman to his Mother. And of none other can this be ſaid, nor that he ſhou'd *bruiſe the Serpents Head*, that is, overcome the Devil and all his power.

He was again promis'd to *Abraham*, as you may ſee *Gen.* XII. 3. XVIII. 18. See this apply'd *Gal.* III. 16.

Jacob did expreſly propheſy of him, with a mark of the time when he ſhou'd come, and calls him *Shiloh* or *He that was to be ſent*. Gen. XLIX. 10.

Balaam propheſy'd of him by the name of the Star of *Jacob*, and Scepter of *Iſrael*. Num. XXIV. 17.

Daniel calls him the *Meſſiah* the Prince. And tells the time of his coming and of his death. *Dan.* IX. 25, 26.

It was foretold that he ſhou'd be born of a *Virgin*. Iſai. VII. 14. In the City of *Bethlehem*. Micah v. 2. Of the ſeed of *Jeſſe*. Iſai. XI. 1, 10. His low eſtate and ſufferings are particularly deſcrib'd. *Pſal.* XXII. and *Iſai.* LIII. and his *Reſurrection*. Pſal. XVI. 10. That he ſhou'd ſit upon the Throne of *David* for ever, and *be call'd Wonderful, the mighty God, the Prince of peace*. Iſai. IX. 6, 7. *The Lord our righteouſneſs*. Jer. XXXIII. 16. *Jehovah Tſidkenu* (an incommunicable name given to none but the great God alone) and, *Immanuel*, that is, *God with us*. Iſai. VII. 14. And *David* whoſe Son he was, according to the fleſh, called him his *Lord*. Pſal. CX. 1.

The cauſe of his ſufferings is ſaid to be for the ſins of the People, and not for himſelf. *Iſai.* LIII. 4, 5, 6. *Dan.* IX. 26.

And as to the time of his coming, it is expreſſly ſaid (to the confuſion of the *Jews* now) That it was to be before *the Scepter ſhou'd depart from* Judah. *Gen.* XLIX. 10. In the *ſecond Temple*. Hag. II. 7, 9. Within *ſeventy Weeks* of the building of it. *Dan*, IX. 24. that is, (according to the prophetical known Style of a day for a year) within four hundred and ninety years after.

1. From theſe and many more Prophecies of the *Meſſiah* or *Chriſt*, his coming was the general expectation of the *Jews* from the beginning, but more eſpecially about the time in which it was foretold he ſhou'd come: When ſeveral *falſe Meſſiah*'s did appear among them. And this expectation ſtill remains with them, tho' they confeſs that the time foretold by all the Prophets for his coming, is paſt.

But what I have next to offer will be more ſtrange to you. You may ſay it was natural for the *Jews* to expect their *Meſſiah*, who was propheſy'd of in their Book of the Law, and was to be a *Jew*, and King of all

the Earth. But what had the *Gentiles* to do with this? There were no Prophecies to them.

Therefore what I have to ſhew you is, That theſe Prophecies of the *Meſſiah* were likewiſe to the *Gentiles*. For it is ſaid that he ſhou'd be the expectation of the *Gentiles* as well as of the *Jews*. And *Gen.* XLIX. 10. That *the gathering of the People* (or Nations) ſhou'd *be to him*. In the vulgar it is render'd *expectatio Gentium*; the expectation of the *Gentiles*. He is call'd *the deſire of all Nations*, Hag. II. 7. And I will ſhew you the general expectation the *Gentiles* had of his coming, about the time that he did come.

They knew him by the name of the Eaſt, their Tradition was, that the Eaſt ſhou'd prevail, *Ut valeſceret Oriens*, as I will ſhew you preſently. But firſt let me tell you, that the holy Scripture often alludes to him under this denomination. The Blood of the great expiatory ſacrifice was to be ſprinkled towards the Eaſt. *Lev.* XVI. 14. to ſhew whence the true expiatory ſacrifice ſhou'd come. And he is thus frequently ſtyl'd in the Prophets. *Zech.* III. 8. it is ſaid, according to the vulgar, *I will bring forth my Servant the* Eaſt. And *Chap.* VI. 12. Behold *the Man whoſe name is the* Eaſt. Our *Engliſh* renders it in both places the *Branch*, for the *Hebrew* word bears both ſenſes. But the *Greek* renders it Ἀνατολὴ, which we tranſlate *the Day-Spring Luk.* I. 78. and put on the Margin *Sun-riſing* or *Branch*. The vulgar has its *Oriens ex alto*, the *Eaſt* or *Sun-riſing from on high*. He is call'd the *Sun of righteouſneſs*, Mal. IV. 2. And it is ſaid *Iſai.* LX. 3. *The* Gentiles *ſhall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightneſs of thy riſing.*

2. Now, Sir, how literally was this fulfill'd in the *Magi* (generally ſuppoſed to be Kings) coming from the Eaſt, led by a Star which appear'd to them in the Eaſt, to worſhip *Chriſt* when he was born, and to bring Preſents unto him as unto a King? As it is told in the ſecond of St. *Matthew*.

Deist. Why do you quote St. *Matthew* to me? You know we make no more of him than of one of your Legend-Writers, and believe this ſtory no more than that theſe three Kings are now bury'd at *Cologne*.

3. Chr. You make great uſe of the Legends, and anſwer every thing by them; and I confeſs they are the greateſt affront to Chriſtianity, and (if poſſible) a diſproof of it, as it muſt be to thoſe who will place them upon the ſame foot with the holy Bible, as too many do in the Church of *Rome*, and cry, we have the Authority of the Church for both; and they are taught to receive the holy Scriptures upon the Authority of the Church only: But my buſineſs is not with them now: I ſhall only ſay, that when they can bring ſuch evidences for the truth of their Legends, or for any particular Fact in them, as I do for the truth of the holy Scriptures, and in particular for the Fact of *Chriſt*, then I will believe them.

Deist. Will you believe nothing that has not all theſe evidences you produce?

4. Chr. Far from it: For then I muſt believe nothing but this ſingle Fact of *Chriſt*; becauſe no other Fact in the World, no not of all thoſe recorded in holy Scriptures, has all theſe evidences which the Fact of *Chriſt* has; and ſo God has thought fitting, that this great Fact above all other Facts, of the greateſt Glory to God and Importance to Mankind, ſhould appear with greater and more undeniable evidence than ever any other Fact in the World.

Deist. We are now upon the particular Fact of the *Magi* or wiſe Men coming to *Chriſt*: Have you any more to ſay as to that?

5. CHR. It has thoſe ſame evidences that the truth of the Bible in general has, which are more than can be produc'd for any other book in the World. But now as to this Fact in particular, St. *Matthew* was the firſt who wrote the Goſpel, and it was in the ſame age when this Fact was ſaid to be done: And can you think it poſſible that ſuch a Fact as this could have paſs'd without contradiction, and a publick expoſing of Chriſtianity, then ſo deſireable and ſo much endeavour'd by the unbelieving *Jews*, their *High-Prieſts*, *Elders*, &c. as the only means for their own preſervation, if the Fact had not been notorious and freſh in the memory of all the people then at *Jeruſalem*, viz. That theſe wiſe Men came thither, and that *Herod* and the whole City were troubled at the News they brought of the Birth of the King of the *Jews*; that *Herod* thereupon gather'd all the Chief-Prieſts and Scribes of the people together, that they might ſearch out of the Prophets, and know the place where *Chriſt* ſhould be born; and then the Slaughter of the Infants in and about *Bethlehem*, and in all the Coaſts thereof, which follow'd——I ſay could ſuch a Fact as this have paſs'd at that very time if it had not been true? Cou'd St. *Matthew* have hop'd to have palm'd this upon all the people, and upon thoſe very ſame *Chief-Prieſts* and *Scribes* who he ſaid were ſo far concern'd in it? Wou'd none of them have contradicted it, if it had been a forgery; eſpecially when the detecting it would have ſtrangled Chriſtianity in its Birth? Wou'd not they have done it who ſuborn'd falſe Witneſſes againſt *Chriſt*, and gave large Money to the Soldiers to conceal (if poſſible) his Reſurrection? Wou'd not they have done it, who perſecuted Chriſtianity with all ſpite and fury, and invented all imaginable falſe ſtories and calumnies againſt it? Whereas here was one at hand, this of the *Magi*, which if falſe could have been ſo eaſily detected by appealing to every Man, Woman, and Child, I may ſay, in *Jeruſalem*, *Bethlehem*, and even in all *Judæa*, who no doubt had heard of the terrible maſſacre of ſo many infants, and the cauſe of it.

DEIST. I can give no account why the Writers againſt Chriſtianity did not offer to contradict this Fact of the Star and the *Magi*, which is put in the very front of this Goſpel of St. *Matthew*; and there it is call'd his (*Chriſt*'s) Star: *We have ſeen his Star in the Eaſt*——As if God had created a new and extraordinary Star on purpoſe, as the Signal of *Chriſt* hung out in the Heavens, to give the World notice of his Birth: But did none of the heathen Philoſophers take notice of this Star, or of this relation given of it by your St. *Matthew?*

6. CHR. Yes. For *Chalcidius* in his comment upon *Plato*'s *Timæus*, ſpeaking of the Preſages of Stars mention'd by *Plato*, adds a farther proof, *Eſt quoque alia venerabilior & ſanctior Hiſtoria—— There is likewiſe another more venerable and holy Hiſtory*——By which I doubt not he means this of St. *Matthew*, for what he tells ſeems to be taken out of it, *That by the riſing of a certain unuſual Star, not plagues and diſeaſes, but the deſcent of the venerable God, for the ſalvation and benefit of mortals, was obſerved by the* Chaldæans, *who worſhipped this God newly born, by offering gifts unto him.*

DEIST. This makes thoſe *Magi* or wiſe Men to have been *Chaldæans*, who I know were the moſt noted then in the World for the moſt curious learning, particularly in Aſtronomy: And they were likewiſe Eaſt of *Jeruſalem*, ſo that it might be well ſaid they came from the Eaſt, and had ſeen his Star in the Eaſt. But I cannot imagine how they ſhou'd read the birth of a God in the face of a new Star; and how that Star ſhou'd ſend

them particularly to *Jeruſalem*, tho' I may ſuppoſe it pointed them Weſtward.

7. CHR. This will be eaſier to you, when you know, that all over the Eaſt there was a Tradition or fixt opinion, that about that time a King of the *Jews* wou'd be born, who ſhou'd rule the whole Earth. And the appearance of this extraordinary Star in the Eaſt was taken by them as a ſign that he was then born. And whither ſhou'd they go to look for the King of the *Jews* but to *Jeruſalem?* And when they came thither, they enquir'd, ſaying, *Where is he that is born King of the* Jews? *For we have ſeen his Star in the Eaſt, and are come to worſhip him.* This made *Herod* gather the Prieſts and Scribes together: And they by ſearching the Prophets found that *Bethlehem* was the place. Whereupon the wiſe Men went to *Bethlehem:* And to convince them that they were right, the Star which they had ſeen in the Eaſt appear'd to them again, and *went before them till it came and ſtood over where the young Child was.* This made them *rejoice with ſuch an exceeding great joy.*

DEIST, This wou'd go down in ſome meaſure with me, if you cou'd make good your firſt *Poſtulatum* of ſuch a current tradition or opinion in the Eaſt: But for this you have given no ſort of proof. And all the reſt which you have inferr'd from thence muſt come to the ground with it, if it be not ſupported. I confeſs it wou'd ſeem as ſtrange to me as the Star, to the wiſe Men, if God had (we know not how, it is unaccountable to us) ſent ſuch a notion into the minds of Men, and at that time only, of ſuch a King to be born, and that he ſhou'd be a *Jew* (the then moſt contemptible People in the World, ſubdu'd and conquer'd by the *Romans)* and that he was to be King of the *Jews*, and thence to become King of all the Earth, and conquer his Conquerors: The *Romans* wou'd have look'd with diſdain upon ſuch a Notion or Prophecy as this; it wou'd have made ſome ſtir among them, if they had heard of it, or given any credit to it.

8. CHR. You argue right. And I will ſhew you what ſtir it made among them, and I hope you will take their word, as well for this Eaſtern Tradition, as for the effects it had among themſelves. Nay they wanted not the ſame Tradition among themſelves, and expreſs Prophecies of it in their *Sibyls*, and otherwiſe: So that the ſame expectation of the *Meſſiah* was then current over all the Earth, with the *Gentiles* as well as with the *Jews*.

Tacitus in his Hiſtory, *l.* 5. *c.* 13. ſpeaking of the great prodigies that preceded the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, ſays, That many underſtood theſe as the fore-runners of that extraordinary Perſon whom the ancient Books of the Prieſts did foretell ſhould come, *about that time*, from *Judæa*, and obtain the univerſal dominion: His words are, *Pluribus perſuaſio inerat, antiquis Sacerdotum litteris contineri, eo ipſo tempore fore, ut valeſceret Oriens, profectique* Judæâ *rerum potirentur.* i. e. *Many were perſuaded that it was contained in the old writings of the Prieſts, that at that very time the Eaſt ſhould prevail, and the* Jews *ſhould have the dominion.* And *Suetonius* in the life of *Veſpaſian* c. 1. n. 4. ſays, *Percrebruerat Oriente toto vetus & conſtans opinio, eſſe in fatis, ut eo tempore,* Judæâ *profecti rerum potirentur*, i. e. *That it was an ancient and conſtant opinion* (or Tradition) *throughout the whole Eaſt, that at that time thoſe who came from* Judæa *ſhould obtain the dominion*, that is, that ſome *Jew* ſhould be univerſal King. Therefore *Cicero*, who was a Commonwealths-Man, in his ſecond Book of Divination, ſpeaking of the Books of the *Sibyls*, who likewiſe foretold this great King to come, ſays, *cum antiſtitibus agamus, et quidvis potiùs ex illis libris, quàm regem proferant: Quem* Romæ

poſt

poſt hæc nec Dii, nec Homines eſſe patientur. i. e. *Let us deal with theſe Prieſts, and let them bring any thing out of theſe Books, rather than a King: Whom neither the Gods nor Men will ſuffer after this at* Rome.

But he was miſtaken, and had his head cut off for writing againſt Kingly Government. And others more conſiderable than he, laid greater ſtreſs upon theſe Prophecies, even the whole Senate of *Rome*, as I come to ſhew you.

Whether theſe *Sibyls* gather'd their Prophecies out of the Old Teſtament, is needleſs here to examine: I am now only upon that general expectation which was then in the World of this great and univerſal King to come about that time.

9. The ſame Year that *Pompey* took *Jeruſalem*, one of theſe Oracles of the *Sibyls* made a great noiſe, which was, *That Nature was about to bring forth a King to the* Romans: Which, as *Suetonius* relates in the life of *Auguſtus* c. 94. did ſo terrify the Senate, that they made a decree to expoſe, that is, deſtroy all the Children born that year: *Senatum exterritum cenſuiſſe, ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur*; That none born that year ſhou'd be brought up, but expos'd, that is, left in ſome Wood or deſart place to periſh. But he tells how this dreadful Sentence was prevented, *Eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quod ad ſe quiſque ſpem traheret, curâſſe ne Senatus-conſultum ad Ærarium deferretur*, That thoſe Senators whoſe Wives were with Child, becauſe each was in hopes of having this great King, took care that the decree of the Senate ſhou'd not be put into the *Ærarium* or Treaſury, without which, by their conſtitution, the decree cou'd not be put in execution. And *Appian*, *Plutarch*, *Saluſt*, and *Cicero*, do all ſay, That it was the Prophecy of the *Sibyls* which rais'd the ambition of *Corn. Lentulus* at that time, hoping he ſhou'd be this King of the *Romans*. *Virgil* a few years before the birth of *Chriſt*, in his fourth *Eclogue* quotes a Prophecy of one of theſe *Sibyls* ſpeaking of an extraordinary Perſon, to be born about that time, who ſhou'd introduce a golden age into the World, and reſtore all things, and blot out our ſins—— *Si qua manent ſceleris veſtigia noſtri*—— And calls him, *Chara Deûm ſoboles, magnum Jovis incrementum. Dear offspring of the Gods, and great Son of* Jove. He deſcribes a new ſtate of things like the new Heavens, and the new Earth, *Iſai.* LXV. 17. *Magnus ab integro ſeclorum naſcitur ordo. A great order of ages does begin, wholly new.* And as *Iſaiah* deſcribes the happy ſtate in the new Earth, That *the lion and the lamb ſhou'd feed together, the ſerpent eat duſt, and that they ſhou'd not hurt or deſtroy in all the holy mountain*, Iſai. LXV. 25. *Virgil* does almoſt repeat his words:

——*Nec magnos metuent armenta Leones:*
Occidet & Serpens, & fallax Herba veneni
Occidet——

And as God introduces the *Meſſiah*, with ſaying, *I will ſhake the heavens, and the earth, and the ſea.* Hag. II. 7. *Virgil* does in a manner tranſlate it in this *Eclogue*, introducing the great Perſon then to be born, and the Joy which ſhou'd be in the whole Creation.

Aſpice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
Terraſque, tractuſque Maris, Cœlumque profundum:
Aſpice venturo lætentur ut omnia ſeclo.

Lo! teeming nature bending with its load,
The Earth, the Ocean, and the Heavens high:
Behold how all rejoice to greet the coming age. Here

Here the Poet describes nature as in labour to bring forth this great King as the other Prophecy of the *Sibyls* before mention'd speaks. And he says, *Aderit jam tempus*; That *the time was then at hand. Jam nova Progenies Cœlo demittitur alto*; *Now a new Progeny from Heaven descends.*

And he applies it to *Saloninus* the Son of *Pollio* the Consul, then newly born, as if it was to be fulfill'd in him. But as there was nothing like it in the event; so these words are too great to be apply'd to any mortal, or the reign of any King ever was in the World, or to any other but to the *Messiah* the Lord of Heaven and Earth.

10. DEIST. But you know the authority of these *Sibyls* is disputed: Some say the Christians did interpolate them, and added to them in about a hundred years after *Christ*.

CHR. It is true the Christians did often quote them against the Heathen, as St. *Paul* quoted the Heathen Poets to the *Athenians*. Act. XVII. 28. And *Clem. Alexandrinus* in his *Strom.* l. 6. says that St. *Paul* quoted the *Sibyls* likewise in his disputations with the *Gentiles*. And the Christians were call'd *Sibyllianists* from their quoting the *Sibyls* so often. But *Origen* in his Answer to *Celsus*, l. 7. challenges him to shew any interpolation made by the Christians, and appeals to the Heathen Copies which were in their own possession, and kept with great care.

But what I have quoted to you out of *Virgil* was before *Christ* was born, and therefore clear of all these objections.

DEIST. Then the *Jews* must have had some hand in them: As likewise in that Eastern Tradition you have spoke of.

CHR. If so, you must suppose that the *Jews* had it from their own Prophets: And this will be a strong confirmation that the time of the *Messiah*'s coming was plainly told in the Prophets.

11. DEIST. What say the *Jews* to this? For I cannot imagine how they can get off of it.

CHR. Some of them say, That the *Messiah* put off his coming at the appointed time, because of their sins: Others say, he did come at the time, but has conceal'd himself ever since.

DEIST. These are mere excuses. Do they pretend any Prophecy for this? But to what purpose? For these excuses shew, that Prophecies are no proofs, because if they may be thus put off, they can never be known: And they may be put off and put off to the end of the World.

12. CHR. But now, SIR, as to your point. If this general expectation both in East and West, of the great King of the *Jews* to be born about that very time that he did come, was occasion'd by the *Jewish* Tradition of it, it strengthens the Truth of the holy Scriptures, whence the *Jews* had it: But otherwise, if God we know not how, did send such a notion into the minds of Men, all over the World, at that particular time, and never the like, either before or since, then the Miracle will be greater, and the attestation to the coming of *Christ*, stronger; and as you said, it will be more wonderful and more convincing to you, than the Star was to the wise Men in the East.

DEIST. I must take time to answer this. I made nothing at all of this of the *Magi* and the Star, and of *Herod*'s slaying the Infants upon it: I thought it a ridiculous story, and to have no foundation in the World. But when I see *Suetonius* telling us of the Decree of the Senate of *Rome* to destroy all the Children born that Year, and for the same reason, for fear of this great King that was then to be born; I must think there was a

ſtrange chiming in of things here, one to anſwer the other: I know not how it happen'd; by chance, or how!

13. CHR. You cannot imagine there could be any concert in this matter: That the *Chaldæans*, and *Romans*, and *Jews*, ſhould all agree upon the point, and hit it ſo exactly, without any one of them diſcovering the contrivance; eſpecially when it was ſo terrible to both the *Romans* and the *Jews*, that they took ſuch deſperate methods to prevent it as to deſtroy their own Children.

DEIST. It is ridiculous to talk of a concert: I will not put my cauſe upon that. Would they concert what they thought their own deſtruction? Beſides, the *Jews* and *Romans* were then enemies; and the *Chaldæans* were far off, and had little correſpondence with either of them. And ſuch an univerſal notion could not be concerted: Whole Nations could not be truſted with a ſecret: And if they all kept it, and againſt their own intereſt too, it would be as great a Miracle as any in your Bible.

14. CHR. How much more impoſſible is it to ſuppoſe, that there ſhould be a concert between different ages, between all the ages from *Adam* downwards, in all thoſe Prophecies of the coming of the *Meſſiah*? How ſhould they know it but by Revelation? And would they have all agreed ſo exactly as to the time, place, manner, and other circumſtances, if it had been a forgery contriv'd by different perſons, and in different ages?

15. This is an argument which St. *Peter* thought ſtronger than the conviction even of our outward ſenſes; for having ſet down what he and the other two Apoſtles had both ſeen and heard upon the holy Mount, he adds, *We have yet a more ſure Word* (that is, a ſtronger proof) *of Prophecy, whereunto ye do well to take heed, as unto a Light that ſhineth in a dark place, until the Day dawn, and the Day-Star ariſe in your Hearts.* 2Pet.i. 19,21. And he enforces it thus, *For the Prophecy came not in old Time by the Will of Man, but holy Men of God ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt.*

DEIST. I will grant his argument ſo far, that it is eaſier to ſuppoſe the Senſes of three Men, or of all the Men in the World to be impos'd upon, than that *Adam*, *Abraham*, and I, had concerted together; but I will not give you my anſwer yet. Have you any more to ſay upon this Head of Prophecy?

CHR. I need ſay no more till your anſwer comes; for you have granted that this proof is ſtronger than what we ſee with our eyes.

16. But that your anſwer may take in all together, I will give you ſomething farther. I have ſet down already ſome of the great Prophecies of the coming of *Chriſt*, his Sufferings, Death, and Reſurrection; but there are others which reach to ſeveral minute circumſtances, ſuch as cannot be apply'd to any other fact that ever yet happened, and which could not have been foreſeen by any but God; nor were known by the actors who did them, elſe they had not done them: For they would not have fulfill'd the Prophecies that went before of *Chriſt*, in applying them to him whom they crucify'd as a falſe *Chriſt*.

See then how literally ſeveral of theſe Prophecies were fulfill'd. As *Pſal.* LXIX. 21. *They gave me Gall to eat, and Vinegar to drink:* Then read *Mat.* XXVII. 34. *They gave him Vinegar to drink mingled with Gall.* It is ſaid *Pſal.* XXII. 16, 17, 18. *They pierced my Hands and my Feet—— They ſtand ſtaring and looking upon me. They part my Garments among*

them,

them, and cast Lots upon my Vesture; as if it had been wrote after *Joh.* xix. 23, 24. It was merely accidental in the Soldiers, they would not tear his Coat because it was woven and without seam; therefore they cast Lots for it: Thus fulfilling this Scripture, without any knowledge of theirs, for they were *Roman* Soldiers, and knew nothing of the Scripture. Again it is said, *Psal.* xxii. 7, 8. *All they that see me, laugh me to scorn; they shoot out their Lips, and shake their Heads, saying, he trusted in God that he would deliver him, let him deliver him if he will have him.* Compare this with *Mat.* xxvii. 39, 41, 42, 43. *And they that passed by, reviled him, wagging their Heads, and saying —— Come down from the Cross. Likewise also the chief Priests mocking him, with the Scribes and Elders, said —— He trusted in God, let him deliver him now if he will have him, for he said, I am the Son of God.* It is said again, *Zech.* xii. 10. *They shall look upon me whom they have pierced.* His very Price was foretold, and how the Money should be dispos'd of, *Zech.* xi. 13. Fulfilled *Mat.* xxvii. 6, 7. And his riding into *Jerusalem* upon an Ass, *Zech.* ix. 9. which the learned *Rabbi Saadia* expounds of the *Messiah*: That he should suffer with *Malefactors*, *Isa.* liii. 12. That his Body should not lie so long in the *Grave* as *to see Corruption*, *Psal.* xvi. 10.

Many other circumstances are told which cannot be apply'd to any but to *Christ*: I have set down these few, that you may take them into consideration when you think fit to give your answer as to this head of Prophecies.

And you are to take care to find some other fact guarded with Prophecies like this; or else you must confess that there is no other fact that has such evidence as this.

17. But before I leave this head, I must mention the Prophecies in our Bible of things yet to come to the end of the World, and of the new Heavens and new Earth that shall succeed.

Deist. There can be no proofs here, because we cannot see the fulfilling of them.

Chr. You may believe what is to come, by the fulfilling you have seen of what is past. But I bring this now to shew you, that there is no other Law or History in the World that so much as pretends to this, or to know what is to come: This is peculiar to the holy Bible, as being written from the Mouth of God.

You have seen how the current of the Prophecies of the Old Testament did point at and center in that great event the coming of the *Messiah*.

When he was come, then he told us more plainly of what was to come after him, even to the consummation of all things: And by what we have seen exactly fulfill'd of all he told us to this time, we must believe what remains yet to come.

18. How particularly did he foretel the destruction of *Jerusalem* and the Temple, *Mat.* xxiv. and that that age should not pass till it should be fulfilled? And his very Expression was literally fulfill'd, that there should not be left one *Stone upon another* in the *Temple*, for the very foundations of it were ploughed up by *Turnus Rufus*. See *Scaliger*'s *Canon Isagog.* p. 304.

When *Jerusalem* was first besieg'd it was full of Christians: But the Siege was rais'd unaccountably and for no reason that History gives: In which time the Christians seeing those signs come to pass which *Christ* had foretold would precede its destruction, and particularly laying hold of that caution he gave, *Then let them that are in* Judæa *flee to the Mountains*, and that in such haste, as that he that was in the *Field* was not to return

(to *Jerusalem*) to fetch his Garment; or he on the *House top* there, to stay to take his Goods with him; accordingly all the Christians left *Jerusalem*, and fled to *Pella* a City in the Mountains: And as soon as they were all gone, the *Romans* return'd and renew'd the Siege. And so it came to pass, that when *Titus* sack'd the City there was not one Christian found there, and the destruction fell only upon the unbelieving *Jews*: The others escap'd, as *Lot* out of *Sodom*, by believing the Prediction of that ruin.

19. Another very remarkable Prediction of our blessed Lord in that same Chapter was of the many *false Christs* that should come after him. And he warned the *Jews* not to follow them, for that it would be to their destruction: *Behold* (says he *v.* 25.) *I have told you before.* But they would not believe him: And accordingly it came to pass. *Josephus* in his *Antiquities of the* Jews, l. xviii. c. 11. l. xx. c. 6. and *de Bell. Jud.* l. vii. c. 31. tells of abundance of these false *Messiahs* who appear'd before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and led the People into the Wilderness, where they were miserably destroy'd: The very thing of which our Saviour caution'd them *v.* 26. *If they say unto you, Behold, he* (that is, *Christ*) *is in the Desart, go not forth.* And *de Bell. Jud.* l. vii. c. 12. *Josephus* says that the chief cause of their obstinacy in that war with the *Romans* was their expectation of a *Messiah* to come and deliver them, which brought on their ruin, and made them deaf to the offers of *Titus* who courted them to peace.

And since the destruction of *Jerusalem*, there have been so many false *Messiahs*, that *Johannes à Lent* has wrote a History of them, Printed *Herbonæ*, 1697. which brings them down as far as the year 1682. and tells the lamentable destruction of the *Jews* in following them.

20. But the next Prophecy of our blessed Lord which I produce is more remarkable than these: And of which you see the fulfilling in a great measure. *Viz.* That his *Gospel should prevail over all the World*, and that the *Gates of Hell should not prevail against it:* And this was told when he was low and despised, and had but twelve poor Fisher-men for his Followers: And that his *Religion* should *conquer*, not by the *Sword*, like *Mahomet*'s, but by patient suffering, as *Lambs among Wolves*. And in this state the Church endur'd most terrible Persecutions, when all the rage of *Hell* was let loose against her, for the first three hundred years, without any help but from Heaven only; till at last, by the divine Providence, the great Emperor of *Rome*, and other mighty Kings and Princes, without any force or compulsion, did voluntarily and freely submit their Scepters to *Christ*.

No Religion that ever was in the World, was so begun, so propagated, and did so prevail: And hence we assuredly trust that what remains will be fulfill'd of the Promise of *Christ* to his Church in the latter days.

But I speak now only of this Prophecy so long before-hand, and when there was so little appearance of its coming to pass so far as we have seen already.

Let me here remember one particular passage foretold by *Christ* concerning the Woman who *anointed his body to the burying*, That *Wheresoever this Gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, this also that she hath done shall be spoken of, for a memorial of her.* And we see how it is spoken of to this day.

Mark xiv. 8, 9.

Deist. If this Book had been lost, we had not heard of this Prophecy.

Chr. So you may say of all the Bible; or of any other Book. But providence has fulfill'd this Prophecy by preserving the Book. And it is a

Prophecy

Prophecy that this Book, at leaſt this fact of the Woman, ſhou'd be preſerved for ever, and it may be preſerved tho' that Book were loſt.

21. DEIST, when Prophecies are fulfill'd, and the events come to paſs, they are plain to every body: But why might they not have been as plain from the beginning? And then there cou'd have been no diſpute about them, as if it had been ſaid, That ſuch a one by name, at ſuch a time, and in ſuch a place, ſhou'd do ſuch things, *&c.*

CHR. Becauſe God having given Man free-will, he does not force Men to do any wicked thing. And it wou'd be in the power of wicked Men to defeat a Prophecy againſt themſelves, as to the circumſtance of time, place, or the manner of doing the thing.

For example, if the *Jews* had known that *Chriſt* had told his Apoſtles he was to be crucify'd, they wou'd not have done it. They wou'd have ſtoned him as they did St. *Stephen*: For that was the death appointed by the Law for Blaſphemy. And they ſeveral times attempted to have ſtoned *Chriſt* for this, becauſe he ſaid *I am the Son of God.* Joh. VIII. 59. X. 31, 32, 33. But crucifixion was a death by the *Roman* Law. Therefore the *Jews*, to fulfil this Prophecy (but not knowing it) deliver'd *Chriſt* to the *Romans* to be put to death. Yet he told them ſo much of it, that after he was crucify'd they might know it, as he ſaid to them, *Joh.* VIII. 28. *When ye have lift up the ſon of man, then ſhall ye know that I am he.* And *Chap.* X. 32, 33. *And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me: This he ſaid, ſignifying what death he ſhould die.* But they underſtood it not till they had done it. Then they knew what the lifting up meant. And *Chap.* XVIII. 31, 32. When *Pilate* wou'd have had them *judge him according to their Law*, which was ſtoning, they were cautious at this time only, and ſaid, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death:* Becauſe they were then under the Government of the *Romans.* But the next words ſhew the deſign of providence in it, *That the ſaying of Jeſus might be fulfilled, which he ſpake, ſignifying what death he ſhou'd die.* They had no ſuch caution upon them when they ſtoned St. *Stephen* after this, nor the many times before when they took up ſtones to have ſtoned the ſame *Jeſus.*

Then again, the piercing his ſide with the ſpear was no part of the *Roman* ſentence of execution, but happen'd ſeemingly by mere accident. For the ſentence of the Law was to hang upon the Croſs till they were dead: But that being the day of preparation for the Sabbath, which began that evening ſoon after *Chriſt* and the Thieves were faſten'd to the Croſs, before it cou'd be ſuppos'd they were dead; therefore, *That the Bodies might not remain upon the Croſs on the Sabbath Day*, the *Jews* beſought *Pilate* that their legs might be broken (which was no part of the ſentence neither, but done) leſt they ſhou'd eſcape when taken down. Accordingly the legs of the Thieves were broken, for they were yet alive, and the reaſon why they brake not the legs of *Chriſt* was, becauſe *they ſaw that he was dead already.* But to make ſure, one of the Soldiers pierced his ſide with a ſpear: Little knowing that they were then fulfilling Prophecies, as that *a bone of him ſhou'd not be broken:* And again, *They ſhall look on him whom they pierced.* As little did the Soldiers think of it when they were caſting lots upon his veſture. And the chief Prieſts (if they had known it or reflected upon it) wou'd not have upbraided him in the very words that were foretold in the XXII. *Pſalm*, which I have before quoted. And they wou'd have contrivd the Money they gave to *Judas* to have been one piece more or leſs than juſt thirty. They wou'd not have come ſo punctually in the way of that Prophecy *Zech.* XI. 12, 13. *They weighed for my price thirty*

pieces of Silver. And they wou'd not have bought any field with it, but eſpecially not that of the Potter, which *Zechariah* there likewiſe mentions.

And as the enemies of *Chriſt* did not know they were fulfilling theſe Prophecies of him, ſo neither did his Diſciples at the time when they were ſo doing. As it is ſaid, *Joh.* XII. 16. *Theſe things underſtood not his Diſciples at the firſt; but when Jeſus was glorified, then remembred they that theſe things were written of him, and that they had done theſe things unto him.* This makes the fulfilling theſe Prophecies yet more remarkable.

Where providence ſees that Prophecies will not be minded, they are more expreſs and plain: As likewiſe where the paſſions and intereſts of Men will hurry them on towards fulfilling them. Thus *Alexander* the great is deſcrib'd as plainly almoſt as if he had been nam'd. *Dan.* VIII. 20, 21, 22. And it is ſaid, That this Prophecy which was ſhew'd him by the High-Prieſt at *Jeruſalem* did encourage him in his expedition againſt the *Perſians*. But it is not ſo when a Man is to do fooliſh and wicked things, and things hurtful to himſelf; for if theſe were told plainly and literally, it wou'd be in his power to do otherwiſe; unleſs God ſhould force his Will, and then he wou'd not be a free agent.

22. DEIST. I muſt have recourſe to the *Jews* in anſwer to theſe Prophecies of the *Meſſiah* which you have brought: For they owning theſe Scriptures as Revelations given them by God, muſt have ſome ſolution or other for them, or elſe give themſelves up as ſelf-condemned.

CHR. The Anſwers the *Jews* give will convince you the more, and render them indeed ſelf-condemned.

Before the coming of *Chriſt* the *Jews* underſtood theſe Texts as we do, to be certainly meant of the *Meſſiah*, and of none other.

But ſince that time they have forced themſelves to put the moſt ſtrained and contradictory meanings upon them; for they agree not in their expoſitions, and the one does manifeſtly deſtroy the other.

Thus that Text I before quoted, *Gen.* XLIX. 10. was underſtood by the *Chaldee* and ancient *Jewiſh* interpreters to be meant of the *Meſſiah*.

Yet of their modern *Rabbies* ſome ſay, that it was meant of *Moſes*. But others reject that, *Firſt*, Becauſe it is plain that the gathering of the Nations or *Gentiles* was not to *Moſes*. *Secondly*, Becauſe the ſcepter was not given to *Judah* till long after *Moſes*. The firſt of it that appears was *Judg.* XX. 18. when *Judah* was commanded by God to *go up firſt* and lead the reſt of the tribes: And *David* was the firſt King of the tribe of *Judah*. *Thirdly*, Becauſe *Moſes* did propheſy of a greater than himſelf to come, to whom the People ſhould hearken. *Deut.* XVIII. 15, 18, 19.

For theſe reaſons, other *Rabbies* ſay it could not be meant of *Moſes*, but they apply it to the Tabernacle at *Shiloh*. This was only for the ſake of the word *Shiloh*, for otherwiſe it bears no reſemblance either to the gathering of the *Gentiles*, or the ſcepter of *Judah*. And tho' the houſe of God was firſt ſet up at *Shiloh*, yet it was removed from thence and eſtabliſhed at *Jeruſalem*: Which was the place of which *Moſes* ſpoke that God would place his name there, as I ſhall ſhew you preſently.

This interpretation therefore being rejected, other *Rabbies* ſay, That this Prophecy muſt be meant of the *Meſſiah*, but that by the word Scepter is not to be underſtood a Scepter of rule or government, but of correction and puniſhment, and that this ſhould not depart from *Judah* till *Shiloh* came. But the Text explaining Scepter by the word Law-giver, that *the Scepter* ſhould *not depart from* Judah, *nor a Law-giver from between his feet until* Shiloh came, overthrows this interpretation, and

ſhews the Scepter here mentioned to be meant of a Scepter of rule and government. Again, *Joſhua* gave them reſt from their enemies round about: And the land had reſt many years under their Judges: And *David* delivered them out of the hands of their enemies: And under *Solomon* they were the richeſt and happieſt People upon Earth: And frequently after they were in good condition and at eaſe: So that the Scepter of correction did often depart from them before *Shiloh* came.

This is ſo evident, that others of them allow this Scepter to be a Scepter of government, but they ſay the meaning is, that the Scepter ſhall not finally or for ever depart from *Judah*, becauſe the *Meſſiah* will come and reſtore it to *Judah* again. But this is adding to the Text, and making a new Text of it, and quite different from the former, nay directly oppoſite to it. For the Text ſpeaks only of the departing of the Scepter, but nothing of the reſtoring it. And it cannot be reſtored till once it is departed: Therefore this expoſition ſaying it *ſhall depart*, and the Text ſaying it *ſhall not depart*, are directly contrary.

Laſtly, there are others who throw aſide all theſe excuſes, and ſay, That the Scepter or Dominion is not yet departed from *Judah*; for that ſome *Jew* or other may have ſome ſort of rule or government, in ſome part or other of the World, tho' we know it not.

DEIST. As if the *Jews* (who hold the beſt correſpondence with one another of any People) cou'd not tell this place, if there were any ſuch where they were governed by their own Laws, and by Governours of their own Nation; tho' in ſubjection to the Government of the Country where they lived.

Theſe *Salvoes* of the *Jews* are contradictory to each other; they are poor excuſes, and ſhew their cauſe to be perfectly deſtitute.

But I have an objection againſt this Prophecy, which affects both *Jews* and Chriſtians, that the regal Scepter did depart from the tribe of *Judah* long before your *Shiloh* came.

CHR. *Firſt*, this Prophecy does not call the Scepter a regal Scepter, and therefore denotes only Government in the general.

Secondly, The whole Land and the Nation took their name from *Judah*. It was called the Land of *Judah*, and their Nation took the name of *Jews* from *Judah*, as before that of *Hebrews* from *Heber* their Progenitor, *Gen.* x. 25. And this Prophecy ſpoke of thoſe times when *Judah* ſhould be the Father of his Country, and the whole Nation ſhould be comprehended under the name of *Judah*. And therefore *Judah* holds the Scepter wherever a *Jew* governs. Beſides, the words Scepter and Throne are uſed in relation to inferiour Governours, to tributary Kings, and Kings in captivity; thus it is ſaid, that thirty ſeven years after the captivity of *Judah*, *the King of* Babylon *ſet the throne of* Jehoiachin *King of* Judah *above the thrones of the Kings that were with him in* Babylon. 2 *Kin.* xxv. 27, 28. This was more than half the time of the captivity: And this was continued to *Jehoiachin* all the *days of his life*, *v.* 29, 30. Which might laſt till the end, or near the end of the captivity. But beſides the King, the *Jews* had Governours of their own Nation allowed them, who were their *Archontes* or Rulers; and they enjoyed their own Laws, tho' in ſubjection to the King of *Babylon*. The Elders of *Judah* (which was a name of Government) are mentioned in the captivity, *Ezek.* VIII. 1. And *the chief of the fathers of* Judah, *and the prieſts and the* Levites, *Ezra* I. 5. And after the captivity, they had a *Tirſhatha* or Governour of their own nation, *Ezra* II. 63. *Neh.* VIII. 9. And the Throne of the Governour is named, *Neh.* III. 7. So that here was ſtill the Throne or Scepter of *Judah*.

And

And from the time of the *Maccabees* to their conquest by the *Romans*, the supreme Authority was in their High-priests: As it was afterwards, but in subjection to the *Romans*; and they enjoyed their own Laws: *Pilate said unto them, take ye him, and judge him according to your Law.* And tho' they answered, *it is not lawful for us to put any Man to death*, the reason is given in the next Verse, *That the saying of* Jesus *might be fulfilled which he spake, signifying what death he should die.* For Crucifixion was a *Roman* Death, but Stoning by the Law of *Moses* was the Death for Blasphemy, of which they accused him: And they afterwards stoned St. *Stephen* for the same (alledged) crime, *according to their own Law.* Their High-Priests and Council had full liberty to meet when they pleased, and to act according to their Law: And *Christ* himself owns they *sat in* Moses's *Seat.* The High-priest sat to judge St. *Paul*, who applied to him that Text, *Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Ruler of thy People*, or *speak evil of him*, as the Apostle renders it: So that here the Government was still in the *Jews*, tho' in subjection to the *Romans*. And thus it continued till the destruction of *Jerusalem* and the Temple by the *Romans*: But since that time they are dispersed in all Countries, and have no governour or ruler of their own in any: The *Scepter* is entirely departed from them.

John xviii. 31.

Exod. xxi. 28.
Matt. xxiii. 2.
Acts. xxiii. 4.

DEIST. It is impossible but the *Jews* must see the difference of their state before the destruction of *Jerusalem* and since, and of their condition as to Government in their several captivities, and now in their dispersion. In the former they had still a face of Government left among themselves; but now, none at all: And their excuses which you have mention'd, render them indeed self-condemned.

What do they say to that Text you have quoted, *Jer.* XXXIII. 17, *&c.* that *David* should *never want a* Son *to sit upon* his *Throne*, &c. You Christians apply it to *Christ*, who was called the *Son* of *David*: But to whom do the *Jews* apply it?

CHR. Some of them say, that *David* will be raised from the dead and made immortal, to fulfil this Prophecy: Others say, that after the *Messiah*, who is to be of the seed of *David*, he shall thence forward no more want a Son, *&c.*

DEIST. Both these interpretations are in flat contradiction to the Text: The Text says, *shall never want*; these say, shall want for a long time. They must confess now for near seventeen hundred years together, and how much longer they cannot tell, they have had none to sit in *Moses*'s Seat, or on the Throne of *David*, tho' in subjection to their enemies, as they had in the worst of their captivities; but have not now in their dispersion.

But is there any difference betwixt what you call the *Cathedra* or Seat of *Moses*, and the Throne of *David*?

CHR. None as to Government: For *Moses* was King in *Jeshurun*, *Deut.* XXXIII. 5. But *David* was the first King of the Tribe of *Judah*; which was to be the name of the whole Nation. And *Christ* was called the King of the *Jews*: It was the Title set upon his Cross: But after him none ever had that Title to this day.

DEIST. This is not to be answered by the *Jews*. But pray what Person is it, do they say, was meant in the LIII. of *Isaiah* which you have quoted?

CHR. They will not have it to be any Person at all: For they can find none, except our *Christ*, to whom these Prophecies can any way be apply'd: Therefore they say, it must be meant of the Nation of the *Jews*, whose Sufferings, *&c.* are there describ'd in the name of a Person, by which the People are to be understood.

DEIST. But the People and the Person there described as suffering, &c. are plainly contradistinguish'd. It is said, ℣. 8. *For the Transgression of my People was he stricken.* And ℣. 3, 4, &c. *We* (the People) *esteemed him not. All we* (the People) *like Sheep have gone astray*—— *And the Lord hath laid on him the Iniquity of us all,* that is, of the People; who are here called *wicked*: But *he* is called *my righteous servant*, who *did no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.* Therefore this People and the Person here spoke of could not be the same: They are oppos'd to each other; the one call'd *righteous*, the other *wicked*: The one to die for the other, and to justify the other: *By his Knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many*, &c.

CHR. The *Jews* before *Christ* came understood this Prophecy of the *Messiah*, as indeed it can be apply'd to none other: But the *Jews* since *Christ*, to avoid the force of this and other Prophecies which speak of the sufferings and death of the *Messiah*, have invented two *Messiahs*, one *Ben Joseph* of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, who is to be the suffering *Messiah*, the other *Ben David* of the Tribe of *Judah*, who is to triumph gloriously, and shall raise from the dead all the *Israelites*, and among them the first *Messiah*, *Ben Joseph*.

DEIST. Does the Scripture speak of two *Messiahs*, and the one raising the other?

CHR. No, not a word. But only of the *Messiah*; which shews it spoke only of one. But it mentions the two-fold state of this *Messiah*, the first suffering, the second triumphing: Whence the modern *Jews* have framed to themselves these two *Messiahs*.

DEIST. This is shameful! and plainly to avoid the Prophecies against them.

CHR. This of *Isaiah* is fully explain'd, *Dan.* IX. 24, &c. where it is said that the *Messiah* the *Prince* should *be cut off, but not for himself*, but for the Transgressions of the People, *to make an end of Sins, and to make Reconciliation for Iniquity:* And that this was to be within four hundred and ninety years after the building of the second Temple, which I have mentioned before.

DEIST. I cannot imagine how the *Jews* get clear of this.

CHR. They cannot: But in spite to it they seek now to undervalue the whole Book of *Daniel*, tho' they dare not totally reject it, because it was receiv'd by their Fore-fathers who preceded *Christ*. But about a hundred years after *Christ* they made a new distribution of the Books of the Old Testament, different from their Fathers, and took the Book of *Daniel* out of the middle of the Prophets where it was plac'd before, and put it last of all. But more than this, to lessen the credit of this Book, they adventur'd to shake the authority of their whole Scriptures: For they took upon them to make a distinction of the Books of the Scripture, and made them not all inspired or canonical, but some of them they called Ἁγιόγραφα, that is, holy or pious Books, tho' in a lower class than those call'd inspired or canonical Scriptures: And they put the Book of *Daniel* into the inferior class. But in that Book *Daniel* speaks of himself as having received these Prophecies immediately from an Angel of God: Wherein if he told us the truth, it must be put in the highest class of canonical Scripture: But if he told us false, then this Book is quite through all a lie, and blasphemous too, in fathering it all upon God. So that the distinction of our modern *Jews* confounds themselves. And since they allow this Book of *Daniel* a place among the Ἁγιόγραφα, or holy Writings, they cannot deny it to be truly canonical, as all their Fathers owned it before the coming of *Christ*: And if they throw off *Daniel*, they must discard *Ezekiel* too; For he gives the

highest attestation to *Daniel* that can be given to mortal Man; he makes him one of the three most righteous Men to be found in all ages, and the very standard of Wisdom to the World.

Ezek. xiv. 14, 20. xxviii. 3

DEIST. What do they say to *Hag.* ii. 7, 9. where it is said, that *Christ* was to come into the *second Temple?*

CHR. Some of them say, that this must be meant of a Temple yet to be built.

DEIST. This is denying the Prophecy: For it is said, *v.* 7. *I will fill this House with Glory*, &c. And *v.* 9. *The Glory of this latter House— And in this Place will I give Peace*, &c. But I am not to defend the cause of the *Jews:* It seems to me very desperate: I own you Christians have the advantage of them in this.

CHR. And I hope it will have so much effect with you, as to make you consider seriously of the weight of this argument of Prophecy we have discoursed.

DEIST. Let us at present leave this head of Prophecy. Have you any farther evidence to produce for your *Christ?*

VII. CHR. I have one more, which is yet more peculiar to him than even that of Prophecy. For whatever weak pretence may be made of some Prophecies among the Heathen, as to some particular events, of little consequence to the World, yet they never offer'd at that sort of evidence I am next to produce: Which is, not only Prophecies of the fact, and that from the beginning of the World, but also types, resemblances, and exhibitions of the fact, in outward sensible institutions; ordain'd as Laws from the beginning, and to continue till the fact they prefigur'd should come to pass.

1. Such were the Sacrifices instituted by God immediately upon the Fall, (and upon his Promise of the life-giving *Seed*, *Gen.* III. 15.) as Types of that great and only propitiatory Sacrifice for Sin which was to come: Whose Blood they saw continually shed (in Type) in their daily Sacrifices.

These were continu'd in the heathen posterities of *Adam* by immemorial Tradition from the beginning. Tho' they had forgot the beginning of them, as they had of the World or of Mankind; yet they retain'd so much of the reason of them, as that they had universally the notion of a vicarious atonement, and that our Sins were to be purg'd by the blood of others suffering in our stead; as likewise, that the blood of Bulls and Goats could not take away Sin, but that a more noble blood was necessary. Hence they came to human Sacrifices; and at last to sacrifice the greatest, most noble, and most virtuous; and such offered themselves to be sacrificed for the safety of the People: As *Codrus* King of the *Athenians*, who sacrificed himself on this account: The like did *Curtius* for the *Romans*, as supposing himself the bravest and most valuable of them all: So the *Decii*, the *Fabii*, &c. *Agamemnon* sacrificed his Daughter *Iphigenia* for the *Greek* Army: And the King of *Moab* sacrific'd his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead. Thus the sacrificing (not their servants or slaves, but) their Children to *Moloch* is frequently mention'd of the *Jews*, which they did in imitation of the Heathen, as it is said, *They were mingled among the Heathen, and learned their Works; and they served their Idols——Yea, they sacrificed their Sons and their Daughters unto the Idols of* Canaan, *&c.* Pursuant to which notion, the Prophet introduceth them arguing thus, *Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow my self before the High God? Shall I come before him with Burnt-offerings, with Calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of Rams, or with ten thousands of Rivers of Oil? Shall I give my First-born for my Transgression, the Fruit of my Body for the Sin of my Soul?* They were plainly searching after

2 Kings iii. 27.

Psal. cvi. 35, 36, 37, 38.

Mich. vi. 6, 7.

a complete and adequate satisfaction for Sin: And they thought it necessary.

DEIST. No doubt they thought so; but that did not make it necessary.

CHR. The doctrine of Satisfaction is a subject by its self; which I have treated elsewhere, in my *Answer* to the *Examination* of my *Last Dialogue* against the *Socinians*. But I am not come so far with you yet. I am now only speaking of Sacrifices as Types of the Sacrifice of *Christ*.

2. And besides Sacrifices in general, there were afterwards some particular Sacrifices appointed more nearly expressive of our redemption by *Christ*. As the Passover, which was instituted in memory of the redemption of the children of *Israel* (that is, the Church) out of *Egypt* (the house of bondage of this World, where we are in servitude to sin and and misery) in the night when God slew all the first born of the *Ægyptians*: But the destroyer was to pass over those houses where he saw the blood of the Paschal Lamb upon the door-posts: And it was to be eaten with unleavened Bread, expressing the sincerity of the heart, without any mixture or taint of wickedness, and thus it is apply'd, 1 *Cor.* v. 7. 8. *Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For even* Christ *our passover is sacrificed for us. Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.*

3. There was a double exhibition of *Christ* on the great day of expiation, which was but once a year. On which day only the High-Priest enter'd into the holy of holies, (which represented Heaven, *Exod.* xxv. 40. *Wisd.* ix. 8. *Heb.* ix. 24.) with the blood of the Sacrifice, whose body was burnt without the camp; to shew God's detestation of sin, and that it was to be remov'd far from us, and that we must go out of the camp, that is, out of this World, bearing our reproach for sin, before we can be quite freed from it. See how exactly this was fulfill'd in *Christ*, Heb. xiii. 11, 12, 13, 14. *For the bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high-priest for sin, are burnt without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate. Let us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach; for here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come.*

The other lively representation of *Christ*'s bearing our sins, and taking them away from us, which was made on the same day of expiation, was the Scape-goat, *Lev.* xvi. 21, 22. *And* Aaron *shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of* Israel *and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness. And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities, unto a land not inhabited: And he shall let go the goat in the wilderness.* This is so plain that it needs no application.

4. Another express representation of *Christ* was the brazen Serpent in the Wilderness, by looking upon which the people were cur'd of the stings of the fiery Serpents: So in looking upon *Christ* by faith, the sting of the old Serpent the Devil is taken away. And the lifting up the Serpent did represent *Christ*'s being lifted up upon the cross. *Christ* himself makes the allusion, *Joh.* iii. 14. *As* Moses *lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.*

5. He

5. He was likewise represented by the *Manna*. For he was the true bread that came down from Heaven to nourish us unto eternal life. *Joh.* VI. 31, to 36.

6. As also by the rock whence the waters flowed out to give them drink in the wilderness. *And that rock was* Christ. 1 *Cor.* X. 4.

7. And he was not only their meat and drink, but he was also their constant guide, and led them in a pillar of fire by night, and of a cloud by day. And the cloud of glory in the Temple, in which God appear'd, was by the *Jews* understood as a type of the *Messiah*, who is the true *Shechina* or habitation of God.

8. The Sabbath is call'd a shadow of *Christ*. Col. II. 17. It was a figure of that eternal rest procur'd to us by *Christ*. Therefore it is call'd a sign of the perpetual covenant, *Exod.* XXXI. 16, 17. *Ezek.* XX. 12.

9. And such a sign was the Temple at *Jerusalem:* At which place, and none other, the Sacrifices of the *Jews* were to be offer'd, *Deut.* XII. 11, 13, 14. Because *Christ* was to be sacrific'd there; and as a token of it, those Sacrifices which were types of him were to be offer'd only there.

And so great stress was laid upon this, that no sin of the *Jews* is oftner remember'd than their breach of this command. It was a blot set upon their several reformations, otherwise good and commendable in the sight of God, that the high places (where they us'd to sacrifice) were not taken away. This is mark'd as the great defect in the reformation of *Asa*, 1 *Kin.* XV. 14. of *Jehoshaphat*, 1 *Kin.* XXII. 43. of *Jehoash*, 2 *Kin.* XII. 3. of *Amaziah*, 2 *Kin.* XV. 4. of *Jotham*, ℣. 35. But they were taken away by *Hezekiah*, 2 *Kin.* XVIII. 4. And the people instructed to sacrifice and burn incense at *Jerusalem* only, 2 *Chr.* XXXII. 12. *Isai.* XXXVI. 7.

There was likewise a farther design of providence in limiting their Sacrifices to *Jerusalem*; which was, That after the great propitiatory Sacrifice of *Christ* had been offer'd there, God was to remove the *Jews* from *Jerusalem*, that they might have no Sacrifice at all (as, for that reason, they have not had in any part of the World, near these seventeen hundred years past) to instruct them, that, (as the Apostle speaks to them, *Heb.* X. 26) *there remaineth no more* (or other) *sacrifice for sins.* And since by the Law their sins were to be purged by Sacrifice, they have now no way to purge their sins; to force them, as it were, to look back upon that only sacrifice which can purge their sins. And till they return to that, they must have no Sacrifice at all, but die in their sins. As *Jesus* said unto them, *I go my way, and ye shall die in your sins.*—— *For if ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins.* Joh. VIII. 21, 24.

And *Daniel* propheſy'd expressly, that soon after the death of the *Messiah*, the City of *Jerusalem* and the Sanctuary should be destroy'd, and that the Sacrifice should cease, *even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.* Dan. IX. 26, 27.

And this desolation of theirs, and what was determin'd upon them, was told them likewise by *Hosea*, Chap. III. 4. *For the children of* Israel *shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice.* But he says in the next verse, that in the latter days they shall *return, and seek the Lord their God, and* David *their King.* That is, the Son of *David* their Prince and *Messiah:* As he is call'd *Messiah* the Prince. *Dan.* IX. 25.

Thus as ſalvation was of the *Jews*, becauſe *Chriſt* was to come of them, ſo this ſalvation was only to be had at *Jeruſalem*, where he was to ſuffer, and by which only ſalvation was to be had.

10. DEIST. This argument is to the *Jews*. And if I were a *Jew* it wou'd move me, becauſe they never were ſo long before without King, Temple, or Sacrifice.

CHR. But the Prophecies of it, and theſe fulfilled as you have ſeen; and *Chriſt* being ſo plainly pointed at, and the place of his paſſion, by limiting the Sacrifices to *Jeruſalem* only; and by that cauſing the legal Sacrifices to ceaſe throughout the World, to ſhew that they were fulfill'd: All this is a ſtrong evidence to you of the truth of theſe things, and of our *Jeſus* being the *Meſſiah*, or *Chriſt* who was propheſy'd of.

DEIST. I cannot deny but there is ſomething remarkable in this, which I will take time to conſider. But I do not ſee how the *Jews* can ſtand out againſt this. Becauſe this mark given by *Daniel* of the *Meſſiah*, that ſoon after his death the Sacrifice ſhou'd ceaſe, cannot agree to any after-*Meſſiah* who ſhou'd now come ſo many ages after the Sacrifice has ceas'd.

CHR. Since we have fallen into the ſubject of the *Jews*, I will give you another Prophecy which cannot be fulfill'd in any after-*Meſſiah*, whom the *Jews* expect. And it will be alſo a confirmation to you of the truth of the Prophecies of the holy Scriptures.

Thus God ſpeaks, *Jer.* XXXIII. 20, 21, 22. *Thus ſaith the Lord, if you can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night, and that there ſhou'd not be day and night in their ſeaſon: Then may alſo my covenant be broken with* David *my ſervant, that he ſhould not have a ſon to reign upon his throne; and with the* Levites *the prieſts, my miniſters. As the hoſt of heaven cannot be numbred, neither the ſand of the ſea meaſured: So will I multiply the ſeed of* David *my ſervant, and the* Levites *that miniſter unto me.*

Now let the *Jews* tell in which Son of *David* this is fulfill'd, except only in our *Chriſt*.

And how this is made good to the Prieſts and *Levites*, otherwiſe than as *Iſaiah* propheſy'd *Chap.* LXVI. 21. *And I will alſo take of them* (the *Gentiles) for prieſts and for* Levites, *ſaith the Lord.* And as it is thus apply'd 1 *Pet.* II. 5, 9. and *Rev.* I. 6. and this evangelical prieſthood is multiply'd as the Stars of Heaven, (which they are frequently call'd) not like the tribe of *Levi*, which could not afford Prieſts to all the Earth.

And as I ſaid before of *Jeruſalem* and the Sacrifices there, that they are ceas'd, to ſhew they are fulfill'd: So here, after this Son of *David* was come, all his other Sons ceas'd, and the very genealogy of their tribes, and ſo of *Judah*, is loſt, as alſo of the tribe of *Levi*; ſo that the *Jews* can never tell, if any after *Meſſiah* ſhou'd appear, whether he were of the tribe of *Judah*, far leſs, whether he were of the lineage of *David*; nor can they ſhew the genealogy of any they call *Levites* now among them.

This is occaſion'd by their being diſpers'd among all Nations, and yet preſerv'd a diſtinct People from all the Earth, tho' without any Country of their own, or King, or Prieſt, or Temple, or Sacrifice. And they are thus preſerved by the providence of God, (ſo as never any Nation was ſince the foundation of the World) to ſhew the fulfilling of the Prophecies concerning them, and the Judgments pronounced againſt them for their crucifying their *Meſſiah*; and that their converſion may be more apparent to the World, and their being gather'd out of all Nations, and reſtor'd to *Jeruſalem* (as is promis'd them) when they ſhall come to acknowledge their *Meſſiah*.

And God not permitting them to have any King or Governour upon Earth, ever ſince their laſt diſperſion by the *Romans* (leſt they might ſay, that the Scepter was not departed from *Judah)* is to convince them (when God ſhall take the veil off their heart) that no other *Meſſiah* who can come hereafter can anſwer this Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, or that of *Jacob*, that the Scepter ſhould not depart from *Judah* till *Shiloh* came.

11. And it is wonderful to conſider how expreſſly their preſent ſtate is propheſy'd of, that it cou'd not be more literal, if it were to be worded now by us who ſee it. As that they ſhou'd be ſcatter'd into all Countries, ſifted as with a ſieve among all Nations, yet preſerv'd a People; and that God wou'd make an utter end of thoſe Nations who had oppreſſed them, and blot out their names from under Heaven (as we have ſeen it fulfill'd upon the great Empires of the *Aſſyrians*, *Chaldæans*, and *Romans*, who one after the other had miſerably waſted the *Jews*) But that the name of the *Jews*, (the feweſt and the pooreſt of all Nations) ſhou'd remain for ever, and they a People diſtinct from all the Nations in the World, tho' ſcatter'd among them all. Read the Prophecies expreſs upon this point. *Jer.* xxx. 11. xxxi. 36, 37. xxxiii. 24, 25, 26 xlvi. 28. *Iſai.* xxvii. 7. xxix. 7, 8. liv. 9, 10. lxv. 8. *Ezek.* vi. 8. xi. 16, 17. xii. 15, 16. *Amos* ix. 8, 9. *Zech.* x. 9. And it was foretold them long before, that thus it wou'd be. *Lev.* xxvi. 44. and this *in the latter days*. *Deut.* iv. 27, 30, 31. Thus *Moſes* told them of it ſo long before, as the after-Prophets frequently. And you ſee all theſe Prophecies literally fulfill'd and fulfilling. The like cannot be ſaid of any other Nation ever was upon the Earth; ſo deſtroy'd and ſo preſerv'd; and for ſo long a time: having worn out all the great Empires of the World, and ſtill ſurviving them; to fulfil what was farther propheſy'd of them to the end of the World.

Deist. I cannot ſay but there is ſomething very ſurprizing in this. I never thought of it before: It is a living Prophecy, which we ſee fulfilled and ſtill fulfilling at this day before our eyes. For we are ſure theſe Prophecies were not coin'd yeſterday. And they are as expreſs and particular as if they were to be wrote now, after the events are ſo far come to paſs.

12. Chr. As the door was kept open to *Chriſt* before he came, by the many and flagrant Prophecies of him; and by the types repreſenting him: So was the door for ever ſhut after him, by thoſe Prophecies being all fulfill'd and compleated in him, and applicable to none who ſhou'd come after him; and by all the types ceaſing, the ſhadows vaniſhing when the ſubſtance was come. No *Meſſiah* can come now, before the Scepter depart from *Judah*, and the ſacrifice from *Jeruſalem:* Before the Sons of *David* (all except *Chriſt)* ſhall ceaſe to ſit upon his throne. None can come now, within four hundred and ninety years of the building of the ſecond Temple; nor come into that very Temple, as I have before ſhew'd was expreſſly propheſy'd by *Daniel* and *Haggai*.

Deist. I know not what the *Jews* can ſay, who own theſe Prophecies.

Chr. They ſay, That the coming of the *Meſſiah* at the time ſpoke of in the Prophets, has been delay'd becauſe of their ſins.

Deist. Then it may be delay'd for ever, unleſs they can tell us when they will grow better. But however theſe Prophecies have failed which ſpoke of the time of the *Meſſiah*'s coming: And they can never be a proof hereafter, becauſe the time is paſt. So that, according to this, they were made for no purpoſe; unleſs to ſhew that they were falſe, that is, no Prophecies at all.

But

But were theſe Prophecies upon condition? Or was it ſaid that the coming of the *Meſſiah* ſhould be delay'd if the *Jews* were ſinful?

CHR. No: So far from it, that it was expreſſly propheſy'd that the coming of the *Meſſiah* ſhould be in the moſt ſinful ſtate of the *Jews*, and to *purge* their *Sins*. And the ancient Tradition of the *Jews* was purſuant to this, that at the coming of the *Meſſiah* the Temple ſhould be *a Den of Thieves*. *Rabbi Juda* in *Maſoreta*. And a time of great Corruption. *Talmud. tit. de Synedrio*, and *de Ponderibus*, &c. Dan. ix. 24. Zech. xiii. 1.

But more than this, the very caſe is put of their being moſt ſinful, and it is expreſſly ſaid, that this ſhould not hinder the fulfilling of the Prophecies concerning the coming of the *Meſſiah*, ſpoke of as the *Son* of *David*, 2 *Sam.* VII. 14, 15, 16. *Pſal.* LXXXIX. 30, 33. to 37.

But it was propheſy'd that they ſhould not know their *Meſſiah*, and ſhou'd reject him when he came; that he ſhould be a *Stone of Stumbling*, and a *Rock of Offence* to them: And that *their Eyes ſhould be cloſed*, that they ſhould not underſtand their own Prophets: That their *Builders* ſhould *reject the head Stone* of the *Corner*. And the like in ſeveral other places of their own Prophets. And thus they miſtook the Prophecy concerning the coming of *Elias*, whom it is ſaid they *knew not, but did to him what they liſted*, and ſo the ſame of *Chriſt*. And it is ſaid, That *had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory*. Iſa. viii. 14, 15; Chap. xxix. 9, 10, 11. Pſal. cxviii. 22. Mat. xvii. 12. 1 Cor. ii. 8.

DEIST. This indeed ſolves the Prophecies, both thoſe of the coming of the *Meſſiah*, and of the *Jews* not knowing him, and therefore rejecting him: And likewiſe obviates this excuſe of theirs; for if they were very ſinful at that time, it was a greater puniſhment of their Sin not to know, and to reject their *Meſſiah*, than his not coming at that time would have been.

CHR. The great Sin mentioned for which they were puniſh'd by ſeveral captivities, was their Idolatry, the laſt and longeſt of which captivities was that of ſeventy years in *Babylon:* Since which time they have forſaken their Idolatry, and have never been nationally guilty of it ſince, but always had it in the utmoſt abhorrence. But ſince their rejecting their *Meſſiah*, they have been now near ſeventeen hundred years, not in a captivity, where they might be all together, and enjoying their own Law, Government, and Worſhip, in ſome manner; but diſperſed over all the World, without Countrey of their own, or King, or Prieſt, or Temple, or Sacrifice, or any Prophet to comfort them, or give them hopes of a reſtoration: And all this come upon them, not for their old Sin of Idolatry, but from that curſe they imprecated upon themſelves, when they crucified their *Meſſiah*, ſaying *His Blood be upon us, and on our Children:* Which cleaves unto them from that day to this, and is viſible to all the World, but to themſelves. And what other Sin can they think greater than Idolatry, for which they have been puniſhed ſo much more terribly than for all their Idolatries? What other Sin can this be, but their crucifying their *Meſſiah?* And here they may ſee their ſinful ſtate, which as they alledge as an excuſe for their *Meſſiah's* not coming at the time foretold by the Prophets, rendred ten fold more ſinful, by their rejecting him when he came.

DEIST. This is a full anſwer, and convincing as to the *Jews*. But have you any more to ſay me?

13. CHR. I have one thing more to offer, which may come under this head of Types, and that is, perſons who repreſented *Chriſt* in ſeveral particulars, and ſo might be call'd perſonal Types.

And I will not apply theſe out of my own head, but as they are apply'd in the New Teſtament, which having all the marks of the Old Teſtament,

ſtament, and ſtronger evidence than theſe in thoſe marks we are now upon, their authority is indiſputable.

1. I begin with *Adam*, who gave us life and death too. And *Chriſt* came by his Death to reſtore us to Life again, even Life eternal. Hence *Chriſt* is called the *ſecond Adam*, and *Adam* is call'd the *Figure* of Chriſt: The parallel betwixt them is inſiſted on, *Rom.* v. 12. to the end, and 1 *Cor.* xv. 45, to 50. *Eve* receiv'd her life from *Adam*, as the Church from *Chriſt*: She was taken out of the ſide of *Adam* when he was in a *dead Sleep*; and after *Chriſt* was dead, the Sacraments of Water and Blood flow'd out of his ſide, that is, Baptiſm, whereby we are born into *Chriſt*, and the Sacrament of his Blood, whereby we are nouriſh'd into eternal Life.

2. *Enoch* was carry'd up bodily into Heaven: As *Elijah*: One under the patriarchal, the other under the legal diſpenſation: In both, the Aſcenſion of *Chriſt* was prefigured.

3. *Noah*, a *Preacher* of *Righteouſneſs* to the old World, and Father of the new: Who *ſav'd* the Church *by water*, *the like figure whereunto even Baptiſm doth alſo now ſave us.*

1 Pet. iii. 20. 21.

4. *Melchiſedec*, that is, *King* of *Righteouſneſs*, and *King* of *Peace*, *and Prieſt of the moſt high God*; *who was made like unto the Son* of *God*, a *Prieſt* continually.

Heb. vii, 1, 2, 3.

Rom. iv. 13. Gen. xviii. 18.

5. *Abraham*, the *Friend of God*, and *Father of the Faithful*, the *Heir of the World*: *In* whom *all the Nations of the Earth are bleſſed.*

6. *Iſaac*, the *Heir* of this *Promiſe*, was born after his Father and Mother were both paſt the age of generation in the courſe of Nature, *Gen.* xvii. 17. xviii. 11. *Rom.* iv. 19. *Heb.* xi. 11, 12. The neareſt Type that could be to the Generation of *Chriſt* wholly without a Man.

And his Sacrifice had a very near reſemblance to the Sacrifice and Death of *Chriſt*, who lay three days in the Grave; and *Iſaac* was three days a *dead* Man (as we ſay in Law) under the Sentence of Death, whence *Abraham received him in a Figure*, that is, of the Reſurrection of *Chriſt*. And *Abraham* was commanded to go three days journey to ſacrifice *Iſaac* upon the ſame mountain (according to the Ancients) where *Chriſt* was crucify'd, and where *Adam* was buried. Again, the common Epithet of *Chriſt*, i. e. *The only Begotten of the Father*, and his *beloved Son*, were both given to *Iſaac*, *Gen.* xxii. 2. *Heb.* xi. 17. For he was the only ſon that was begotten in that miraculous manner, after both his parents were decay'd by Nature: And he was the only ſon of the Promiſe, which was not made to the ſeed of *Abraham* in general, but *in* Iſaac *ſhall thy Seed be called*. *He ſaith not, and to Seeds, as of many, but as of one: And to thy Seed, which is* Chriſt.

Gen, xxii. 4. Heb. xi. 19.

Gen. xxi. 12

Gal. iii. 16.

And as *Iſaac*, which ſignifies rejoicing, or laughing for joy, was thus the only begotten of his parents, ſo *Abram* ſignifies the glorious Father, and *Abraham* (into which his name was chang'd on the Promiſe of *Iſaac*, *Gen.* xvii. 5, 16.) ſignifies the Father of a Multitude, to expreſs the coming in of the *Gentiles* to *Chriſt*, and the encreaſe of the Goſpel; whence it is there ſaid to *Abraham*, *a Father of many Nations have I made thee*: And *in thy Seed all the Nations of the Earth ſhall be bleſſed.*

Iſaac who was born by Promiſe of a Free-woman, repreſented the chriſtian Church, in oppoſition to *Iſhmael*, who was born after the fleſh, of a Bond-maid, and ſignify'd the *Jewiſh* Church under the Law. See this allegory carried on, *Gal.* iv. 21. to the end.

7. *Jacob* his viſion of the *Ladder* (*Gen.* xxviii. 12.) ſhews the intercourſe which was opened by *Chriſt* betwixt Heaven and Earth, by his making Peace: And to this he alludes when he ſays, *Hereafter you ſhall ſee Heaven open, and the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending upon the Son of Man.*

Joh. i. 51.

And *Jacob*'s wreſtling with the Angel, (*Gen.* xxxii. 24, &c. *Hoſ.* xii. 4.) and as it were prevailing over him by force to bleſs him, ſhews the ſtrong and powerful Interceſſion of *Chriſt:* Whereby (as he words it) *Heaven ſuffereth Violence, and the violent take it by force.* Whence the name of *Jacob* was then turn'd to *Iſrael*, that is, one who prevails upon God, or has power over him: God repreſenting himſelf here as overcome by us. And the name of *Iſrael* was ever after given to the Church: But much more ſo when *Chriſt* came, as he ſaid, *From the days of* John *the* Baptiſt *until now, the Kingdom of Heaven ſuffereth Violence*, that is, from the firſt promulgation of *Chriſt* being come. Thenceforward the *Gentiles* began to preſs into the Goſpel, and as by force to take it from the *Jews:* This was ſignify'd in the name *Jacob*, that is, a ſupplanter, for the *Gentiles* here ſupplanted their elder brother the *Jews*, and ſtole the bleſſing and heirſhip from them. Mat. xi. 12.

8. *Joſeph* was ſold by his brethren out of envy; but it prov'd the preſervation of them and all their families: And *Chriſt* was ſold by his brethren out of envy, which prov'd the means of their redemption: And *Chriſt*, as *Joſeph*, became lord over his brethren. Mark xv. 10.

9. *Moſes* calls *Chriſt* a Prophet like unto himſelf. He repreſented *Chriſt* the great Lawgiver: And his delivering *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt* was a Type of *Chriſt*'s delivering his Church from the bondage of Sin and Hell. Deut. xviii. 18.

10. *Joſhua*, call'd alſo *Jeſus*, overcame all the enemies of *Iſrael*, and gave them poſſeſſion of the holy Land, which was a Type of Heaven: And *Chriſt* appeared to *Joſhua*, as *Captain* of the *Hoſt* of the *Lord:* So that *Joſhua* was his Lieutenant repreſenting him. Heb. iv. 8. Joſ. v. 14.

11. *Sampſon*, who by his ſingle valour and his own ſtrength overcame the *Philiſtines*, and *ſlew more at his death than in all his life*, was a repreſentation of *Chriſt*, who *trod the Wine-preſs alone, and of the People there was none with him, but his own Arm brought him Salvation.* But his death compleated his victory, whereby he overcame all the power of the enemy, *And having ſpoil'd Principalities and Powers, he made a ſhew of them openly, triumphing over them in his Croſs.* Iſa. lxiii. 3, 5. Col. ii. 15.

12. *David*, whoſe Son *Chriſt* is call'd, ſpeaks frequently of him in his own perſon, and in events which cannot be apply'd to *David*, as, *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, nor ſuffer thy holy one to ſee corruption:* For *David* has ſeen corruption. *Chriſt* is ſaid to *ſit upon the Throne of* David; And *Chriſt* is call'd by the name of *David*, *Hoſ.* iii. 5. and frequently in the Prophets. Pſal. xvi. 10. Iſa. ix. 7.

David from a Shepherd became a King and a Prophet, denoting the threefold office of *Chriſt*, paſtoral, regal, and prophetical.

13. *Solomon*, the wiſeſt of Men, his peaceable and magnificent Reign repreſented the triumphal ſtate of *Chriſt*'s Kingdom, which is deſcrib'd, *Pſal.* lxxii. (inſcrib'd for *Solomon*, there call'd the *King's Son)* but far exceeding the Glory of his Reign, or what can poſſibly be apply'd to him, as *v.* 5, 8, 11, 17. But his Reign came the neareſt of any to that univerſal and glorious Reign there deſcrib'd, particularly in his being choſen to build the Temple, becauſe he was a man of peace, and had ſhed no blood, like *David* his father, who conquer'd the enemies of *Iſrael*, but *Solomon* built the Church, in full peace; and as it is particularly ſet down 1 *Kings* vi. 7. and no doubt he was ordered by God ſo to do, *That the Houſe when it was in building, was built of Stone made ready before it was brought thither: So that there was neither hammer nor ax, nor any tool of iron heard in the Houſe while it was in building:* Which did denote that the Church of *Chriſt* was to be built, not only in peace, but without noiſe or confuſion, as *Iſaiah* propheſy'd of him, Chap. xlii. 2. *He ſhall not cry, nor lift up,*

nor cauſe his voice to be heard in the ſtreet: a bruiſed reed ſhall he not break, &c. He was not to conquer with the ſword, as the *Iſraelites* ſubdued *Canaan*, but to overcome by meekneſs, and doing good to his enemies, and patiently ſuffering all injuries from them: And ſo he taught his followers, as St. *Paul* ſays, *The ſervant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive, but*
2 Tim. ii. 24. *be gentle unto all Men—— In meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves.*

And I cannot think but there was ſome imitation of this peaceable Temple of *Solomon* in the Temple of *Janus* among the *Romans*; for that was never to be ſhut but in time of peace: Which happened rarely among them, but three times in all their Hiſtory: The laſt was in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, in which time *Chriſt* came into the World, when there was a profound and univerſal peace: And ſo it became the *Prince* of *Peace*, whoſe Birth was
Luke ii. 14. thus proclaim'd by the *Angels*, *glory to God on high, and on Earth peace, good will towards Men*. But to go on:

14. *Jonah*'s being three days and nights in the belly of the Whale, was a ſign of *Chriſt*'s being ſo long in the heart of the Earth: *Chriſt* himſelf makes the alluſion, *Mat.* XII. 40.

15. But as there were ſeveral perſons, at ſeveral times, repreſenting and prefiguring ſeveral particulars of the Life and Death of *Chriſt*; ſo there was one ſtanding and continual repreſentation of him appointed in the perſon of the High-prieſt under the Law: Who entering into the *Holy* of *Holies* once in a year, with the blood of the great expiatory Sacrifice, and he only, to make atonement for Sin, did lively repreſent our great High-prieſt entering into Heaven, once for all, with his own Blood, to expiate the Sins of the whole World: This is largely inſiſted upon in the *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews*, chap. VII. VIII. IX. X.

And our deliverance by the death of *Chriſt* is repreſented, as in a picture, in that ordinance of the Law, that the man-ſlayer who fled to one of the cities of refuge, (which were all of the cities of the *Levites*) ſhould not come out thence till the death of the High-prieſt, and no ſatisfaction be ta-
Num. xxxv. 6, 25, 26, 27, 28. ken till then, and then he ſhould be acquitted and *return into the Land of his poſſeſſion*.

And I doubt not but the *Gentiles* had from thence their *Aſyla* or Temples of refuge for criminals.

(1.) DEIST. There is a reſemblance in theſe things; but I wou'd not have admitted them as a proof, if you had not ſupported them, at leaſt moſt of them, with the authority of the New Teſtament: And it was not neceſſary that every one ſhould be named in it; for thoſe that are named are only occaſionally: And I muſt take time to conſider of the evidences you have brought for the authority of the New Teſtament, which you have made full as great, if not greater than the evidences for the Old Teſtament.

CHR. I may ſay greater upon this head of Prophecies and Types, becauſe theſe are no proofs till they are fulfilled: Tho' then they prove the truth of theſe Prophecies and Types; and ſo the one confirms the other: But the whole evidence of the Law is not made apparent till we ſee it fulfilled in the Goſpel: For which reaſon I call the Goſpel the ſtrongeſt proof, not only as to itſelf, but likewiſe as to the Law: And the *Jews*, as much as in them lies, have invalidated this ſtrongeſt proof for the Old Teſtament, which is the fulfilling of it in the New: Nay they have rendred theſe Prophecies falſe, which they ſay were not fulfilled at the time they ſpake of, and never now can be fulfilled. And as no fact but that of our *Chriſt* alone ever had this evidence of Prophecies and Types from the beginning, ſo never can any other fact have it now while the World laſts.

(2.) DEIST. Why do you say, *never can have*? I can make what fact he pleases, and give it what evidence he pleases.

CHR. But it cannot have the evidence that the fact of the Gospel, nor less at that distance of time hereafter, as from the beginning will not like-to this day: Because God took care that the evidence of *Christ* should hedg'd mence from the very beginning, in the promise of him made to *Adam*, ledge to be renewed by the Prophets in all the after-ages till he should come: And the evidence of him after his coming (in which I have instanc'd) and which continues to this day, before it can belong to any other, must have the same compass of time that has gone to confirm this evidence, else it has not the same evidence.

(3.) DEIST. By this argument the evidence grows stronger the longer it continues, since you say, that the Prophecies of the Scriptures reach to the end of the World; and so will be farther and farther fulfilling every day.

This is contrary to what one of your Doctors * has lately advanced, who pretends to calculate the age of evidences, that in such a time they decay, and in such a time must die. And that the evidence of Christianity having lasted so long, is upon the decay, and must wear out soon, if not supply'd by some fresh and new evidence.

CHR. This may be true as to fables which have no foundation. But is that Prophecy I mention'd to you, of the dispersion and yet wonderful preservation of the *Jews*, less evident to you, because it was made so long ago?

DEIST. No, It is much more evident for that. If I had liv'd at the time when those Prophecies were made, I fancy I shou'd not have believed one word of them; but wonder'd at the assurance of those who ventur'd to foretell such improbable and almost impossible things.

And I should have thought the same of what you have told me of your *Christ*, foretelling the progress of his Gospel, at the first so very slender appearance of it, and by such weak and improbable means, as only suffering and dying for it, which to me would have seem'd perfect despair, and a giving up the cause.

I should have thought of them (as of others) who prophesy of things after their time, that they might not be contradicted while they liv'd.

But my seeing so much of these Prophecies concerning the *Jews*, and the progress of the Gospel, come to pass so long time after, is the only thing that makes me lay stress upon them, and which makes them seem wonderful to me.

CHR. When the Prophecies shall all be fully compleated at the end of the World, they will then seem strongest of all. They will then be undeniable, when *Christ* shall visibly descend from Heaven (in the same manner as he ascended) to execute both what he has promis'd and threaten'd. And in the mean time, the Prophecies lose none of their force, but their evidence encreases, as *the light shineth more and more unto the perfect day*.

VIII. DEIST. I observe you have made no use of that common topick of the Truth and Sincerity of the Pen-Men of the Scriptures, and what Interest they cou'd have in setting up these things if they had been false: For this can amount at most but to a probability. And you having produc'd those evidences which you think infallible, it might seem a lessening of your proof to insist upon bare probabilities. So that I suppose you give that up.

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* *Craig.* Theologiæ Christianæ Principia Mathematica. 1699.

nor cauſe his voice to be heard in the ſtreet: a bruiſed reed ſhall he not break, &c. He was not to conquer with the ſword, as the *Iſraelites* ſubdued *Canaan*, but to overcome by meekneſs, and doing good to his enemies, and patiently ſuffering all injuries from them: And ſo he taught his followers, as St. *Paul* ſays, *The ſervant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive, but*
2 Tim. ii. 24. *be gentle unto all Men—— In meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves.*

And I cannot think but there was ſome imitation of this peaceable Temple of *Solomon* in the Temple of *Janus* among the *Romans*; for that was never to be ſhut but in time of peace: Which happened rarely among them, but three times in all their Hiſtory: The laſt was in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, in which time *Chriſt* came into the World, when there was a profound and univerſal peace: And ſo it became the *Prince* of *Peace*, whoſe Birth was
Luke ii. 14. thus proclaim'd by the *Angels*, *glory to God on high, and on Earth peace, good will towards Men*. But to go on:

14. *Jonah*'s being three days and nights in the belly of the Whale, was a ſign of *Chriſt*'s being ſo long in the heart of the Earth: *Chriſt* himſelf makes the alluſion, *Mat.* XII. 40.

15. But as there were ſeveral perſons, at ſeveral times, repreſenting and prefiguring ſeveral particulars of the Life and Death of *Chriſt*; ſo there was one ſtanding and continual repreſentation of him appointed in the perſon of the High-prieſt under the Law: Who entering into the *Holy* of *Holies* once in a year, with the blood of the great expiatory Sacrifice, and he only, to make atonement for Sin, did lively repreſent our great High-prieſt entering into Heaven, once for all, with his own Blood, to expiate the Sins of the whole World: This is largely inſiſted upon in the *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews*, chap. VII. VIII. IX. X.

And our deliverance by the death of *Chriſt* is repreſented, as in a picture, in that ordinance of the Law, that the man-ſlayer who fled to one of the cities of refuge, (which were all of the cities of the *Levites*) ſhould not come out thence till the death of the High-prieſt, and no ſatisfaction be ta-
Num. xxxv. 6, 25, 26, 27, 28. ken till then, and then he ſhould be acquitted and *return into the Land of his poſſeſſion*.

And I doubt not but the *Gentiles* had from thence their *Aſyla* or Temples of refuge for criminals.

(1.) DEIST. There is a reſemblance in theſe things; but I wou'd not have admitted them as a proof, if you had not ſupported them, at leaſt moſt of them, with the authority of the New Teſtament: And it was not neceſſary that every one ſhould be named in it; for thoſe that are named are only occaſionally: And I muſt take time to conſider of the evidences you have brought for the authority of the New Teſtament, which you have made full as great, if not greater than the evidences for the Old Teſtament.

CHR. I may ſay greater upon this head of Prophecies and Types, becauſe theſe are no proofs till they are fulfilled: Tho' then they prove the truth of theſe Prophecies and Types; and ſo the one confirms the other: But the whole evidence of the Law is not made apparent till we ſee it fulfilled in the Goſpel: For which reaſon I call the Goſpel the ſtrongeſt proof, not only as to itſelf, but likewiſe as to the Law: And the *Jews*, as much as in them lies, have invalidated this ſtrongeſt proof for the Old Teſtament, which is the fulfilling of it in the New: Nay they have rendred theſe Prophecies falſe, which they ſay were not fulfilled at the time they ſpake of, and never now can be fulfilled. And as no fact but that of our *Chriſt* alone ever had this evidence of Prophecies and Types from the beginning, ſo never can any other fact have it now while the World laſts.

(2.) DEIST. Why do you say, *never can have it?* For may not God make what fact he pleases, and give it what evidence he pleases?

CHR. But it cannot have the evidence that the fact of *Christ*, has, unless at that distance of time hereafter, as from the beginning of the World to this day: Because God took care that the evidence of *Christ* should commence from the very beginning, in the promise of him made to *Adam*, and to be renewed by the Prophets in all the after-ages till he should come: And the evidence of him after his coming (in which I have instanc'd) and which continues to this day, before it can belong to any other, must have the same compass of time that has gone to confirm this evidence, else it has not the same evidence.

(3.) DEIST. By this argument the evidence grows stronger the longer it continues, since you say, that the Prophecies of the Scriptures reach to the end of the World; and so will be farther and farther fulfilling every day.

This is contrary to what one of your Doctors * has lately advanced, who pretends to calculate the age of evidences, that in such a time they decay, and in such a time must die. And that the evidence of Christianity having lasted so long, is upon the decay, and must wear out soon, if not supply'd by some fresh and new evidence.

CHR. This may be true as to fables which have no foundation. But is that Prophecy I mention'd to you, of the dispersion and yet wonderful preservation of the *Jews*, less evident to you, because it was made so long ago?

DEIST. No, It is much more evident for that. If I had liv'd at the time when those Prophecies were made, I fancy I shou'd not have believed one word of them; but wonder'd at the assurance of those who ventur'd to foretell such improbable and almost impossible things.

And I should have thought the same of what you have told me of your *Christ*, foretelling the progress of his Gospel, at the first so very slender appearance of it, and by such weak and improbable means, as only suffering and dying for it, which to me would have seem'd perfect despair, and a giving up the cause.

I should have thought of them (as of others) who prophesy of things after their time, that they might not be contradicted while they liv'd.

But my seeing so much of these Prophecies concerning the *Jews*, and the progress of the Gospel, come to pass so long time after, is the only thing that makes me lay stress upon them, and which makes them seem wonderful to me.

CHR. When the Prophecies shall all be fully compleated at the end of the World, they will then seem strongest of all. They will then be undeniable, when *Christ* shall visibly descend from Heaven (in the same manner as he ascended) to execute both what he has promis'd and threaten'd. And in the mean time, the Prophecies lose none of their force, but their evidence encreases, as *the light shineth more and more unto the perfect day.*

VIII. DEIST. I observe you have made no use of that common topick of the Truth and Sincerity of the Pen-Men of the Scriptures, and what Interest they cou'd have in setting up these things if they had been false: For this can amount at most but to a probability. And you having produc'd those evidences which you think infallible, it might seem a lessening of your proof to insist upon bare probabilities. So that I suppose you give that up.

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* *Craig.* Theologiæ Christianæ Principia Mathematica. 1699.

1. No, Sir, I give it not up, tho' I have not made it the chief foundation of my argument. And if it were but a probability, it wants not its force, for it is thought unreasonable to deny a flagrant probability, where there is not as strong a probability on the other side, for then that makes a doubt. But otherwise, Men generally are satisfied with probabilities, for that is the greatest part of our knowledge. If we will believe nothing but what carries an infallible demonstration along with it, we must be scepticks in most things in the World. And such were never thought the wisest Men.

But besides, a probability may be sooner discern'd by some than the infallibility of a demonstration. Therefore we must not lay aside probabilities.

But in this case, I think there is an infallible assurance, as infallible as the senses of all mankind. And I suppose you will not ask a greater.

2. DEIST. How can you say that? When the suffering of afflictions, and death it self, is but a probability of the truth of what is told us: Because some have suffer'd death for errors.

CHR. But then they thought them true. And Men may be deceiv'd in their judgments, we see many examples of it. But if the facts related be such, as that it is impossible for those who tell them to be impos'd upon themselves, or for those to whom they are told to believe them, if not true, without supposing an universal deception of the senses of mankind, then I hope I have brought the case up to that infallible demonstration I promis'd. And this is the case of the facts related in holy Scripture. They were told by those who saw them and did them, and they were told to those who saw them likewise themselves; and the relators appeal'd to this. So that here cou'd be no deceit.

DEIST. I grant there is a great difference betwixt errors in opinion, and in fact. And that such facts as are told of *Moses* and of *Christ*, cou'd not have pass'd upon the People then alive, and who were said to have seen them. And I find that both *Moses*, *Christ*, and the Apostles did appeal to what the People they spoke to had seen themselves.

CHR. With this consideration, their patient suffering even unto death for the truth of what they taught, will be a full demonstration of the truth of it.

3. Add to this, that their enemies who persecuted them, the *Romans* as well as *Jews*, to whom they appeal'd as witnesses of the facts, did not offer to deny them.

That none of the Apostates from Christianity did attempt to detect any falshood in the facts; tho' they might have had great rewards if they cou'd have done it. The *Roman* Emperors being then persecutors of Christianity, and for three hundred years after *Christ*: And *Julian* the Emperor afterwards turn'd Apostate, who had been initiated in the *Sacra* of Christianity, yet cou'd not he detect any of the facts.

4. And it was a particular providence for the farther evidence of Christianity, that all the civil Governments in the World were against it for the first three hundred years, lest it might be said (as it is ridiculously in your *Amyntor*) that the awe of the civil Government might hinder those who cou'd make the detection.

Now, Sir, to apply all that we have said, I desire you wou'd compare these evidences I have brought for Christianity, with those that are pleaded for any other Religion.

There are but four in the World, *viz.* Christianity, Judaism, Heathenism, and Mahometism.

Christianity was the first. For from the first promise of *Christ* made to *Adam*, during the patriarchal and legal dispensations, all was Christianity in type, as I have shew'd.

First,

Firſt then, As to *Moſes* and the Law; the *Jews* can give no evidence for that, which will not equally eſtabliſh the truth of *Chriſt* and the Goſpel, nor can they diſprove the facts of *Chriſt* by any topick, which will not likewiſe diſprove all thoſe of *Moſes* and the Prophets: So that they are hedg'd in on every ſide. They muſt either renounce *Moſes*, or acknowledge *Chriſt*.

Moſes and the Law have the firſt five evidences, but they have not the ſixth and the ſeventh, which are the ſtrongeſt.

This is as to Judaiſm before *Chriſt* came: But ſince, as it now ſtands in oppoſition to Chriſtianity, in favour of any future *Meſſiah*, it has none of the evidences at all. On the contrary, their own Prophecies and Types make againſt them; for their Prophecies are fulfilled, and their Types are ceas'd, and cannot belong to any other *Meſſiah* who ſhould come hereafter. They ſtand now more naked than the Heathens or the Mahometans.

Secondly, Next for Heatheniſm, ſome of the facts recorded of their Gods have the firſt and ſecond evidences, and ſome the third, but not one of them the fourth, or any of the other evidences.

But truly and properly ſpeaking, and if we will take the opinion of the Heathens themſelves, they were no facts at all, but mythological fables, invented to expreſs ſome moral virtues or vices, or the hiſtory of nature, and power of the elements, *&c.* as likewiſe to turn great part of the hiſtory of the Old Teſtament into fable, and make it their own, for they diſdain'd to borrow from the *Jews*. They made Gods of Men, and the moſt vicious too. Inſomuch that ſome of their wiſe Men thought it a corruption of youth, to read the hiſtory of their Gods, whom they repreſented as notorious liers, thieves, adulterers, *&c.* Tho' they had ſome mythology hid under all that.

And as Men were their Gods, ſo they made the firſt Man to be Father of the Gods, and call'd him *Saturn*, not begot by any Man, but the Son of *Cælus* and *Veſta*, that is, of Heaven and Earth. And his maiming his Father with a Steel Sythe, was to ſhew how Heaven it ſelf is impair'd by time, whom they painted with Wings and a Sythe mowing down all things. And *Saturn* eating up his own Children, was only to expreſs how time devours all its own productions. And his being depos'd by *Jupiter* his Son, ſhews, that time which wears away all other things, is worn away it ſelf at laſt.

Several of the Heathen Authors have given us the mythology of their Gods, with which I will not detain you.

They expreſs'd every thing, and worſhipp'd every thing under the name of a God; as the God of Sleep, of Muſick, of Eloquence, of Hunting, Drinking, Love, War, *&c.* They had above thirty thouſand of them. And in what they told of them, and as they deſcrib'd them, they often trac'd the ſacred ſtory.

Ovid begins his *Metamorphoſes* with a perfect poetical verſion of the beginning of *Geneſis*. *Ante Mare & Terras*—— Then goes on with the hiſtory of the Creation; the formation of Man out of the duſt of the Earth, and his being made after the image of God, and to have dominion over the inferior Creatures. Then he tells of the general corruption, and the Giants before the flood, when the Earth was filled with violence; for which all Mankind with the beaſts and the fowl were deſtroy'd by the univerſal deluge, except only *Deucalion* and *Pyrrah* his Wife, who were ſaved in a Boat, which landed them on the top of Mount *Parnaſſus*; and that from theſe two the whole Earth was re-peopled. I think it will be needleſs to detain the reader with an application of this to the hiſtory of the Creation ſet

down by *Moſes*; of the flood, and the Ark wherein *Noah* was ſaved, and the Earth re-peopled by him, *&c.*

And *Noah* was plainly intended likewiſe in their God *Janus*, with his two faces, one old, looking backward to the old World that was deſtroy'd, the other young, looking forward to the new World that was to ſpring from him.

So that even their turning the ſacred hiſtory into fable, is a confirmation of it. And there can be no compariſon betwixt the truth of the facts atteſted as I have ſhew'd, and the fables that were made from them.

Thirdly, As to the Mahometan Religion, it wants all the evidences we have mention'd; for there was no Miracle ſaid to be done by *Mahomet* publickly and in the face of the World, but that only of conquering with the ſword. Who ſaw his *Meſra* or journey from *Mecca* to *Jeruſalem*, and thence to Heaven in one night, and back in bed with his Wife in the morning? Who was preſent and heard the converſation the Moon had with him in his Cave? It is not ſaid there was any witneſs. And the *Alcoran*. c. vi. excuſes his not working any Miracles to prove his miſſion. They ſay that *Moſes* and *Chriſt* came to ſhew the clemency and goodneſs of God, to which Miracles were neceſſary; but that *Mahomet* came to ſhew the power of God, to which no Miracle was needful but that of the ſword.

1. And his *Alcoran* is a rhapſody of ſtuff without head or tail, one wou'd think wrote by a Mad-Man, with ridiculous titles, as the *Chapter* of the *Cow*, of the *Spider*, &c.

And their legends are much more ſenſleſs than thoſe of the Papiſts, as of an Angel, the diſtance betwixt whoſe two hands is ſeventy thouſand days journey: Of a Cow's head with horns, which have forty thouſand knots, and forty days journey betwixt each knot: And others which have ſeventy mouths, and every mouth ſeventy tongues, and every tongue praiſes God ſeventy times a day, in ſeventy different Idioms: And of Wax-Candles before the Throne of God, which are fifty years journey from one end to the other. The *Alcoran* ſays the Earth was created in two days, and is ſupported by an Ox which ſtands under it, upon a white ſtone, with his head to the Eaſt, and his tail to the Weſt, having forty horns, and as great a diſtance betwixt every horn as a Man cou'd walk in a thouſand years time.

Then their deſcription of Heaven in a full enjoyment of Wine, Women, and other like groſs ſenſual pleaſures.

2. When you compare this with our holy Scriptures, you will need no argument to make you ſee the difference. The Heathen Orators have admir'd the ſublime of the ſtyle of our Scriptures. No writing in the World comes near it, even with all the diſadvantage of our tranſlation, which, being oblig'd to be literal, muſt loſe much of the beauty of it. The plainneſs and ſuccinctneſs of the hiſtorical part, the melody of the Pſalms, that inſtruction of the Proverbs, the majeſty of the Prophets, and above all, the eaſy ſweetneſs in the New Teſtament, where the glory of Heaven is ſet forth in a grave and moving expreſſion, which yet reaches not the height of the ſubject: not like the flights of rhetorick, which ſet out ſmall matters in great words; but the holy Scriptures touch the heart, raiſe expectation, confirm our hope, ſtrengthen our faith, give peace of conſcience, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt, which is inexpreſſible. All which you will experience when you once come to believe, you will then *bring forth theſe fruits of the Spirit*, when you *receive the word with pure affection*, as we pray in our Litany.

3. But, Sir, if there is truth in the *Alcoran*, then the holy Scriptures are the word of God; for the *Alcoran* ſays ſo, and that it was ſent to con-

firm them, even the Scriptures of both the Old and New Testament: And it expressly owns our *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*. At the end of the fourth *Chap.* it has these words, *The* Messiah, Jesus, *the son of* Mary, *is a Prophet, and an Angel of* God, *his word and his spirit, which he sent to* Mary. But it gives him not the name of Son of God, for this wise reason, *Chap.* VI. *How shall God have a son who hath no wives?* Yet it owns *Jesus* to be born of a pure Virgin, without a Man, by the operation of the Spirit of God. And in the same Chapter this *Mahomet* acknowledges his own ignorance, and says, *I told you not that I had in my power all the treasures of God, neither that I had knowledge of the future and past, nor do affirm that I am an Angel, I only act what hath been inspir'd into me; is the blind like him that seeth clearly?* And after says, *I am not your tutor, every thing hath its time, you shall hereafter understand the truth.*

This is putting off, and bidding them expect some other after *Mahomet*. But our *Jesus* said he was our Tutor and Teacher, and that there was none to come after him. *Mahomet* said he was no Angel, but that *Jesus* was an Angel of God: But when God bringeth *Jesus* into the World, he saith; *Let all the Angels of God worship him.* And he made him Lord of all the Angels. *Mahomet* knew not what was past or to come: But our *Jesus* knew all things, and what was in the heart of every Man (*Joh.* II. 24, 25.) which none can do but God only. 1 *Kin.* VIII. 39. and foretold things to come to the end of the World. *Mahomet* had not all the treasures of God; but in *Jesus* are hid *all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.* Heb. i. 6. Col. ii. 3. 9.

Again, *Mahomet* never call'd himself the *Messiah*, or the Word, or Spirit of God, yet all these appellations he gives to our *Jesus*.

There were Prophecies of *Jesus* which we have seen: Were there any of *Mahomet*? None, except of the false *Christs* and false Prophets which *Jesus* told should come after him, and bid us beware of them, for that they should deceive many.

4. DEIST. But if *Mahomet* gave thus the preference to *Christ* in every thing, and said that his *Alcoran* was only a confirmation of the Gospel; how came he to set it up against the Gospel, and to reckon the Christians among the unbelievers?

CHR. No otherwise than as other Hereticks did, who call'd themselves the only true Christians, and invented new interpretations of the Scriptures. The Socinians now charge whole Christianity with Apostacy, Idolatry, and Polytheism. And the *Alcoran* is but a system of the old Arianism, ill digested and worse put together, with a mixture of some Heathenism and Judaism. For *Mahomet*'s Father was an Heathen, his Mother a *Jewess*, and his Tutor was *Sergius* the Monk a *Nestorian*; which sect was a branch of Arianism. These crudely mix'd made up the *Farrago* of the *Alcoran*. But the prevailing part was Arianism. And where that spread it self in the East, there *Mahometism* succeeded, and sprung out of it: To let all Christians see the horrour of that heresy. And our Socinians now among us, who call themselves Unitarians, are much more *Mahometans* than Christians. For except some personal things as to *Mahomet*, they agree almost wholly in his Doctrine; and as such address'd themselves to the *Morocco* Ambassador here in the reign of King *Charles* II. As you may see in the Preface to my Dialogues against the Socinians, printed in the year 1708. Nor do they speak more honourably of *Christ* and the holy Scriptures than the *Alcoran* does. And there is no error concerning *Christ* in the *Alcoran* but what was broach'd before by the Hereticks of Christianity, as that *Christ* did not suffer really, but in appearance only, or that some other

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was crucify'd in his ſtead, but he taken up into Heaven, as the *Alcoran* ſpeaks.

So that in ſtrictneſs I ſhould not have reckon'd *Mahometiſm* as one of the four Religions in the World, but as one of the Hereſies of Chriſtianity. But becauſe of its great name, and its having ſpread ſo far in the World, by the conqueſts of *Mahomet* and his followers, and that it is vulgarly underſtood to be a diſtinct Religion by it ſelf, therefore I have conſider'd it as ſuch.

And as to your concern in the matter, you ſee plainly, that the *Alcoran* comes in atteſtation and confirmation of the facts of *Chriſt*, and of the holy Scriptures.

DEIST. I am not come yet ſo far as to enter into the diſputes of the ſeveral ſects of Chriſtianity; but as to the fact of *Chriſt* and of the Scriptures in general, *Mahometiſm*, I ſee does rather confirm than oppoſe it.

CHR. What then do you think of *Judaiſm*, as it now ſtands in oppoſition to Chriſtianity?

DEIST. Not only as without any evidence, the time propheſy'd of for the coming of the *Meſſiah* being long ſince paſt; but all their former evidences turn directly againſt them, and againſt any *Meſſiah* who ever hereafter ſhould come: As that the *Scepter* ſhould *not depart from* Judah; that he ſhould *come into the ſecond Temple*, that the *Sacrifices* ſhould *ceaſe ſoon after his death*; that *David* ſhould *never want a ſon to ſit upon his throne*; that they ſhould *be many days without a King, and without a Prince, and without a Sacrifice*, &c. Which they do not ſuppoſe ever will be the caſe after their *Meſſiah* is come: So that they are witneſſes againſt themſelves.

CHR. And what do you think of the ſtories of the heathen Gods?

DEIST. I believe them no more than all the ſtories in *Ovid's Metamorphoſes*: Nor did the wiſer Heathen believe them; only ſuch ſilly People as ſuck in all the *Popiſh* Legends without examining.

And to tell you the truth, I thought the ſame of all the ſtories in your Bible: But I will take time to examine thoſe proofs you have given me.

For, *Laſtly*, We Deiſts do not diſpute againſt Chriſtianity in behalf of any other Religion, of the *Jews*, or Heathens, or *Mahometans*, all which pretend to Revelation: But we are againſt all Revelation, and go only upon bare Nature, and what our own Reaſon dictates to us.

CHR. What Nature dictates, it dictates to all, at leaſt to the moſt and the generality of Mankind: And if we meaſure by this, then it will appear a natural notion that there is neceſſity of Revelation in Religion: And herein you have all the World againſt you from the very beginning. And will you plead Nature againſt all theſe?

DEIST. The notion came down from one to another from the beginning, we know not how.

CHR. Then it was either Nature from the beginning, or elſe, it was from Revelation at the beginning: Whence the notion has deſcended through all poſterities to this day.

1. And there wants not Reaſon for this: For when Man had fallen, and his Reaſon was corrupted (as we feel it upon us to this day, as ſenſibly as the diſeaſes and infirmities of the body) was it not highly reaſonable that God ſhould give us a Law and directions how to ſerve and worſhip him? Sacrifices do not ſeem to be any natural invention. For why ſhould taking away the life of my fellow-creature be acceptable to God, or a worſhip of him? It wou'd rather ſeem an offence againſt him. But as types of the great and only propitiatory Sacrifice of *Chriſt* to come, and to keep up our faith in that, the inſtitution given with the revelation of it appears

moſt rational: And that it was neceſſary, the great defection ſhews, not only of the Heathens, but of the *Jews* themſelves; who tho' they retain'd the inſtitution, yet in a great meaſure loſt the true meaning and ſignification of it: And are now to be brought back to it by reminding them of the inſtitution and the reaſon of it.

Plato in his *Alcibiad.* ii. *de Precat.* has the ſame reaſoning, and concludes, that we cannot know of our ſelves what petitions will be pleaſing to God, or what worſhip to give him: But that it is neceſſary a Lawgiver ſhould be ſent from Heaven to inſtruct us: And ſuch a one he did expect, and *O how greatly do I deſire to ſee that Man!* ſays he, and *who he is!* The primitive tradition of the expected *Meſſiah* had no doubt come to him, as to many others of the Heathen, from the *Jews*, and likely from the peruſal of their Scriptures.

For *Plato* goes farther, and ſays, *(de Leg.* l. 4.) that this Lawgiver muſt be more than Man; for he obſerves that every nature is govern'd by another nature that is ſuperior to it, as birds and beaſts by Man, who is of a diſtinct and ſuperior nature: So he infers, that this Lawgiver who was to teach Man what Man could not know by his own nature, muſt be of a nature that is ſuperior to Man, that is, of a divine nature.

Nay, he gives as lively a deſcription of the perſon, qualifications, life, and death of this divine Man, as if he had copied the LIII of *Iſaiah:* For he ſays, *(de Repub.* l. 2.) that this juſt perſon muſt be poor, and void of all recommendations but that of virtue alone; that a wicked World would not bear his inſtructions and reproof, and therefore within three or four years after he began to preach, he ſhould be perſecuted, impriſon'd, ſcourg'd, and at laſt put to death, his word is Ἀναχινδυλδθήσεσθαι, that is, *cut in pieces*, as they cut their Sacrifices.

DEIST. Theſe are remarkable paſſages, as you apply them: And *Plato* was three hundred years before *Chriſt.*

But I incline to think that theſe notions came rather from ſuch tradition as you ſpeak of, than from nature: And I can ſee nothing of nature in Sacrifices, they look more like inſtitution, come that how it will.

2. CHR. It is ſtrange that all the Nations in the World ſhould be carry'd away from what you call nature: Unleſs you will take refuge among the *Hottentotes* at the *Cape of Good Hope*, hardly diſtinguiſhable from beaſts, to ſhew us what nature left to it ſelf would do; and leave us all the wiſe and polite World on the ſide of Revelation, either real or pretended; and of opinion that Mankind could not be without it: And my buſineſs now with you has been to diſtinguiſh the real from the pretended.

3. DEIST. By the account you have given, there is but one Religion in the World, nor ever was: For the *Jewiſh* was but Chriſtianity in type, tho' in time greatly corrupted: And the Heathen was a greater corruption, and founded the fables of their Gods upon the facts of Scripture: And the *Mahometan* you ſay is but a hereſy of Chriſtianity: So that all is Chriſtianity ſtill.

CHR. It is true God gave but one Revelation to the World, which was that of *Chriſt:* And as that was corrupted, new Revelations were pretended. But God has guarded his Revelations with ſuch evidences, as it was not in the power of Men or Devils to counterfeit or contrive any thing like them. Some bear reſemblance in one or two features, in the firſt two or three evidences that I have produc'd; but as none reach the fourth, ſo they are all quite deſtitute of the leaſt pretence to the remaining four: So that when you look upon the face of divine Revelation, and take it all together, it is impoſſible to miſtake it for any of thoſe deluſions which the Devil has ſet up in imitation of it: And they are made to confirm it, be-

cauſe all the reſemblance they have to truth, is that wherein they are any ways like it; but when compar'd with it, they ſhew as an ill drawn picture, half Man half Beaſt, in preſence of the beautiful original.

4. DEIST. It is ſtrange, that if the caſe be thus plain as you have made it, the whole World is not immediately convinc'd.

CHR. If the ſeed be never ſo good, yet if it be ſown upon ſtones or among thorns, it will bring forth nothing. There are hearts of ſtone, and others ſo fill'd with the love of riches, with the cares and pleaſures of this life, that they will not ſee, they have not a mind to know any thing which they think would diſturb them in their enjoyments, or leſſen their opinion of them, for that would be taking away ſo much of their pleaſure. Therefore it is no eaſy matter to perſuade Men to place their happineſs in future expectations, which is the import of the Goſpel. And in preſſing this, and bidding the worldly-minded abandon their beloved vices, and telling the fatal conſequences of them, we muſt expect to meet not only with their ſcorn and contempt, but their utmoſt rage and impatience, to get rid of us, as ſo many enemies of their luſts and pleaſures. This is the croſs which our Saviour prepar'd all his Diſciples to bear, who were to fight againſt fleſh and blood, and all the allurements of the World: And it is a greater Miracle that they have had ſo many followers in this, than that they have gain'd to themſelves ſo many enemies. The World is a ſtrong Man, and till a ſtronger than he comes (that is, the full perſuaſion of the future ſtate) he will keep poſſeſſion: *And this is the victory that overcometh the World, even our Faith.* But we are told alſo, that this Faith is the Gift of God: For all the evidence in the World will not reach the heart, unleſs it be prepar'd (like the good ground) to receive the doctrine that is taught: Till then, prejudice will create obſtinacy, which will harden the heart like a rock, and cry, *non perſuadebis, etiamſi perſuaſeris! I will not be perſuaded, tho' I ſhould be perſuaded!*

You muſt conſider under this head too, the many that have not yet heard of the Goſpel: And of thoſe that have, the far greater number who have not the capacity or opportunity to examine all the evidences of Chriſtianity, but take things upon truſt, juſt as they are taught. And how many others are careleſs, and will not be at the pains, tho' they want not capacity to enquire into the truth? All theſe claſſes will include the greateſt part of Mankind; the ignorant, the careleſs, the vicious, and ſo the obſtinate, the ambitious, and the covetous, whoſe Minds the God of this World hath blinded.

But yet in the midſt of all this darkneſs, God hath not left himſelf without witneſs, which will be apparent to every diligent and ſober enquirer that is willing and prepar'd to receive the Truth.

5. Good Sir, let me ask you, tho' you are of no Religion, as you ſay, but what you call natural; yet wou'd you not think me very brutal if I ſhould deny that ever there was ſuch a Man as *Alexander*, or *Cæſar*, or that they did ſuch things? If I ſhould deny all Hiſtory, or that *Homer*, or *Virgil*, *Demoſthenes*, or *Cicero*, ever wrote ſuch Books? Would you not think me perfectly obſtinate, ſeiz'd with a ſpirit of contradiction, and not fit for human converſation?

And yet theſe things are of no conſequence to me, it is not a farthing as to my intereſt, whether they are true or falſe.

Will you then think your ſelf a reaſonable Man, if in matters of the greateſt importance, even your eternal ſtate, you will not believe thoſe facts which have a thouſand times more certain and indiſputable evidence? Were there any Prophecies of *Cæſar* or *Pompey?* Were there any types of them, or publick inſtitutions appointed by a Law, to prefigure the great things

that they ſhould do? Any perſons who went before them, to bear a reſemblance of theſe things, and bid us expect that great event? Was there a general expectation in the World of their coming, before or at the time when they came? And of what conſequence was their coming to the World, or to after ages? No more than a robbery committed a thouſand years ago!

Were the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories wrote by the perſons who did the facts, or by eye witneſſes? And for the greater certainty were thoſe Hiſtories made the ſtanding Law of the countrey? Or were they any more than our *Holinſhead* and *Stow*, &c?

Muſt we believe theſe, on pain of not being thought reaſonable Men? And are we then unreaſonable and credulous if we believe the facts of the holy Bible? Which was the ſtanding Law of the People to whom it was given, and wrote or dictated by thoſe who did the facts, with publick inſtitutions appointed by them as a perpetual Law to all their generations; and which, if the facts had been falſe, could never have paſs'd at the time when the facts were ſaid to be done; nor for the ſame reaſon, if that book had been wrote afterwards, becauſe theſe inſtitutions (as Circumciſion, the Paſſover, Baptiſm, *&c.*) were as notorious facts as any, and that Book ſaying they commenc'd from the time that the facts were done, muſt be found to be falſe, whenever it was trumpt in after-ages, by no ſuch inſtitutions being then known. Not like the feaſts, games, *&c.* in memory of the heathen Gods, which were appointed long after thoſe facts were ſaid to be done; and the like inſtitutions may be appointed to morrow in memory of any falſhood ſaid to be done a thouſand years ago, and ſo is no proof at all: And tho' a legend or Book of Stories of things ſaid to be done many years paſt may be palm'd upon People, yet a book of ſtatutes cannot, by which their cauſes are try'd every day.

Are there ſuch Prophecies extant in any prophane Hiſtory ſo long before the facts there recorded, as there are in the holy Scriptures of the coming of the *Meſſiah?*

Were there any types or fore-runners of the heathen Gods, or of *Mahomet?*

Is there the like evidence of the truth and ſincerity of the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtorians, as of the Pen-men of the holy Scriptures?

Would theſe Hiſtorians have given their lives for the truth of all they wrote?

Did they tell ſuch facts only wherein it was impoſſible for themſelves to be impos'd upon, or that they ſhould impoſe upon others? Nothing but what themſelves had ſeen and heard, and they alſo to whom they ſpoke?

Did they expect nothing but perſecution and death for what they related? And were they bidden to bear it patiently without reſiſtance? Was this the caſe of the Diſciples of *Mahomet*, who were requir'd to fight and conquer with the ſword? Did any Religion ever overcome by ſuffering, but the chriſtian only?

And did any exhibit the future State, and preach the contempt of this World like the chriſtian?

DEIST. That's the reaſon it has prevail'd ſo little: And yet, conſidering this, it is ſtrange it has prevail'd ſo much.

6. But there is one thing yet behind, wherein I would be glad to have your opinion, becauſe I find your Divines differ about it; and that is, how we ſhould know to diſtinguiſh betwixt true and falſe Miracles.

And this is neceſſary to the ſubject we are upon: For the force of the facts you alledge ends all in this, that ſuch miraculous facts are a ſufficient atteſtation of ſuch perſons being ſent of God; and conſequently, that we are to believe the doctrine which they taught.

You

You know we Deiſts deny any ſuch things as Miracles, but reduce all to nature. Yet I confeſs if I had ſeen ſuch Miracles as are recorded of *Moſes* and of *Chriſt*, it wou'd have convinc'd me. And for the truth of them we muſt refer to the evidences you have given. But in the mean time, if there is no rule whereby to diſtinguiſh betwixt true and falſe Miracles, there is an end of all the pains you have taken. For if the Devil can work ſuch things as appear Miracles to me, I am as much perſuaded as if they were true Miracles, and wrought by God. And ſo Men may be deceiv'd in truſting to Miracles.

The common notion of a Miracle is what exceeds the power of nature. To which we ſay, That we know not the utmoſt of the power of nature, and conſequently cannot tell what exceeds it. Nor do you pretend to know the utmoſt of the power of Spirits, whether good or evil, and how then can you tell what exceeds their power?

I doubt not but you wou'd have thought thoſe to be true Miracles which the *Magicians* are ſaid to have wrought in *Ægypt*, but that *Moſes* is ſaid to have wrought Miracles that were ſuperior to them.

CHR. Therefore if two powers contend for the ſuperiority, as here God and the Devil did, the beſt iſſue can be is to ſee them wreſtle together, and then we ſhall ſoon know which is ſtrongeſt. This was the caſe of *Moſes* and the *Magicians*, of *Chriſt* and the Devil. There was a ſtruggle, and Satan was plainly overcome.

I confeſs I know not the power of Spirits, nor how they work upon Bodies. And by the ſame reaſon that a Spirit can lift a ſtraw, he may a Mountain, and the whole Earth, for ought I know: And may do many things which wou'd appear true Miracles to me: And ſo might deceive me. And all I have to truſt to, in this caſe, is, the reſtraining power of God, that he will not permit the Devil ſo to do. And were it not for this, I doubt not but the Devil cou'd take away my life in an inſtant, or inflict terrible diſeaſes upon me, as upon *Job*.

And I think this conſideration is the ſtrongeſt motive in the World to keep us in a conſtant dependence upon God, that we live in the midſt of ſuch powerful enemies, as we can by no means reſiſt of our ſelves, and are in their power every minute, when God ſhall withdraw his Protection from us,

And it is in their power likewiſe to work Signs and Wonders to deceive us, if God permit. And herein the great power and goodneſs of God is manifeſt, that he has never yet permitted the Devil to work Miracles in oppoſition to any whom he ſent, except where the remedy was at hand, and to ſhew his power the more, as in the caſe of *Moſes* and the *Magicians*, &c.

And this is farther evident, becauſe God has, at other times, and upon other occaſions, ſuffer'd the Devil to exert his power, as to make fire deſcend upon *Job*'s Cattle, *&c.* But here was no cauſe of Religion concern'd, nor any truth of God in debate.

DEIST. But your *Chriſt* has foretold, *Matth.* XXIV. 24. That *falſe Chriſts and falſe Prophets ſhall ariſe, who ſhall ſhew great ſigns and wonders, to deceive, if poſſible, the very elect.* And it is ſaid, 2 *Theſſ.* II. 9. That there ſhall be a wicked one, *whoſe coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and ſigns, and lying wonders.* And it is ſuppos'd *Deut.* XIII. 1, &c. That a falſe Prophet may give a *ſign or a wonder*, to draw Men after falſe Gods. Here then is Sign againſt Sign, Wonder againſt Wonder, and which of theſe ſhall we believe?

CHR. The firſt no doubt. For God cannot contradict himſelf, nor will ſhew Signs and Wonders, in oppoſition to that Law which he has eſtabliſh'd

by ſo many ſigns and wonders. Therefore in ſuch a caſe we muſt conclude, that God has permitted the Devil to exert his power, as againſt *Moſes* and *Chriſt*, for the tryal of our Faith, and to ſhew the ſuperior power of God more eminently, in overcoming all the power of the enemy.

But, as I ſaid before, we have a more ſure word, that is, proof, than even theſe Miracles exhibited to our outward ſenſes, which is the word of Prophecy. Let then any falſe Chriſt who ſhall pretend to come hereafter, ſhew ſuch a Book as our Bible, which has been ſo long in the World (the moſt ancient Book now extant) teſtifying of him, foretelling the time and all other circumſtances of his coming, with his ſufferings and death, and all theſe Prophecies exactly fulfill'd in him. And till he can do this, he cannot have that evidence which our *Chriſt* has, and he muſt be a falſe *Chriſt* to me, and all the ſigns that he can ſhew, will be but lying wonders to any that is truly eſtabliſh'd in the Chriſtian Faith.

But it may be a tryal too ſtrong for thoſe careleſs ones, who will not be at the pains to enquire into the grounds of their Religion, but take it upon truſt, as they do the faſhions, and mind not to frame their lives, according to it, but are immerſed in the World, and the pleaſures of it.

7. And it will be a juſt judgment upon theſe, that they who ſhut their eyes againſt all the clear evidences of the Goſpel, ſhould be given up to believe a lye. And the reaſon is given 2 *Theſſ.* II. 12. Becauſe they *had pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs.* They *loved darkneſs rather than light, becauſe their deeds were evil.*

So that I muſt repeat what I ſaid before, that there is a preparation of the heart (as of the ground) to receive the truth: And where the doctrine does not pleaſe, no evidence, how clear ſoever, will be receiv'd. God cannot enter till *Mammon* be diſpoſſeſs'd: We cannot ſerve theſe two Maſters. He who has a clear ſight of Heaven, cannot value the dull pleaſures of this life: And it is impoſſible that he who is drown'd in ſenſe, can reliſh ſpiritual things. The love of this World is enmity againſt God: The firſt ſin was a temptation of ſenſe: And the reparation is to open our eyes to the enjoyment of God. Vice clouds this eye, and makes it blind to the only true and eternal pleaſure: It is fooliſhneſs to ſuch a one.

This, This, Sir, is the *Remora* that keeps Men from Chriſtianity. It is not want of evidence, but it is want of conſideration. I wou'd not ſay this to you, till I had firſt gone through all the topicks of Reaſon with you, that you might not call it Cant: But this is the truth, as *David* ſays, *To him that ordereth his converſation aright, will I ſhew the ſalvation of God.* And our Saviour ſays, *If any man do the will of God, he ſhall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I ſpeak of my ſelf.* And *No man can come unto me except the Father draw him.*

This was the reaſon why St. *John* the Baptiſt was ſent as a fore-runner to prepare the way for *Chriſt*, by preaching of repentance, to fit Men for receiving the Goſpel.

And they who repented of their ſins upon his preaching, did gladly embrace the doctrine of *Chriſt*. But they who wou'd not forſake their ſins, remain'd obdurate, tho' otherwiſe Men of ſenſe and learning. As our Saviour told the Prieſts and Elders, *Matth.* XXI. 32. John *came unto you in the way of righteouſneſs, and ye believ'd him not; but the Publicans and the Harlots believed him. And ye when ye had ſeen it, repented not afterwards, that ye might believe him.*

And when *Chriſt* ſought to prepare them for his doctrine, by telling them, That *they cou'd not ſerve God and Mammon*, it is ſaid, *Luk.* XVI. 14. *That when the Phariſees who were covetous, heard theſe things, they derided him.* But he inſtructed them in the next Verſe (if they wou'd have re-

ceived it) That *what is highly esteemed amongst men, is abomination in the sight of God:* And enforced this with the example of the rich Man and *Lazarus.* And said *Chap.* XVIII. 25. *That it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.* And *Chap.* XIV. 33. That *whosoever he be that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my Disciple.* Now take this in the largest sense, That he who is not ready and willing to forsake all, as if he hated them, as *Christ* said, *v.* 26. *If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother,* &c. (that is, when they come in competition with any command of *Christ)* and *take not up his cross and follow me, he cannot be my Disciple:* How few Disciples wou'd he have had in this age? Wou'd all his Miracles persuade some to this? The World is too hard for Heaven with most Men.

Here is the cause of infidelity: The love of the World, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, darken the heart, and like shutters keep out the light of Heaven; till they are remov'd, the light cannot enter. The Spirit of purity and holiness will not descend into an heart full of all uncleanness: If we wou'd invite this guest, we must sweep the house and make it clean.

But this too is of God: For he only can *make a clean heart, and renew a right Spirit within us.* But he has promis'd to give this wisdom to those who ask it, and lead a godly life. Therefore *ask and you shall have, seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be open'd unto you.* But do it ardently and incessantly, as he that striveth for his Soul. For *God is gracious and merciful, long suffering and of great goodness; and those who come to him in sincerity he will in no ways cast out.* Therefore *pray in Faith nothing doubting.* And what you pray for (according to his will) believe that you receive it, and you shall receive it.

To his grace I commend you.

8. And with the fulness of the *Gentiles,* O that it wou'd please God to take the veil off the heart of the *Jews,* and let them see, that as they have been deceived by many false *Messiah's* since *Christ* came; so none whom they expect hereafter can answer the Prophecies of the *Messiah* (some of which I have nam'd) and therefore no such can be the *Messiah* who is propheſy'd of in their own Scriptures.

And let them see and consider how that fatal curse they imprecated upon themselves, *His blood be on us and our children,* has cleav'd unto them, beyond all their former sins, and even repeated idolatry, from which (to shew that this is not the cause of their present dispersion) they have kept themselves free ever since; and for which their longest captivity was but seventy years, and then Prophets were sent to them, to comfort them, and assure them of a restauration: But now they have been about seventeen hundred years dispersed over all the Earth, without any Prophet, or prospect of their deliverance; that the whole World might take notice of this before unparallel'd judgment, not known to any Nation that ever yet was upon the face of the Earth: So punished and so preserved for judgment, and I hope, at last, for a more wonderful mercy; *For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the World, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? For God hath concluded all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all. O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For of him, and through him, and to him are all things: To whom be glory for ever.* Amen.

OF Private JUDGMENT AND AUTHORITY, IN MATTERS of FAITH.

I. ALL the Religions and all the Sects in the World are built upon the diſpute betwixt theſe two, whether Men are to govern themſelves by their own Private Judgment, or to be determined by the Authority of others, in their Faith or Religion.

II. The effects of Private Judgment are theſe, multiplicity of ſects and opinions, perpetual wrangling, without any umpire or judge of controverſy; whence come inveterate prejudices againſt each other, animoſities, ſtrifes, envyings, and all the war of Religion; which the moſt of any one thing embroils the peace of the World, and is always the chief pretence in the civil wars of Nations within themſelves, and moſt commonly in the wars of Kingdoms againſt Kingdoms: To remedy all which evils, ſome think there is no other method, but to have ſome ſettled judge of controverſy, to whom appeals may be made, and whoſe determination ſhould end all diſputes concerning Religion: And this not only as to the outward peace of the Church, and conſequently of the World; but even as to Mens inward perſuaſion and belief, eſpecially in matters of Faith; for how otherwiſe, ſay they, ſhall every private perſon determine himſelf as to the articles of Faith? The greateſt part of Mankind are ignorant, and muſt depend upon the Judgment of others; and what wild work would it make, to leave every Man, Woman, and Child, to pick out their own Faith either from the ſtrength of their

their own Reaſon, or from the Scriptures (ſuppoſe) amongſt us? We ſhould have as many Religions almoſt as Men, and as many different Faiths. And ſuppoſe the Scriptures to be an infallible and complete Rule of Faith, yet how ſhall we agree about the true meaning and interpretation of them? We ſee every ſect quote Scripture, and every one has his own interpretation of it: This is endleſs, and utter confuſion: Theſe are the inconveniences which attend leaving every Man to follow his own Private Judgment.

III. But then on the other hand there are likewiſe difficulties in our ſubmitting our Private judgment to Authority. Firſt, becauſe it is left to our Private Judgment to chuſe that Authority to which we ought to ſubmit. How otherwiſe ſhall a Man determine himſelf, whether he ſhould be a Chriſtian, a *Jew*, a *Mahometan*, or an Heathen? For there is no judge over all theſe? And this is the firſt, and the moſt material ſtep he can and muſt make in the choice of his Religion. And if there is nothing to guide him herein (under God) but his own Private Judgment, why ſhould not that (ſay others) be likewiſe ſufficient to guide him in the diſputes there are among the ſub-diviſions of each of theſe Religions? For if I muſt truſt to my own Private Judgment in the moſt material point, why not in the leſſer? Nay, the belief of a God, which is the firſt and higheſt point in all Religions, depends upon Private Judgment, and not upon Authority: It would be blaſphemy to put it upon any human Authority, for that would ſet ſuch Authority above God. If I believe *James* upon the word of *John*, I muſt have a greater confidence in *John* than in *James*, in the recommender than in the perſon who is recommended by him: So it is if I ſhould believe a God upon the Authority of any Church, it would certainly follow, that my Faith was more in that Church than in God: And I have no more for the Authority of that Church, than the Judgment I paſs upon the arguments offered to convince me of it. So that all reſts upon my own Private Judgment ſtill: And it is impoſſible I can be more ſure of any thing than of the certainty of my own Judgment. I cannot be ſurer of the Being of a God, than of the truth of thoſe reaſons which perſuade me to believe it. And all the reaſons before given for ſubmitting my Private Judgment to Authority, ſuppoſe the truth of my Judgment, and appeal to it; why elſe does any perſuade another? And Private Judgment can never be ſo fatally miſtaken as in ſubmitting to Authority, if it ſhould judge wrong; becauſe in all other errors it may be ſet right again, by ſtronger reaſons being offered on the other ſide; but if a Man once reſign his Reaſon, and give it up abſolutely to Authority, there are no means left to retrieve him; if he has judged amiſs in the choice of ſuch a guide, whom he thinks to be infallible, he muſt then follow his guide, though in all the wild deluſions that are poſſible; for he muſt examine no more; his principle is, to go on blindfold; he has plucked out his eyes that he may ſee the better!

And the queſtion will now remain, whether greater miſchiefs and inconveniences have befallen Mankind in the one way or in the other, in following their Private Judgment, or in ſubmitting implicitly to Authority? And we may argue this caſe; for let any Man talk what he will, and think never ſo much that he has abandoned his Private Judgment, yet it is not in his power while he remains a Man; it is inſeparable from human nature, and cannot be utterly extinguiſhed; though ſome have ſo defaced it that it is hardly viſible.

But if in this enquiry it ſhould be found that greater miſchiefs have attended Private Judgment than Authority, yet would that be no greater argument againſt Private Judgment, than it would be againſt Free-will, or any other compoſition of our nature, if the miſchiefs it occaſions were more than

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the good: We cannot alter our nature, it muſt be as it is. Perhaps Men make uſe of their hands to more deſtruction in wars, murders, robberies, thefts, *&c.* than any good they do with them; yet this would be an ill argument for cutting off the hands of our Children as ſoon as they were born: And it would be worſe to diveſt Men of their Underſtanding, becauſe their Private Judgment might miſlead them.

1. But however let us go on to the compariſon. The Chriſtians will eaſily allow all the Heathen as miſled by Authority, for they go on in the track of their Fathers, without examination of the grounds or reaſons of their Religion; but they have no notion of an infallible judge, and therefore were more eaſily converted, and now make the great body of Chriſtians.

2. But the *Jews* ſtood out at firſt and ſtill continue in their infidelity, upon the ſingle point of Authority, becauſe *Chriſt* was rejected by their Church. And it is the ſame point of the Authority of the Church which rivets the Church of *Rome* in all her errors, and makes any reformation impoſſible. And indeed I ſee not how a *Jew* can be converted upon this principle, which is common to them and the Church of *Rome*. But this will appear more plainly by hearing each of them defend himſelf. And in this converſation which I now introduce, I will bring in a Church of *England* Man, to ſhew what that true Authority is which God has delegated to his Church, for no doubt ſhe has an Authority, and a great one; and then a Diſſenter ſhall argue for private Judgment againſt that Authority; and this will put the matter in as clear a light as any way I can contrive. To begin then:

IV. JEW. Do not you of the Church of *Rome* lay down this as a foundation-principle, that it is inconſiſtent with the goodneſs of God to leave Men without a ſufficient guide in Matters of Faith; and not to preſerve that guide from miſleading us, to the ruin of our Souls?

ROM. CATHOLICK. Yes, this is our Principle, as I ſuppoſe it is yours.

JEW. It is ours too; and that this guide is the Church. And therefore we reject your *Meſſiah*, becauſe the Church did reject him. And ours was indiſputably the only Church of God then in the World, whereas other chriſtian Churches diſpute this point with the Church of *Rome*.

R. C. There was but one Chriſtian Church from the beginning of the World, under divers diſpenſations. Yours was one of theſe; which ended when the *Meſſiah* came, the Church was then in him, and removed from the Synagogue.

JEW. Did God then forſake his Church and chuſe another? But you ſay, that *Chriſt* is not the Church, but came to redeem the Church, he did not come to redeem himſelf. You call the Church his Body: Then he had no ſuch Body when he came at firſt, unleſs it were our Church. And he owned ours to be the Church all his life time; and commanded his Diſciples to be obedient to her, as *Sitting in* Moſes's *ſeat*: And ſhe was owned as ſuch by his Apoſtles. But how did he prove himſelf to be the *Meſſiah*? Mat. xxiii. 2, 3. Acts iv. 8. xxiii. 5.

R. C. He proved it evidently by his Miracles, by his heavenly Doctrine, and by the Prophecies of him in your own Scriptures.

JEW. But the Church determined againſt him in all theſe, and ſaid, That he wrought his Miracles by *Beelzebub*: That he was a deceiver in his Doctrine: And that he was not the *Meſſiah* of whom the Scriptures ſpoke. Now, Sir, pray tell me, who is the proper interpreter of Scripture? Is it the Church, or is it left to every Man's Private Judgment? And take this along with you, that no *Jew* turned Chriſtian, but he who preferred his

own Private Judgment to the Authority of the Church: But all who adhered to the Church as their infallible guide, and left the interpretation of Scripture to her, did reject your *Chriſt*, as we all do to this day.

And we build upon the promiſes of God made to his Church, to our Church; That the *lips of the prieſts ſhould preſerve knowledge, and that we ſhould ſeek the law at his mouth, for that he is the meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts.*

Mal. ii. 7.

Iſa. lix. 21. *And as for me, this is my covenant with them, ſaith the Lord, my Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeed, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeeds ſeed, ſaith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever,*

Iſa xxxv. 8. And this method of hearkning to the Church, is called *the way of holineſs, and a high-way for plainneſs, that the way-faring men, though fools, ſhall not err therein.* And we have many other Texts to the ſame purpoſe.

R. C. Theſe were meant of the chriſtian Church which was to come.

Jew. But they were made to our Church. And if they did not belong to our Church, then we have been miſled all this while, and we have had no guide of controverſy, and ſo the goodneſs of God has failed, which you as well as we own is obliged not to leave Men without ſuch a guide.

R. C. If you had hearken'd to your own Prophets, they would infallibly have led you to our *Chriſt*, for they ſpoke of him.

Jew. This is ſtill the queſtion, whether your *Chriſt* was the *Meſſiah*, or not? And let me ask you, are we not obliged to take the Judgment of the preſent Church in every age? Or may any Man in his private Judgment depart from the deciſion of the Church under which he lives, and appeal to the Church in primitive times? Has not the Church in one age as much Authority as in former ages? Is not her Commiſſion perpetual? Therefore the Church in being at that time when your *Chriſt* came, was the only judge then to which all ought to have recourſe, and by whoſe Judgment they ought to abide; and ſhe was then the only authentick interpreter of Scriptures.

The promiſes of perpetuity, infallibility, *&c.* were made to us *Jews*, you *Gentiles* were not then concerned. And will you not give us leave to underſtand our own Law beſt, wherein we were born and bred, and which we received from our Fathers, who were perpetually converſant in it, and made it their ſtudy day and night? Yet you now would exclude us, and tell us you underſtand our Law better than our ſelves; and that it meant you all that while, and you quote it on your ſide. But if it did ultimately refer to you, yet ſurely that was not ſo literally and primarily as to us who were named, and were firſt in poſſeſſion of it; if it did deſcend from us to you, yet we muſt not be overlooked; and if theſe promiſes were not made good to us, you can have no title to them, who only inherit them after us; can the Child inherit more than what his Father left him? And if the elder Brother was diſpoſſeſſed, to make room for the younger, as you love to ſpeak, yet the younger does but ſucceed to what the elder had before. Therefore theſe promiſes which were made to us the elder Brother, cannot belong to you the younger, unleſs they did firſt belong to us. Otherwiſe they did belong to none at all when they were made, nor for many ages after.

V. Church *of* England-Man. You are both upon one bottom, the Authority of the Church; and both cannot be right. But the *Jew* has the advantage in this, that you both allow his Church to have been

the only true Church in the World, for many ages together; whereas the *Jew* does not allow the Church of *Rome* ever to have been any true Church, or that Salvation is to be had in her.

R. C. This is to retort the argument we uſe againſt you of the Church of *England*, that you own ours to have been a true and orthodox Church; and then we ask, when did ſhe fail? But we ſay, the Church can never fail; and that Salvation is only to be had with us.

C. E. I did indeed bring it in for this purpoſe, to ſhew you the fallacy of that popular argument by which you gain Proſelytes among the vulgar ſort, *viz.* The Church of *England* allows Salvation may be had in the Church of *Rome*; but the Church of *Rome* denies Salvation may be had in the Church of *England*; therefore it is ſafer by confeſſion on both ſides, to be of the Church of *Rome* than of the Church of *England*. This I have heard often urged, and it ſeems to carry a great deal in it, at firſt ſight, with the unthinking People. But when they ſee that all the force in it ſtrikes equally againſt Chriſtianity in favour of Judaiſm, I hope it will make them conſider and examine into the bottom of this pretence. Which is grounded upon the ſame error that miſled the *Jews*, viz. The abſolute and indefeaſible Authority of the Church, in oppoſition to Private Judgment.

DISSENTER. I have now a fair field opened to me againſt you of the Church of *England*, for we ſet up our own Private Judgment againſt the Authority of your Church.

C. E. You ſhall be heard in your place. But the R. C. has not yet done with what I know he has to alledge.

VI. R. C. No, I have not. For ſince my argument is now with you, I have more to urge than I could againſt the *Jew*, which is, the proofs out of the New Teſtament for the infallibility and perpetuity of our Church, ſuch as, *Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it*—— *Tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen-man and a Publican.* And *when the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you unto all truth.* And there are other Texts which you know we urge to this purpoſe. Matth. xvi. 18. xviii. 17. Joh. xvi. 13.

C. E. But not one of them that names the Church of *Rome* And here you know is our diſpute. You call your ſelves the Catholick Church, and confine whole Chriſtianity within the Communion of the Pope of *Rome*, as the principle of unity, and head of all: And yet there is not one word in the Scripture of either the Pope or Church of *Rome*. So that this muſt be determined purely by Private Judgment. And this is your whole foundation, as you ſtand diſtinguiſhed from us and other Chriſtian Churches. And if Private Judgment is to be determined by vote, there are ten to one, againſt the Church of *Rome* upon this point: And that not only of thoſe who have broke off from her ſince the Reformation; but the *Greek* Church, and other numerous Churches in *Aſia*, and *Africa*, did never own the ſupremacy of *Rome*, nor do to this day. And theſe; without the Reformation, will far out number not only what can be properly call'd the Church of *Rome* now at this time, but in the largeſt extent that ever ſhe was, even before the Reformation.

VII. R. C. But the Church of *Rome* is the Mother-Church.

C. E. How can ſhe be the Mother of thoſe Churches which never deſcended from her? There were Churches of the *Gentiles* before there was any at *Rome*: *The diſciples were called Chriſtians firſt in* Antioch. But it is certain that the *Jewiſh* chriſtian Church, was the Mother of all other chriſtian Act. xi. 26.

Luk. xxiv. 47. ſtian Churches. And ſo *Chriſt* did ordain, That the *Goſpel ſhould be preached among all nations, beginning at* Jeruſalem. And the Apoſtles went a-
Act. xi. 19. bout, *Preaching the word to none but unto the* Jews *only*. And thus it continued till the viſion of the *Sheet* to St. *Peter*. *Acts* x. for they did not know before, that the *Gentiles* were to be made partakers of the *Goſpel*. Therefore all the promiſes of *Chriſt* which you have named were made to this firſt and Mother chriſtian Church of the *Jews*, and ſhe was in poſſeſſion of them before there was one Chriſtian in *Rome*, or any where among the *Gentiles*.

R. C. But *Rome* is become the Mother Church ſince.

C. E. Not to half, as I have ſhewed above. But if the Mother Church, and the promiſes made to it can be transferred from one Church to another, then it may be transferred from *Rome*, as it was from *Jeruſalem*, and ſo without end. And to what particular Church will you then fix theſe promiſes of perpetuity, *&c?* You muſt come to us, who believe that *Chriſt* will always have a Church upon Earth; and that the gates of hell ſhall not finally prevail againſt his Church in general; but that there is no promiſe to ſecure any particular Church that her candleſtick may not be removed, as others have been.

R. C. But what Church was that of which *Chriſt* ſpoke when he ſaid, *Tell it unto the Church*, &c.

C. E. It was every particular Church. For the caſe there put is of private difference betwixt Man and Man, *If thy brother treſpaſs againſt thee*—— There *Chriſt* directs firſt private admonition, then the intervention of friends; but if that would not do, then *Tell it to the Church*, that is, to the Church or Congregation of which you are both Members. It is impoſſible to bring every private Quarrel before the Catholick Church. There was nothing at all of the Faith concerned in this caſe: Nor in the XVII. of *Deut*. (often quoted by you for the infallible Judgment of the Church;) the caſe there put is only about civil cauſes, as you may ſee *v*. 8. And the civil Judge is joined with the Prieſts in this. But neither God nor *Chriſt* does any where ſend us to a Judge of Faith. There cannot be any Judge of Faith but God alone.

VIII. R. C. Why do you ſay there cannot? No doubt there may be ſuch a Judge, whether there is or not.

C. E. The beſt way is to put it to a tryal. Let us begin then with the *Creed*, the firſt Article is, *I believe in God, the Father Almighty*. Now I ask, who is Judge of the Article? Who is Judge? Whether there is a God or not? And ſo of the reſt. Whether there is a *Chriſt?* Whether he died, roſe, *&c?* Whether there is a Holy Ghoſt? Whether there will be a reſurrection of the dead, and a life eternal?

R. C. This is an odd way of turning the queſtion. There is no ſuch Judge of theſe things, as that we were not to believe there is a God, or *Chriſt*, &c. if ſuch Judge ſhould ſo determine.

C. E. Then there is no Judge of faith. And now I will give you the reaſon why there cannot be ſuch a Judge among Men: Becauſe where any thing is determined by Authority, ſuch Authority muſt be ſuperior to what it determines. As in civil cauſes, the Authority of the King by whoſe commiſſion they are determined, is ſuperior to the right or property of the Subject. And for the ſame reaſon, if I ſhou'd believe a God, or a *Chriſt*, &c. upon any Authority whatſoever, that Authority with me muſt be prior and ſuperior to what I believe upon that Authority. And thus the Church (ſuppoſing it ſuch a Judge of Faith) would have an Authority above God,

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or *Chriſt*, or any thing contained in the *Creed*. And therefore I think it is plain, that we receive not the *Creed* upon the Authority of the Church.

IX. R. C. You had never had the Creed but by the Church.

C. E. That may be. The Church taught it me, propos'd it to me, and convinc'd me of the truth of it: But not by way of Authority, for I could not believe the Authority of the Church till I was firſt convinc'd by the Scriptures that *Chriſt* had eſtabliſhed ſuch a Church, and veſted her with ſuch Authority. So that I receive the Scriptures upon the Teſtimony not Authority of the Church; and I examine that Teſtimony, as I do other facts, till I have ſatisfy'd my Private Judgment, there is no other way. As ſuppoſe an Atheiſt to be convinced by me of the Being of a God; he then believes it, and I may be ſaid to be an inſtrument in this. But how fooliſh would it be in me, nay blaſphemous, to aſſume Authority over him for this, and ſay, that it was by my Authority he believed a God, and therefore that he was obliged to believe every thing elſe I told him, without examining; becauſe if my authority was taken for the Being of God, then nothing ſurely of leſſer conſequence could be excepted from it? This is the manner of argumentation for receiving the Faith from the Authority of the Church: This is that circle from which you can never rid your ſelves of believing the Scriptures upon the Authority of the Church; and then back again, of believing the Church upon the Authority of the Scriptures: This makes each of them of greater Authority than the other, and each of them of leſſer!

And now tell me, if I have nothing but my Private Judgment for the Being of a God, ſhall the Church pretend to an Authority over Private Judgment, and that I ſhall not be allowed to make uſe of it in any thing ſhe propoſes to me?

X. R. C. In ſmaller things you may, which we call matters of opinion, but not in matters of Faith, for then *who ſhall be judge?*

C. E. I think the reverſe of this to be the truth, *viz.* that this queſtion, *who ſhall be judge*, and the ſubmitting of our Private Judgment, is only in ſmaller matters, and of little conſequence: As in temporal affairs and diſputes of *meum* and *tuum*, and in determining rites and ceremonies in the Church, which are not of the eſſentials of Religion, and in matters of diſcipline for the better government of the Church; in theſe things we ought to ſubmit our Private Judgment, and if there be a diſpute about them, it is very proper to ask, *who ſhall be judge*: Becauſe the conteſt and breach of unity in the Church is of far more importance than any of theſe things, let them be determined which way it will. But in matters of Faith it is quite otherwiſe, and there to ask, *who ſhall be judge*, is moſt abhorrent; as *who ſhall be judge* whether there is a God or not, or a *Chriſt*: And ſo of other articles of the Creed, as I have ſhewed you before.

God has ſubjected our lives and fortunes to the abſolute diſpoſal of civil government, becauſe theſe are no great things, and we muſt give them up however: And in theſe there is a neceſſity of determining the queſtion, *who ſhall be judge?* Without this there can be no end of civil diſputes, and government would be impracticable; there muſt be a laſt reſort from which there is no appeal, otherwiſe there would be an eternal round, or a *progreſſus in infinitum*, and no conteſt about civil affairs could ever be determined: And there is no ſecurity in this that an unjuſt judgment will not be given at laſt; nor is that of great moment, for, as I ſaid, we are not much hurt by it.

But God has taken more care of our ſouls, and not put our Faith under the abſolute dominion of any. The Apoſtles diſclaimed it, and when they
2 Cor. i. 24. exhorted and inſtructed, they ſaid, *Not for that we have dominion over*
Gal. i. 8. *your Faith, but are helpers of your joy.* And again, *If we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Goſpel, let him be anathema,* that is, *accurſed:* And this was to be known only by Private Judgment, and is a very poſitive deciſion for it, againſt Authority, of the higheſt ſort poſſible next under God himſelf.

It is this miſtaken notion of Authority which detains you of the Church of *Rome*, and ſhuts your ears from hearkening to reaſon: You ſtop us every turn with the Authority of the Church! Nay, you bid us deny our reaſon, and our ſenſes too, in obedience to the Church!

And it is this very ſame miſtake which hardened the *Jews* againſt *Chriſt*, as they ſaid to thoſe who were charmed with his doctrine and had ſeen his
Joh. vii. 48, 49. Miracles, and told them, *Never Man ſpake like this Man*, but the *Chief Prieſts*, &c. anſwered, *Have any of the Rulers or of the* Phariſees *believed on him? But this People who knoweth not the Law are curſed.* Here was a full ſtop to all farther enquiries concerning him, whether he were the true *Meſſiah* or not. They muſt learn this from the Church, and not truſt to their Private Judgment, let the caſe be never ſo plain!

XI. And I cannot here but obſerve a wonderful providence in the œconomy of God. He might, no doubt, have ſo diſpos'd things if he had pleaſed, as that *Chriſt* ſhould have been *received by his own*, and acknowledg'd by the Church; but he choſe the way, wherein the *husband-men* ſhould *kill* the *heir*, and the *builders* reject the *corner-ſtone*, that the pride of Man might be humbled, and our Faith ſtand in God alone. *Chriſt* was denied and perſecuted by all the powers on Earth, as well eccleſiaſtical as civil: And of his own Apoſtles, one betrayed him, another forſwore him, all for-
Iſa. lxiii. 3. ſook him: *He trod the wine-preſs alone, and of the People there was none*
Iſa. viii. 14. *with him.* And this was propheſy'd of before, that he ſhould be a *ſtone of ſtumbling* and a *rock of offence* to *both* the *houſes* of *Iſrael*, and that their *eyes* ſhould be *blinded* that they ſhould not *know* him when he came: As I have ſhewed before in the *Truth of Chriſtianity demonſtrated*, p. 159. And what was it blinded them againſt this full and clear evidence, but their notion of the Authority of the Church? And was it not to beat down and for ever ſilence this pretence, that *Chriſt* would not ſuffer the Church to give atteſtation to him, nor come by their recommendation? Should the ſun borrow light from the moon? Yet this pretence is taken up again by the Church of *Rome*. It never was maintained by any but by the Church of the *Jews*, and of *Rome:* And we have ſeen ſtrange effects of it in both!

XII. R. C. After all you have ſaid, how do you know the canonical Book of Scripture but by the authority of the Church?

C. E. Not at all by her Authority, but by her Evidence: There is a great difference, I pray you to conſider it. There were falſe Goſpels and falſe Epiſtles inſcribed to ſeveral of the Apoſtles, ſet up by the hereticks in the firſt age; and they were detected in that ſame age, while the * originals of what the Apoſtles wrote were ſtill in being. But the hereticks could not produce the originals of theirs, nor did their copies agree one with another, as *Euſebius* tells us: And this was not deciding the matter by Authority, but by plain Evidence of a fact, as of any other forgery, or ſuppoſititious writing.

* Euſeb. Hiſt. l. v. c. 28.

But

But you ſtate the matter ſo, as if there were a heap of papers, of many hundred years paſt, ſome genuine, ſome ſpurious, all confuſedly thrown together, and that it were left to the Church to diſtinguiſh theſe, by her Authority, and that we were oblig'd ſo to receive them, without knowing any more of the matter, and had nothing but her authority to truſt to. But this, Sir, is far from being the caſe: The canon of the Scripture was ſettled at the time when it could be done by full evidence, and the notoriety of the thing was known to all: And we have receiv'd it down from that time in copies ſo univerſally ſpread through the chriſtian World, that it is impoſſible to add or detract from it without a general detection of the forgery by all Churches: And this has preſerved the canon of the New Teſtament ſo entire, that there is no difference about it between you and us, or any other chriſtian Church.

It is true indeed we differ with you as to the canon of the Old Teſtament; but we have the *Jews* on our ſide for this, who never received thoſe Books we call apocryphal into their canon: They were not wrote in their language, at leaſt moſt of them. And I might bring in the *Jew* again to reaſon the caſe with you, how you came to underſtand their canon better than themſelves, who were in poſſeſſion of it many hundred years before Chriſtianity, and were ſo careful as to number the very letters? But I will not prolong this, nor enter into the particular diſputes betwixt your Church and ours, my buſineſs now being only to conſider the foundation principle of the Authority of the Church, upon which all the reſt depend. I will only ſay this farther as to theſe apocryphal Books, that St. *Jerom* in his *Prologus Galeatus*, printed before all your vulgar *Latin* Bibles that I have ſeen, excludes all theſe by name out of the canon, and ſays the Church did ſo too: And we may ſuppoſe that ſo learned a Father, who had himſelf tranſlated the Scriptures, knew what the Church receiv'd in his time: And it ſeems ſtrange to me that ſuch a flagrant teſtimony againſt you ſhould ſtand in the front of your own Bibles. But if you would have farther ſatiſfaction as to this point, I refer you to Biſhop *Coſins*'s elaborate *Hiſtory of the Canon of the Scriptures*, which has not been anſwered by any of your Church that I hear of, for it ſeems to carry demonſtration along with it, proceeding wholly upon fact, and giving vouchers in abundance: And as to the Books themſelves, let any one read the concluſion of the Book of *Maccabees*, 2 *Mac.* xv. 39, 40. and ſee if he can perſuade himſelf that ſuch words could come out of the Mouth of God.

XIII. But to return. The great cauſe I conceive of the Church of the *Jews*, and the Church of *Rome*, having fallen into this miſtake of their own abſolute and unlimited Authority, and indefeaſible perpetuity, is their not rightly apprehending the nature of the promiſes which God makes to Man. For though they may be full and unconditional as expreſſed in the words, yet they are to be underſtood with an implyed condition of our obedience: And we are not to think that he is bound by his promiſe, though we are never ſo wicked. No, God will not thus be mocked! If he has ſpoken concerning a *Land* to *pluck up and to deſtroy*, if they *repent*, he will alſo *repent of the evil:* And if he has promiſed to *build and to plant*, if they do *evil*, he will *repent of the good.* See what he ſaid to *Eli* the High-prieſt for his not reſtraining his ſons, who were wicked in their miniſtry; *Wherefore the Lord God of* Iſrael *ſaith, I ſaid indeed, that thy houſe, and the houſe of thy father ſhould walk before me for ever; but now the Lord ſaith, be it far from me; for them that honour me, I will honour, and they that deſpiſe me ſhall be lightly eſteem'd.*

Jer. xviii, 7, &c.

1 Sam. ii. 30.

God had promiſed to the Children of *Iſrael* whom he brought out of *Ægypt*, to carry them into the Land of *Canaan* to poſſeſs it; but upon their murmuring, he condemned them all (except two) to die in the Wil-
Num.xiv. 34. derneſs, and ſaid, *ye ſhall know my breach of promiſe*, in the margin it is, *the altering of my purpoſe*.

Jer. x. 4, 5. *Obey my voice* (ſays God) *that I may perform the oath which I have ſworn unto your fathers*.

It would be tedious to go through the multitude of texts to this purpoſe: Many promiſes were made to the People of *Iſrael* and to the Temple, of perpetuity for ever; yet both it and they were deſtroyed for their wickedneſs: All which will not yet perſuade them that theſe promiſes were conditional. This was the hardeſt point to gain upon them. *John the Baptiſt* began with this, to ſhew them the vanity of their hopes, in ſaying, *we have* Abraham *to our Father*. And this was what our bleſſed Saviour ſet forth to them in the parable of the Vineyard and the wicked Husband-men: But they would not underſtand: They ſtill ſtuck to their own being the only *Peculium* of God: They could bear nothing againſt this. When our Lord told them of God's ſhewing to ſome of the *Gentiles* more favour than
Luke iv. 25. &c. the *Iſraelites*, in the inſtances of *Naaman* the *Syrian*, and the widow of *Sarepta*, they were *filled with wrath, and thruſt him out of the city*, and *led him to the brow of the hill, that they might caſt him down headlong*. They heard St. *Paul* with attention *unto this word*, of his being ſent to
Acts xxii. 21, &c. the *Gentiles*, and then they *lift up their voices and ſaid, away with ſuch a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he ſhould live; and they cryed out, and caſt off their cloaths, and threw duſt into the air*. Such tranſports have I ſeen among ſome of your communion, when their title to be the only *Peculium* was queſtioned! And yet you have leſs pretence than the Church of the *Jews*, for there were many promiſes made to them by name, but not one to the Church of *Rome* by name, nor by any implication which does not depend upon great uncertainties at beſt, and muſt be reſolved wholly by Private Judgment at laſt.

XIV. DISSENTER. It is now time for me to come in: I ſtand upon Private Judgment, and if you condemn me, you condemn that too.

C. E. No doubt Private Judgment is often miſtaken; therefore you muſt take pains to have your Judgment rightly informed.

DISS. Do you inform me then: You have run down the Authority of the Church: I ſee no Authority you have left her.

C. E. Becauſe I do not allow her an abſolute, unconditional, and infallible Authority, and that in matters of Faith; you think ſhe has no Authority at all.

DISS. Your 20th Article (of late ſo much conteſted) ſays, ſhe has *Authority in controverſies of Faith*.

C. E. Yes, but far from infallible. You ſee how it is there limited, not to be repugnant to holy Scripture, *&c.* She has Authority as a *witneſs* and *keeper of holy Writ*, as the Article words it.

DISS. What Authority is that?

C. E. The ſame that is acknowledged in your *Weſtminſter Confeſſion of Faith*, chap. XXXI. *miniſterially to determine controverſies of Faith*, as you there word it. But in regulating the worſhip of God, and in diſcipline for the better government of the Church, there to determine authoritatively: And this is perfectly agreeable to our 20th Article, againſt which you have wrangled perpetually, and of late have called in the Deiſts to your aid, at leaſt accepted of their aſſiſtance in their *Prieſt-craft in Perfection* againſt this 20th Article. For their information therefore, and by your own confeſſion the Authority of the Church ſtands thus, to determine controverſies of Faith only

only miniſterially, as the ordinary diſpenſers of the word, as ſervants of *Chriſt*, and miniſters of the Goſpel; not abſolutely and authoritatively, as lords of our Faith, and infallible interpreters of Scripture: And it is moſt reaſonable to ſubmit and acquieſce in ſuch determination of the Church, except where the caſe is notorious, and out of doubt, and of the laſt conſequence, as of the caſe of the *Meſſiah* when he came: For unconditional obedience in matters of Faith is due to none but God, nor has he delegated any ſuch power to Men. Will it therefore follow, that he has given no power at all to his Church?

It was a great power was given when he ſaid, *Go ye and teach all Nations, baptizing them*, &c. And he left power with them to inveſt others with the ſame Authority, without which none can preach the Faith, for *how ſhall they preach except they be ſent?* And this is an Authority relating to Faith: As likewiſe the power of the Keys, which implies all Authority of government, as being the *pillar and ground of the Faith.* And *Chriſt* has promiſed to ratify in Heaven the cenſures of the Church when juſtly inflicted upon Earth. Mat. xxviii. 19. Rom. x. 15. 1 Tim. iii. 15.

R. C. Why do you limit the Text? The words are general, *Whatſoever ye ſhall bind*, &c. And *Whoſoever ſins ye remit*, &c. Mat. xviii. 18. Joh. xx. 23.

C. E. This is what I juſt now told of you, That you will take the words of God without any implyed condition. Yet you your ſelves cannot deny but that there are conditions here implyed, as of contrition in the penitent, *&c.* And if the cenſures of the Church are inflicted *clave errante*, as you term it, that is, not juſtly, you ſay not that ſuch ſentence will be ratifyed in Heaven.

XV. R. C. *Chriſt* ſaid, *The Scribes and Phariſees ſit in* Moſes's *ſeat, all therefore whatſoever they bid you obſerve, that obſerve and do.* What exception do you here find from this abſolute Authority recognized by *Chriſt* to be in the Church? Mat. xxiii. 2, 3.

C. E. By this you own the Church then to have been in the Synagogue of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*: And were they infallible? Were all the *Jews* who had believed in *Chriſt* obliged to renounce him, becauſe ſo commanded by theſe *Scribes* and *Phariſees*? But, Sir, there is not a word of believing in all this Text. They were only to obſerve and do what the Synagogue ſhould bid them: And no doubt the condition was implyed, of ſuch commands being lawful, and agreeable to the Word of God. And this is the full of what is meant in our obedience to any Church or Authority upon Earth. And being worded here to the utmoſt extent, ſhews how the like expreſſions are to be underſtood when applyed to others. This is beyond, *Feed my ſheep*, or *Tell it to the Church*; how then ſhall ſo much be inferred from theſe, when far leſs is meant in more poſitive and comprehenſive words? It is ſaid, *Children obey your parents in all things.* And if this had been ſaid of our obedience to the Church, it could have meant no more than as it ſtands in relation to Parents, *viz.* in all their lawful commands. And Private Judgment muſt determine that, in the one caſe as well as in the other.

But ſince you bring this Text to ſhew the Authority of your Church, you ſhall have it; and take it altogether, in what *Chriſt* ſays of theſe ſame *Scribes* and *Phariſees*. In the ſame diſcourſe where he commands this obedience to be payed them, he calls them blind guides, leading the blind into the ditch: He bids his Diſciples *beware of their doctrine*; and charges them with having made the *Commandments of God of none effect through their traditions, and many ſuch like things which they did*, before his coming into the World. Mat. xvi. 12. Mark vii. 13.

Now if your plea ſhould hold, of the Church being transferred to the *Meſſiah* at his coming; yet you will be obliged to maintain the infallibility of the *Jewiſh* Church before that time: Elſe your Principle falls, of the goodneſs of God being engaged to afford Men always an infallible guide; and likewiſe your argument from the promiſes made to the Church of the *Jews* in the Old Teſtament of infallibility, perpetuity, *&c.* which you quote now for your own Church. You have brought a very hard task upon your ſelves, either to maintain the infallibility of the *Jewiſh* Church all along before *Chriſt* came, or elſe to loſe your own. You muſt anſwer what I have quoted, of the *Jews* having *rejected the commandments of God, that they might keep their own tradition.* And conſider that it takes a long time to make a Tradition. Therefore theſe falſe Doctrines with which *Chriſt* here charges them were of old ſtanding among them before he came: And they called it the *Tradition of their Elders*, that is, of
Mark. vii. 5. of thoſe before them, and of the Governors of their Church, called generally by the name of their Elders.

But let us look into their former times. We find them all involved in the idolatry of the Golden-Calf, even *Aaron* the High-Prieſt and whatever
Exod. xxxii. 1, &c. can be called their Church, when they thought they had loſt *Moſes*, upon his tarrying ſo long on the *Mount*. There is not one exception made of any of the People who did not come in fully to this idolatry. And
Daniel ix. 11. how frequently afterwards did they relapſe into this ſin? *Daniel* charges
2 Chr. xxxvi. 14. it upon all *Iſrael*, as well as upon their Kings, Princes, *&c. All the chief of the Prieſts.*
Jer. xxvi. 8, 11. Mat. xxvii. 20 Mark. xiv. 53, 55. They perſecuted their own Prophets, and at the inſtigation of their Prieſts. Who likewiſe *perſuaded them to ask* Barabbas, *and deſtroy* Jeſus: It was their whole *Sanhedrin*, the *Chief prieſts and all the Council.* And it was upon the ſame Principle, and their aſſurance of the infallibility
Jer. xviii. 18. of their Church, for, ſaid they, *The law ſhall not periſh from the prieſt.* Therefore, *Let us ſmite* Jeremiah, *and let us not give heed to any of his*
Acts vii. 52. *words. Which of the Prophets*, ſays St. *Stephen, have not your fathers*
Matth. xxiii. 29, &c. *perſecuted?* Our Saviour told them, *your fathers killed the Prophets, and and ye build their ſepulchers; and ſay, if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets. Wherefore ye be witneſſes unto your ſelves, that ye are the children of them who killed the Prophets. Fill ye up then the meaſure of your fathers.* Yet they could not ſee the fallibility of their Fathers; nor their own, when they were filling up their meaſure, in perſecuting the *Meſſiah*, as their Fathers had the Prophets. But they ſtill ſtuck to their infallibility, That *the law could not periſh from the prieſt.* And which is more wonderful, you ſtill ſtick to their infallibility, becauſe you cannot otherwiſe ſupport your own; and you quote the promiſes made to them, as ſecuring you from fallibility: Thus they are your Fathers as well as of the *Jews*, and we may ſay to you, as *Chriſt* ſaid to the *Jews*, *Your fathers killed the Prophets*, &c. Nay, we may ſay more to you, that your Fathers killed the *Meſſiah*, and yet you ſtill maintain their infallibility.

But while *Chriſt* expoſed the fallibility of the Church, he ſtill ſupported her Authority, by owning that *the Scribes and Phariſees ſat in* Moſes's *ſeat.*

And this determines the limits of our ſubmiſſion to any Authority, *viz.* To obſerve and do whatſoever they command us (that is lawful) let them be never ſo wicked, as wicked as theſe *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, whom in the ſame Chapter *Chriſt* calls *ſerpents, a generation of vipers, and children of hell:* But to beware of their doctrine, not to think our ſelves oblig'd to give the inward aſſent of our minds and to believe all that they

ſhall require of us as of Faith. For this is the moſt deſperate condition any mortal Man can be in: And if our Private Judgment lead us to this, there is no other inſtance in the World wherein it can ſo fatally deceive us.

The next to this is the condition of you Diſſenters, who inſtead of obſerving and doing whatſoever is commanded you, though it be lawful, will do nothing you are bidden; and for that very reaſon, becauſe you are bidden; inſomuch that what you your ſelves own to be lawful and indifferent, and that you might do it of your own head, you think it becomes ſinful, merely becauſe injoined by your lawful Superiours: For then it is an encroachment upon your chriſtian liberty: This is the Spirit of contradiction, it is croſsneſs for croſsneſs ſake; of which you would ſoon be ſenſible if it were in your own Children. If one of them ſhould ſay to you, I would have done what you bid me, but now will not, becauſe you bid me.

Upon the whole, I allow the Church to be the Judge of Faith, the only and ſupreme Judge of it upon Earth. As in all civil Government there is a laſt reſort which is ſupreme and unaccountable to Man; yet there is an appeal to God from whom both derive their Authority. But the Church of *Rome* will not ſuffer me to appeal from her to God, no not in my own mind. St. *Peter* owned the Authority of the Church of the *Jews*, and called their *Sanhedrim*, the *rulers of the people, the elders of* Iſrael, *and the builders of the church*; but yet he ſaid to them, *whether it be right in the ſight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.* He ſpoke of the *Meſſiah*, the corner ſtone whom they had rejected, and therefore he appealed from the Church to God, in this ſupreme and moſt fundamental point of Faith. Acts. iv. 8. ỳ. 11. ỳ. 19.

Chriſt came with an Evidence and Authority then ſuperior to that of the Church: He ſaid, *I receive not teſtimony from man—— The Father himſelf hath born witneſs of me.* And indeed to ſhew *Chriſt* by the Church, wou'd be lighting a Candle to ſee the Sun. John v. 34. ỳ. 37.

The Church is the interpreter of Scripture, as the Judges are of the Law: And they have Authority ſo to interpret, and they judge authoritatively. Yet they are but the ordinary diſpenſers of the Law, to which an ordinary interpretation of the Law is neceſſary. But the ultimate interpretation of the Law is only in the legiſlative Authority, according to the Maxim, *Cujus eſt condere, ejus eſt & interpretari*, that is, *It belongs to the ſame power which enacts, to interpret.* For the makers of the Law beſt know their own meaning. Thus the Church is the ordinary diſpenſer, and ſo far the interpreter of Scripture. But the ultimate deciſion is in God, and we may ſtill appeal to him: And muſt make uſe of our own Private Judgment for our underſtanding it, and governing our practice accordingly, in the great points of Faith and Worſhip.

XVI. Let us come to a teſt in this matter. And it is very ſhort. *Chriſt* ſays to the People, *Search the Scriptures, for they are they which teſtify of me—— And how is it, that ye do not diſcern this time?* (that is, of the coming of the *Meſſiah*) *Yea, and why even of your own ſelves judge ye not what is right?* The vulgar has it, *Hoc autem tempus quomodo non probatis?* Why do you not examine and prove whether this be the time or not, by the ſigns which the Scriptures have teſtified of it? As you diſcern the Weather by the natural ſigns which precede; the compariſon our Saviour there uſes: *Ye can diſcern the face of the ſky, but can ye not diſcern the ſigns of the times?* That is, when the *Meſſiah* ſhould come? Which are as plain as the other, that you need not go to any Body to know it. *Quid autem & à vobis ipſis non judicatis?* You may judge of it your own ſelves. John v. 39. Luk. xii. 56, 57. Matth. xvi. 3. Luke xii. 57.

In

In anſwer to all which ſays Authority, nay, but has the Church determined it? *Have any of the Rulers or Phariſees believed on him? But this people who knoweth not the law are curſed.* Are not they curſed who depart from the Church, and will not believe her? Who take upon themſelves to know the Law, and to interpret it contrary to the Judgment of the Church? They ſet up Private Judgment againſt Authority! And I muſt leave it to every Man's Private Judgment to judge of all that I have ſaid.

Joh. vii. 48.

For this is the only general rule by which God will judge all Men. It is a preſumptuous argument to ſay, that God is obliged to give every Man an outward guide, when he has left the greateſt part of the World without it. Was *Abraham* given as a guide to all the World, who was known only to a few Neighbours? The Law was given only to the *Jews*, and the *Gentiles* were not to be judged by it: For *as many as ſin without the law, ſhall be judged without the Law:* And not believing the Goſpel is a condemnation to thoſe only to whom it is preached. *Go ye and preach*— He that *believeth not*— that is, what you preach. So that rejecting the Goſpel was the crime, when it was offered with full evidence: For this was deſpiſing the goodneſs of God offer'd to us. But as for a general guide to Mankind: *In the beginning God created man, and left him in the hand of his own counſel.* He *ſet before him life and death, bleſſing and curſing, for him to chuſe.* And God will bleſs or curſe him according to what he has ſet before him, whether by Revelation, or by his own natural Reaſon only, and who is judge of this? None but God, who only knows the ſincerity of any Man's intentions, and what endeavours he has uſed towards the right informing of his Judgment. And where there is uſe for a guide, Man has no other way to determine himſelf but by his Private Judgment.

Rom. ii 12.

Mark xvi. 15, 16.

Eccluſ xv. 14.

Deut. xxx. 19.

XVII. Now to apply this as to our own immediate concerns at preſent. I ſuppoſe a Man on his road to ſuch a place, and coming where there are three or four different ways, he knows not which to chuſe. But he finds there ſeveral guides ſtanding who all pretend to be appointed guides of that road, and offer their ſervice, with equal aſſurance, each ſaying, that the way he points is the right, and none other. But the traveller has a chart or plan of the way in his hand, which all the guides allow to be juſt and right, and would have him walk by it. Only one tells him, he may miſtake his plan, therefore he deſires he would give it up to him; and moreover that he ſhould be blind-folded, becauſe otherwiſe he might be diſputing the way, which would retard his journey; and beſides imply'd a diſtruſt of his guide. But another guide tells him he ſhould keep his plan in his hand, and he would give him leave to examine every ſtep he led him by the plan, and then his own eyes ſhould be judge whether he led him right or not; and he would not deſire it ſhould be left in his power to lead him over a precipice with his eyes ſhut.

The holy Scriptures are the plan, and the Church of *Rome* takes them from the People (leſt they diſpute about it) and requires them to truſt abſolutely and blindly to her guidance.

The Church of *England* ſhews her commiſſion to be a guide upon this road to Heaven, derived by ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles, with a competent, though not an infallible Authority.

The Diſſenters have no commiſſion nor ſucceſſion to ſhew; they have thruſt themſelves as guides upon this road, of their own heads, not above a hundred and fifty years ago, in utter contempt and oppoſition to all the guides of God's appointment from the days of the Apoſtles. And they have no Authority at all, either to preach the Word, or to ſign and ſeal the Covenant which God has made with Man, in the holy Sacraments of his

inſtitution, nor to bleſs in his name. This honour they have taken to themſelves, which the Apoſtle ſays, *no man can take to himſelf, but he that is called of God, as was* Aaron. Heb. v. 4.

And now, ſince God has appointed his guides to lead us with our eyes open, and not to take from us the uſe of our Private Judgment, that is, of our Underſtanding, without which we could not be Men; ſince this is all the ſecurity of which we are capable in this frail ſtate; and to ſtrain it higher, would be to loſe it all; let us not be taken with that preſumptuous ſophiſtry of Infallibility, which hardened the *Jews* againſt their *Meſſiah*; unanſwerable by the Church of *Rome*, and hides repentance from her eyes!

I have given before a Demonſtration of the truth of the holy Scriptures, and of Chriſtianity, without touching upon the Authority of the Church, (only they come in for their ſhare of the evidence, as they are part of mankind) to ſhew that our Faith ſtands not upon the precarious foot of the Authority of any Church, but upon ſuch evidence as is agreeable to the common ſenſe of Mankind, and which they cannot deny without throwing off all the certainty they can have in any facts whatſoever that have been done in the World. But if you argue from the Authority of the Church, you rivet every one in his own way; for you muſt ſuppoſe that another has as good an opinion of his Church, as you have of yours: And the *Jew* has moreover the ſame promiſes for his Church, which the Church of *Rome* alledges for her Infallibility and Perpetuity.

And the *Jewiſh* Church was unconteſtably in poſſeſſion of all theſe promiſes, for many ages together, becauſe ſhe was the true and only Church of God upon the face of the Earth, from *Moſes* to *Chriſt*.

Therefore Chriſtianity muſt have ſuch a foundation to ſtand upon, as will not give equal (and greater) advantage to *Judaiſm*; elſe Chriſtianity cannot be the truth, and her reformation was unjuſt againſt the Church in poſſeſſion; and we ought to return to her who was undoubtedly the mother-Church, by the confeſſion of all the Chriſtians themſelves: And ſhe ſtill complains, and asks the queſtion, who was or ought to be judge betwixt her and her rebellious ſons who broke off from her, and ſet up a new and oppoſite communion againſt her, though they were *a great company of her Prieſts*, and *Myriads* of her *People?* Yet they were all miſled, if our Faith ſtands upon Church-Authority. Act. vi. 7. xxi. 20.

This is a hard ſaying to many; and I will retract it when any one ſhall have the charity to ſhew me my error.

But I have not ſaid this till I had firſt eſtabliſhed the truth of Chriſtianity upon another foundation, to which neither *Jew* nor *Gentile* can have any pretence: I have ſhewed the way to *Chriſt* by his own glory, to which as nothing can add, ſo no other Truth can imitate, nor Authority give ſanction to it, except that only of his *Father*, for *he receiveth not honour from Men*. Joh. v. 41.

If any anſwer me, I deſire him firſt to join with me in this prayer, that it would pleaſe God to ſtrengthen thoſe that are in the truth, and to convince thoſe that are in error: Towards which I have caſt in my mite.

Quod fauſtum faxit Deus.

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THE Publiſher's PREFACE.

THE learned Author of theſe Dialogues, &c. (as the late very Reverend Dean of *Worceſter* obſerv'd * of him ſome years ago) being *well known among us for his excellent writings againſt* Atheiſts, Deiſts, Socinians, Quakers, Eraſtians, *and* Latitudinarians, *for which he will never be forgotten:* Since when he has alſo writ againſt the Papiſts; *and no Man ſince the time of Archbiſhop* Laud, *and Biſhop* Moreton, (as that venerable Writer adds, *not for his praiſe*, ſays he, *for that is due to God, but to ſet forth his felicity)* having *had his labours bleſſed with ſuch ſucceſs, or made ſo many converts from error to truth, and from no principles to principles, and ſo conſiderable among their ſeveral parties as he:* The publick having ſo much intereſt in this Author, and he being unhappily remov'd from, and as it were dead to us, tho' yet on this ſide Heaven: It has been much wiſh'd, that his works might be collected and publiſhed together; ſeeing they are of ſuch uſe, and many of them now out of print. Nor has this been only deſir'd, but deſign'd, as a very proper antidote againſt that general diſſolution of principles, which all good Men lament in this age: And for the encouragement of ſo beneficial a deſign, we have here ſubjoined a Catalogue of his Theological Works.

* *Preface to his* 1. Vol. *of* Controverſial Letters, *firſt publiſh'd,* An. 1705.

The Snake in the Graſs in three Parts.
Satan diſrob'd from his Diſguiſe of Light.
A Diſcourſe of Water-Baptiſm.
A Diſcourſe ſhewing who are qualified to adminiſter the Sacraments.
The Primitive Hereſy of the *Quakers*.
The Preſent State of *Quakeriſm*.
Reflections on the *Quakers* Proteſt.
The *Quakers* Sayings under ſeveral Heads.
The divine Right of Tithes.
A Short Method with the Deiſts and *Jews*.
The *Socinian* Controverſy diſcuſs'd.
A Sermon againſt Marriages in different Communions.
The Caſe of the Regale and Pontificate.
The Truth of Chriſtianity demonſtrated.
The Caſe ſtated, in a Dialogue between the Churches of *Rome* and *England*, &c.
The Hiſtory of Sin and Hereſy.

But becauſe the beſt purpoſes are too often delay'd in the execution, and there may be danger, that this I ſpeak of, ſhould not be executed ſo ſoon, as were to be wiſh'd; and becauſe, of all the errors and hereſies this learned Author has wrote againſt, that of the *Arians* and *Socinians* ſeems to be now the moſt predominant, I preſum'd, that I could not do either more juſtice to him in his abſence, or greater ſervice to the Church, than to publiſh a-new his *Socinian Controverſy diſcuſſed*, wherein as the chief tracts are conſider'd, which (at the time of his writing it) had been here lately printed by thoſe Hereticks; ſo there is little they have put out ſince, but is in great meaſure obviated, and their cauſe ſo baffled, that if it had not had other ſupports, than what their weak pretences to reaſoning afford, we might have hoped, it would have ſilenced them at leaſt, if it had not been attended with the ſame glorious ſucceſs, as his *Short Method with the Deiſts*, which convinced one * of their moſt celebrated Writers, and perſuaded him not only to make a publick retractation of his error, but to write † againſt it in defence of the truth.

Inſtead of this, ſo much does Intereſt out-weigh Reaſon, and ſuch power there is in the favour and countenance of a few great Men, that not only ſome remarks, as they call'd them, were ſoon publiſh'd upon the firſt and laſt of theſe Dialogues, and a pretended vindication of thoſe on the firſt, which are all here anſwer'd; but from one degree of effrontery to another, theſe irreconcilable enemies of the Chriſtian Religion are at laſt grown ſo hardy, as to declare openly and bare-faced againſt the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and no longer ſteal into the World their ſcandalous Libels againſt the Son of God, but uſher in their publick entry with the Pomp of repeated Advertiſements, and all this in order to arraign the very object of our worſhip, tho' in ſo doing they accuſe of the groſſeſt idolatry, not us only whom they delight to calumniate, but even themſelves, as worſhipping what they contend to be a mere Creature, inſtead of the Creator of Heaven and Earth.

And herein it may not be improper to obſerve, how they imitate their dear Brethren the Diſſenters; amongſt whom, it ſeems, they have no inconſiderable party; for *Gebal*, and *Ammon*, and *Amalek*, Sectaries of all Denominations, unite againſt the Church, as *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate* did againſt our Saviour; and now ſpeak out, and boldly tell the World, they will

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* C. Gildon, *Gent. Publiſher of the* Oracles of Reaſon. † The Deiſts Manual, or a rational Enquiry into the Chriſtian Religion, with ſome Conſiderations on Mr. *Hobs*'s *Spinoſa*, the Oracles of Reaſon, Second Thoughts, *&c.* 8*vo*.

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no longer be tied up to the Doctrine of the Trinity: Witneſs *the Caſe of the ejected Miniſters*, (as they call themſelves) at *Exon*, and *the Account of the Proceedings at* Salters-Hall, *&c.* And to add to the malice, the Socinians imitate the Diſſenters in copying from the Papiſts, tho' the greateſt part of their Religion conſiſts in railing againſt them. And they copy from them, in undermining the very foundations, of their own worſhip, the more effectually to deſtroy ours: For the Papiſts in defence of their darling Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, to account for the many palpable contradictions moſt juſtly charg'd upon it, make no ſcruple to reſolve all the difficulty into this, That that doctrine is a myſtery, and upon that account unintelligible to our weak underſtanding. And to ſupport this argument, they are not afraid to put a ſenſleſs invention of their own, upon the level with the Doctrine of the ever bleſſed Trinity itſelf, and to compare what our narrow capacities are unable to comprehend in the moſt tremendous myſtery of a Trinity of Perſons in the unity of the Godhead, and what is unintelligible therein, not in its own nature, but only in reſpect of the weakneſs of our underſtanding; to compare, I ſay, what is thus properly myſterious in the Trinity, to that which in their Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is not myſtery, but nonſenſe and contradiction, unintelligible in it ſelf, and our not comprehending it, ſo little chargeable on any defect in our intellectuals, that if we had the underſtanding of Angels, we ſhould be no more able to comprehend it, than to reconcile the groſſeſt contradictions.

For (to purſue the argument a little further, as not foreign to this controverſy, and give a full anſwer to that plauſible objection againſt the Trinity, contain'd in this defence of Tranſubſtantiation) a Myſtery in the proper notion of the word, is ſomething hid from us, which our ſhort ſight cannot perceive, nor our narrow capacities comprehend; ſomething, tho' not againſt our Reaſon, yet ſo far above it, that through the weakneſs of our intellects, we are not able to underſtand it: Now to apply this to the caſe before us, that we cannot conceive, how the Body of *Chriſt* can be at the ſame time at the right hand of God the Father in Heaven, and yet with us upon Earth, even in ten thouſand different places at once, and that really, truly, and ſubſtantially, as the Council of *Trent* declares, this, (to mention no more of the abſurdities of Tranſubſtantiation) is ſo far from any defect in our underſtandings, any weakneſs in the eyes of our minds, that we very clearly ſee, that this cannot be, and have a moſt diſtinct perception, that

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it is abſolutely impoſſible; and it is only an impropriety in our manner of expreſſion, to ſay, we are not able to conceive how that thing can be, which we evidently perceive cannot be, or to aſcribe that to any defect in us, which is wholly owing to the nature of the thing it ſelf: It is not we that are uncapable to conceive, but the thing that is not capable of being conceiv'd.

When we charge the incapacity upon our ſelves, we might as well ſay, that our arms are too ſhort to reach from any height a thing that is not there, and our eyes too weak to ſee it; whereas if we could reach up to the Moon, and ſee into the third Heavens, we ſhould be never the more able, either to ſee or reach what actually is not there; nor could even an infinite underſtanding comprehend what is in it's own nature incomprehenſible, and is clearly perceiv'd to be ſo by our finite underſtanding, weak and imperfect as it is; for would not this be altering the very nature of things, and by the extent of our knowledge making that to be true, which in its own nature is falſe? It is poſſible to imagine, that any degree of underſtanding can be ſufficient to diſcover things to be otherwiſe than they really are in their own nature; a part, for inſtance, to be equal to the whole, any thing to be and not to be, to be true and falſe at the ſame time; and that there is not the leaſt abſurdity in any other contradiction. It is not the abundance, but the want of knowledge that occaſions ſuch miſrepreſentations; and to ſee things as they are not, is not owing to the clearneſs, but the dimneſs of our ſight.

We know it is no impeachment even to the Omnipotence of God, that, Almighty as he moſt certainly is, yet he cannot lye, or change, or do any thing elſe againſt his nature. The impoſſibility is not in him, to whom all things are poſſible, but in the things themſelves: And it is ſo far from any defect in his power, that the contrary, if it were poſſible, would be only an argument of weakneſs: What may induce ignorant Perſons to think otherwiſe, is our improper way of expreſſing it; whereas inſtead of ſaying, that God cannot lye or change, who certainly can do every thing that omnipotence can do, we ought rather to ſay, that it is a thing impoſſible in the very notion of it, that he ſhould do either; that it is abſolutely repugnant to the divine nature, and implies a manifeſt contradiction. And as that muſt be impoſſible to omnipotence it ſelf, which is impoſſible in its own nature; ſince no degree of power can alter the nature of things, or enable God to do that which cannot be done: So the nature of things being equally unalterable to any degree of knowledge, what in its own nature

ture is unintelligible, muſt be ſo alſo, not only to our finite underſtandings, but even to the divine intellect.

Such are thoſe numerous contradictions implied in the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation: Whereas what is objected againſt that of the Trinity (as our Author ſhews in his Preface to this Work) is no contradiction, but only a difficulty, which our weak underſtandings can neither conceive, nor explain; and being thus hidden from us (as no wonder many things in the divine Nature ſhould be) is on that account properly a myſtery, not contrary to our Reaſon, but above it. For inſtance, that God ſhould be one and three in the ſame reſpect, were a flat contradiction, which no degree of knowledge could fathom or reconcile, and which therefore could not be ſaid to be above our reaſon, becauſe it is manifeſtly againſt it. But that the three Perſons in the Godhead ſhould be but one and the ſame nature, that is, both one and three in different reſpects, one in reſpect of the divine nature common to them all, and three in reſpect of their Perſonality diſtinguiſhing each; tho' our finite underſtandings cannot comprehend or explain this (and what is there in the infinite nature of God, which we can fully comprehend?) yet, dim as the eyes of our weak intellects are, we can plainly perceive, that there is no contradiction therein, and that it is owing only to the ſhortneſs of our ſight, that we cannot ſee clearly into it: We know it is no contradiction, that (I don't ſay three, but even) a multitude of Men, ſhould make but one Society, one Army, one People, that is, be both one and a multitude in different reſpects: Nor therefore can it imply any contradiction, that God likewiſe in different reſpects ſhould be both one and three; the only difficulty is, ſo to explain this myſtery of a Trinity of Perſons in the Unity of the Godhead, as neither to confound thePerſons, nor divide the Subſtance; but it is one thing to underſtand any point ſo fully, as to be able to explain it, and another to ſee that there is no abſurdity in it, tho' it be too difficult for our ſhallow capacities to comprehend.

The caſe is much the ſame here, as it is with Mariners out at Sea: where they are not able to fathom the deep, becauſe their ſounding line is too ſhort, they are wont to ſay there is no bottom; whereas, in reality, the only defect is, not of bottom, but of line to reach it: And as in that caſe their not being able to find ground, is ſo far from proving there is none, that at the ſame time they cannot ſound it, they can evince by undoubted arguments, that there muſt be ſome; ſo here, our ina-

bility to comprehend the myſtery of three Perſons in one divine Nature, is ſo far from being an argument againſt the Trinity, or a proof that there is any abſurdity in it, that at the ſame time that we find our ſelves unable to explain it, we can both produce manifeſt proofs of it from God's Word, and clearly perceive, that, difficult as it is, and out of the reach of our narrow capacities, yet there is nothing in it repugnant to Reaſon, or that implies a contradiction.

To uſe the words of Biſhop *Stillingfleet* * upon this argument, *We do not ſay*, (in aſſerting the Trinity in Unity) *that three Perſons are but one Perſon, or that one Nature is three Natures; but that there are three Perſons in one Nature. If therefore one individual Nature be communicable to three Perſons, there is no appearance of abſurdity in this Doctrine. And on the other ſide, it will be impoſſible there ſhould be three Gods, where there is one and the ſame individual nature; for three Gods muſt have three ſeveral divine Natures, ſince it is the divine Eſſence that makes a God.* The difficulty is to apprehend the manner of this communication of the ſame Nature to three diſtinct Perſons: but to argue from thence, that the thing itſelf is impoſſible, is as ſenſeleſs as to maintain, that there is no Sun in the Firmament, becauſe our arms are not long enough to reach it. There are ten thouſand things, even in created Nature, out of the reach, not only of our arms, but of our underſtandings. Indeed our intellect is ſo very much bounded, that there is little even in this ſublunary World, of which we have an adequate comprehenſion. What wonder then, if in the infinite Nature of God there be ſomething which we cannot conceive, I may ſay, if there be nothing which we can? For his eternity, his omnipreſence, and all his other eſſential attributes, are as much beyond our conception, even as the Trinity of Perſons in the Unity of his Nature: Therefore to prove this impoſſible, it is not enough to ſhew, that we cannot conceive the manner of it (for that would be as good an argument that there is no God, as that there is no Trinity) but you muſt firſt prove (as the ſame learned Biſhop ſays †) *that the divine infinite Nature can communicate itſelf no otherwiſe than a finite individual Nature can: For all acknowledge the ſame common Nature may be communicated to three Perſons; and ſo the whole controverſy reſts on this ſingle point, as to Reaſon, whether the divine Nature and Perſons are to be judg'd and meaſur'd as human Na-*

* The Doctrine of the Trinity and Tranſubſtantiation compar'd as to Scripture, Reaſon, and Tradition, in a new Dialogue between a Proteſtant and a Papiſt. *The ſecond part*, p. 24, 25.

† The Doctrine of the Trinity and Tranſubſtantiation compar'd, &c. *The firſt part*, p. 7.

true

ture and Perſons are. It is agreed on all hands, that there is a difference between Nature and Perſon; but what is the principle of individuation, even in created Beings, which for inſtance, diſcriminates the human Nature in one Man from the ſame human Nature in another, and thereby diſtinguiſhes their Perſons, is very hard to reſolve, and therefore may well be incomprehenſible in a Being, whoſe Nature and Perfections infinitely ſurpaſs the bounds of our narrow capacities.

And the ſame infinity of the divine nature, which renders the manner of its communicating itſelf unintelligible to our weak underſtanding, may induce us to *think it unreaſonable* (as the ſame great Author argues *) *that it ſhould be ſo bounded as to the manner of that, as the Nature of Man is. Every individual Man* (as he purſues the argument) *has not only individual properties, that is, the common nature of Man, limited by ſome unaccountable principle, that doth make him different from all other Men, having the ſame Nature with himſelf. The difficulty then does not lie in a community of Nature, and a diſtinction of Perſons; for that is granted amongſt Men; but in the unity of Nature with the difference of Perſons. And ſuppoſing the divine Nature to be infinite in its perfection, I do not ſee,* (ſays he) *how it is capable of being bounded, as the common Nature of Man in individuals is; and if it be not capable of being bounded and limited, it muſt diffuſe it ſelf into all the Perſons in the ſame individual manner; and ſo* (as he concludes) *this Doctrine of the Trinity is not repugnant to Reaſon.*

And yet as much difference as there is betwixt this incomprehenſible myſtery, and the manifold abſurdities of Tranſubſtantiation; tho' the former is the very object of our common worſhip, the baſis and foundation of the chriſtian Religion, and that into which we are all baptiz'd; yet the Papiſts are ſo fond of the latter, that they are not afraid, as I have obſerv'd, to put both upon the ſame level; and to excuſe the groſs abſurdity and contradiction of their pretended myſtery of Tranſubſtantiation, dare to involve the real and tremendous myſtery of the Trinity, in the ſame accuſation of contradiction and abſurdity: But that, as we have ſeen, with ſo little ſhew of Reaſon, as only to betray the ſlight regard they have for the moſt fundamental Doctrine of our common Chriſtianity, and give occaſion to ſuſpect, that their deſign is not ſo much to defend the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, as to undermine that of the

* Ibid. *Second part*, p. 29.

Trinity. I do not ſay they deſign this, I cannot but hope better of them, from what many of their Authors have wrote, with great ſtrength, in defence of the Trinity; but ſuch is their zeal for a modern ridiculous doctrine of their own, that nothing muſt ſtand in competition with it: They leave no ſtone unturn'd to eſtabliſh it, tho' it be on the ruins of our common Faith; and in a *Dialogue* publiſh'd in King *James* II's Reign, *between a new Catholick Convert and a Proteſtant*, they undertook *to prove the myſtery of the Trinity to be as abſurd a doctrine as Tranſubſtantiation*, thereby *expoſing the moſt venerable myſtery of* our holy Religion (as the learned Anſwerer of that *Dialogue* juſtly complains, p. 2.) *to the ſcorn and deriſion of Infidels and Hereticks*,

He might have inſtanced particularly in the Deiſts and *Socinians*, who with all their clamours againſt Popery, condeſcend to uſe Popiſh arguments againſt us, and with the ſame ſpirit of oppoſition, wherewith the *Papiſts* venture the undermining of our common Religion to maintain their own, theſe Libertines and Free-thinkers involve themſelves in that very charge of Idolatry, to which they would render us obnoxious, by robbing the Object of our Worſhip of his Divinity, and ſeem unconcern'd what they worſhip themſelves, if they can but prove that what we worſhip is no God.

But I ſhall leave my Author to confute them, and conclude this Preface with my earneſt prayers for their converſion, that at laſt the infinite Mercy of the Son of God may convince them that he is more than Man, and their own happy experience that he is almighty to ſave, extort from them an acknowledgment of his Divinity.

O merciful God, who haſt made all Men, and hateſt nothing that thou haſt made, nor wouldeſt the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould be converted and live; have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, *Infidels and Hereticks, and take from them all ignorance, hardneſs of heart, and contempt of thy Word; and ſo fetch them home, bleſſed Lord, to thy Flock, that they may be ſaved among the remnant of the true* Iſraelites, *and be made one Fold under one Shepherd,* Jeſus Chriſt *our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, world without end.* Amen.

THE

THE Author's PREFACE.

THE *importance of the* Socinian Controversy *shews it self, and needs no words to enforce it. It is no less than whether what we worship is God or a Creature: Whether we adore the true or false God, and are the grossest idolaters in the World.*

I wish there had been no occasion of reviving this Controversy, which of a long time has lain asleep among us. But of late years these Socinians, *under the name of* Unitarians, *have appear'd with great boldness, and have not only fill'd the Nation with their numerous Pamphlets, printed upon a publick Stock, and given away* gratis *among the People, whereby many have been deluded; but they have arriv'd to that pitch of assurance, as to set up publick meetings in our Halls in* London, *where some preach to them who have been spew'd out even by the Presbyterians for their Socinianism.*

It is told in the life of Mr. Thomas Firmin *that he design'd to have a publick Meeting-place set up in* London *for the Unitarians: And now we see it accomplished, and their standard set up!*

These things have made it necessary to appear in defence of the christian Faith, that it be not lost among us; and to give some check to these Socinian Pamphlets which swarm, through this City especially.

Instead of enlarging in a Preface, I will here present the Reader with a rarity, which I take to be so, because of the difficulty I had to obtain it; it is the following Address or Epistle of our Unitarians to the Morocco *Embassador. And the Latin Treatise*

mention'd in it (of which likewiſe I have a copy) I have ſeen in print here in London, *to ſhew the diligence of the Party. I know not if it is publickly ſold, for I only ſaw it in a private hand.*

I have likewiſe added two Letters upon this Subject, one wrote in the year 1694, *the other in* 1697. *Which may ſerve as a* Compendium *of what is at large treated of in theſe Dialogues, and ſumms up the merit of the cauſe in a few words; which will help the memory, and ſerve for a ready anſwer to Socinians in diſcourſe, that may not be at hand to give, when it is to be collected out of a larger Volume.*

I deſire the Reader to conſider what account the Unitarians give of Mahomet *and his great judgment in their following Addreſs to the Embaſſador, to whom they ſay, That* God hath raiſed your *Mahomet* to defend the Faith with the ſword, as a ſcourge on the idolizing Chriſtians— And we, for the vindication of your Law-makers glory, ſtrive to prove, that ſuch faults and irregularities (not cohering with the faſhion of the reſt of the *Alcoran* Building, nor with the undoubted ſayings of your Prophet)— were foiſted into the ſcatter'd Papers found after *Mahomet's* death— And we do endeavour to clear, by whom, and in what time, ſuch alterations were made in the firſt ſetting out of the *Alcoran.*

This is like the vindication which they make for the holy Scriptures of God, that many things were foiſted in, which they do not like, as they frequently anſwer in their Pamphlets, particularly as to the writings of St. John, *all of whoſe Authority they ſtrike at, becauſe they make moſt againſt them. So that by the ſame* Salvo *the* Alcoran *is vindicated and the Scriptures: And* Mahomet *is here ſaid to be rais'd up by God, to ſcourge the idolizing Chriſtians, and the* Alcoran *to preſerve the true Faith: And they ſay in the ſame place, that Mahomet* wou'd have himſelf to be but a preacher of the Goſpel of *Chriſt. Such a preacher indeed as our Unitarians: And they ſay truly to the Embaſſador,* We your fellow Champions for the truth.

And they have ſince carry'd on the ſame argument in their late writings, of preferring Mahometiſm *to Chriſtianity, as you will ſee in the ſecond Letter,* Sect. II. *Nay, that they eſteem even* Paganiſm *as preferable to the chriſtian Doctrine. And yet they take it ill, that we will not own them as our chriſtian Brethren.*

But now it is time to let the Reader ſee thoſe Papers I have mention'd: And he will judge for himſelf.

AN

AN Epiſtle Dedicatory,

To his Illuſtrious EXCELLENCY *AMETH BEN AMETH*

Embaſſador of the Mighty Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco*, to *CHARLES* II. King of *Great Britain*.

AMONGST the many ſplendid entertainments and receptions, amidſt the ſeveral congratulatory encomiums and preſents, that were offer'd unto your excellency, as publick teſtimonies of the eſteem and admiration the inhabitants of this weſtern Empire do juſtly conceive of the mighty and glorious Emperor of *Morocco*; your Maſter, and of your own peculiar Virtues; there hath been no ſuch addreſs or preſent made unto your excellency, none, as we preſume, that was of a weightier importance (tho' ſlenderer appearance) than this, which we now ſubmit to your liking and acceptance, at your departure. For the contents thereof, being about the myſteries of that all-ſufficient and inviſible one Deity; its own intrinſick value needs no words, nor the uſual adornments that might be expected from us, to ſet it out with an outward ſplendor, to ſo diſcerning a Perſon in ſpiritual and and ſublime matters, as your excellency is known to be, even in the judgment of learned Univerſities. Beſides, truth in theſe countries is fain to go, ſometimes like Princes, in a diſguiſe; who being out of their own Kingdoms, are driven to put by their royal habiliments, for to converſe with more ſafety and freedom, with a few wiſe and faithful worthies they can beſt truſt. Religion then, excellent Sir, the Religion of an *one only Godhead* (as alſo of many other great verities, wherein ye agree with our ſect

and

and disagree from other Christans) is the vail'd Princess, whereof we are now become the venturesome ushers into your excellencies presence; I said venturesome not by reason of any affront we need fear at your hands, but rather from the rash severity of some of our own fellow Christians here, for venting those verities, we shall declare to hold in common with you; (which are contrary to them) yet *Christ*'s and our Spirit is otherwise, to essay by gentle persuasions and union with all Mankind, as far as may be.

Know therefore, noble Sir, that we are of that sect of Christians, that are call'd Unitarians; who first of all, do both in our own names, and in that of a multitude of our persuasion (a wise and religious sort of People) heartily salute, and congratulate your excellency, and all that are with you, as votaries and fellow worshippers of that sole supreme Deity of the Almighty Father and Creator: And we greatly rejoice, and thank his divine bounty, that hath preserv'd your Emperor, and his People, in the excellent knowledge of that truth, touching the belief of an only Sovereign God (who hath no distinction, or plurality of Persons) and in many other wholsome Doctrines, wherein ye persevere; about which, this our western part of the World, are declin'd into several errors, from the integrity of their Predecessors. But besides this much in the general, our attendance on your excellency at this time, hath a more special prospect, as you shall perceive by the Sequel. For, about thirty or more years, there came an Embassador, as your excellency is, from the Emperor of *Morocco* into *Europe*; with whom *Count Maurice* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, (a Protestant Christian) and the Prince of *Portugal* (a papal Christian) held a conference about the Christian and *Mahometan* Religion. The Embassador deferred then to speak fully his mind on the matter till after his return home, and when he had there consulted with the learned in the *Alcoran*, he sends his answer in a *Letter*; which not only sets forth the tenets of his own Religion, but also refutes some errors held amongst the Protestant and *Romanist* Christians: In some of which, as in other points, we presume that Embassador was mistaken and misinstructed. Now we herewith present unto your Excellency a faithful transcript of that *Letter*, that's with difficulty to be seen, only in the cabinets of those Princes to whom it was directed in *Latin:* Not that we account the contents thereof to be a novelty to you that are of that Religion, but because it is a piece of rarity and learning; and chiefly, for that it is the foundation on which we build another small piece or two in the same language: The which we here dedicate likewise unto your Emperor, to your Excellency, and to his *Mauritanian* Subjects, the which comprehends the main design of our waiting on you at present. Now forasmuch as that noble Embassador doth in this *Letter* write some things which to us seem very ungrounded, and therein charges without sufficient distinction the whole body of Christians with such errors which we *Unitarians* do abhor as well as the *Mahometans*, with whom we must agree in such, even against our other fellow Christians; therefore we that are fain'd to be more exercis'd soldiers in such controverted points of Religion, and should best know the differences in *Europe* about the same, shall undertake in this our second and third Treatise, (which are but as observations on that *Letter) First*, to set forth (for your better information) briefly and distinctly, in what points all Christians do generally agree with the *Mahometans* in matters of Religion, *Secondly*, In what things Christians universally disagree from you, with the reasons for the same. *Thirdly*, In what cases you do justly dissent from the *Roman Catholicks*. *Fourthly*, That Protestant Christians do join with you in your condemning of those *Romish* errors, and theirs and our reasons for the same. *Fifthly*, We intend there to lay down in what articles we the *Unitarian* Christians (of all others) do solely concur with you *Mahometans*, (to which we draw

nigher in thoſe important points than all other Proteſtant or Papal Chriſtians:) With our additional arguments to yours, to prove, that both we and you have unavoidable grounds from Scripture and Reaſon, to diſſent from other Chriſtians in ſuch verities, (tho' we do count them otherwiſe) our brethren in our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Therefore in the *ſixth* place, We, as your neareſt fellow champions for thoſe truths; We, who with our *Unitarian* brethren were in all ages exercis'd to defend with our pens the Faith of one ſupreme God, (without perſonalities or pluralities) as he hath rais'd your *Mahomet* to do the ſame with the ſword, as a ſcourge on thoſe idolizing Chriſtians; We, I ſay, in this our peculiar lot in religious controverſies, ſhall in our duty of love undertake to diſcover unto you, in theſe our Books, thoſe weak places that are found in the platform of your Religion; and ſhall herein (with your favour) offer to your conſideration ſome materials to repair them: For we do (for the vindication of your Law-maker's glory) ſtrive to prove that ſuch faults and irregularities, not cohering with the faſhion of the reſt of the *Alcoran* building, nor with the undoubted ſayings of your Prophet, nor with the Goſpel of *Chriſt*, (whereof *Mahomet* would have himſelf to be but a Preacher) that therefore (I ſay) thoſe contradictions were foiſted into the ſcatter'd papers found after *Mahomet*'s death, of which in truth the *Alcoran* was made up; it being otherwiſe impoſſible that a Man of that judgment, that hath prov'd itſelf in other things ſo conſpicuouſly, ſhould be guilty of ſo many and frequent repugnancies, as are to be ſeen in thoſe Writings and Laws that are now a days given out under his name. We do then in theſe our papers endeavour to clear by whom, and in what time ſuch alterations were made in the firſt ſetting out of the *Alcoran*; and tho' we have ten times more to urge on the ſame ſubject than we preſent, yet by a few ſummary touches that we have here in a few days made up for your view, we ſuppoſe there may be enough to ſatisfy any unprejudic'd and thinking perſons: Such as it is, we beſeech you to accept thereof as friendly advices left to your Reaſon and Conſcience to judge of with your ſelves; ſeeing we offer not the ſame as to defame or upbraid you, but out of humanity and a loving ſpirit, to the end that if you think fit to examine and redreſs thoſe errors, we may by your proceedings ſtop the mouths of your adverſaries, againſt whom we are often fain to ſtand for you in ſuch points wherein we may well and reaſonably do it. Leſt after all, your Excellency ſhould judge of this our undertaking and preſent, in a narrow and contracted idea, ſuitable to the ſlenderneſs of our perſons, parts, or retinue, who are but two ſingle philoſophers, and yet come as orators of thoſe *Unitarians*, whom we proclaim'd to be ſo great and conſiderable a People, it is neceſſary we ſhould give a ſhort view of the antiquity and extent of this noble Sect, and hint to you the reaſons that makes them in theſe *European* parts uſe ſuch cautiouſneſs; and as to their ſentiments to carry themſelves, as thoſe Princes I mention'd, to go *incognito*.

As to their Antiquity, I need but call it to your mind, that not only all the Patriarchs down from *Adam* till *Moſes*, not only all the *Jews* under the written Law, and the Old Teſtament, to this very day, were ſtill worſhippers of an one only God (without a Trinity of Perſons;) but that alſo all the primitive Chriſtians, in, and after *Chriſt*, and his Apoſtles time, never own'd any other beſides that ſingle and ſupreme Deity; and all the true and pureſt Chriſtians their lawful Diſciples do to this very day worſhip no other but the ſole Sovereign God, the Father and Maker of all things. And therefore are we call'd *Unitarians*, as worſhippers of that one only Godhead in Eſſence and Perſon, that we may be diſtinguiſh'd from thoſe backſliding Chriſtians named *Trinitarians*, who own three co-equal and ſelf-

ſubſiſting Perſons, whereof every one is an abſolute and infinite God, (as they pretend) and yet they'll have all theſe three to be but one God; which is ſuch a contradicting abſurdity, that certainly our wiſe Maker and Law-giver would never impoſe it to be believ'd upon that harmonious and relative rectitude he hath plac'd in the Reaſon of Man. But of the firſt who oppos'd this riſing error in old times, was *Paul* of *Samoſate*, a zealous and learned Biſhop of *Antioch*, with his People and Adherents; he lived ſixty years before the Council of *Nice*, that was held on this ſubject about three hundred years after the Aſcenſion of *Chriſt* our Lord. There was alſo *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, with his friends and followers: *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, and *Arius* a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, with many more that lived in the time of that Council, did openly withſtand and refute the *Trinitarian* Schiſm, as we ſee in the chronicles of that age. I omit *Photinus* Biſhop of *Syrmium*, and the famous *Neſtorius*, with many more perſecuted perſons for the ſame truth: Who, tho' they had ſome nominal differency about the too curious expoſitions of thoſe myſteries; yet, they agreed in that main point of the undiſtinguiſh'd ſovereign unity. And from the reign of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, both the oriental and occidental Empire generally perſiſted for ſome hundred years in that ſame Faith, reſiſting thoſe contradictory opinions of the Trinitarians: Even in the declining times of Chriſtianity, occaſion'd by the growth, or the tyrannical uſurpation of the Popes and Clergy, who wou'd force their private notions and human inventions on Men's Conſciences; that is, in the reign of the Emperor *Charles* the great about the year eight hundred; *Bonoſius* and *Elipandus* with other Biſhops and Chriſtians in *Spain*, unanimouſly oppos'd the Doctrine of the Trinity. And of late years in *Europe*, ſtood up the pious and noble perſonage *Fauſtus Socinus* and his *Polonian* aſſociation of learned Perſonages, that writ many Volumes againſt that and other ſprung up errors among Chriſtians. But now to lay before your Excellency, the Extent of this orthodox Faith of the Unitarian Chriſtians, in what Nations it is held, be pleas'd to obſerve that all the Chriſtians throughout *Perſia*, *Armena*, *Meſopotamia*, thoſe call'd of St. *Thomas*, and ſome *Hollanders* and *Portugueze* in *Aſia*, thoſe that live among the *Greeks* in *Europe*, even your neighbouring Chriſtians in *Nubia:* All thoſe together (which far exceed the Trinity aſſerting Chriſtians) do maintain with us, that Faith of one ſovereign God, one only in Perſon and Eſſence. And why ſhou'd I forget to add you *Mahometans*, who alſo conſent with us in the belief and worſhip of an one only ſupreme Deity? To whom be glory for ever. *Amen.*

But in the Weſt and North of *Europe*, we are not ſo numerous, by reaſon of the inhumanity of the Clergy, who contrary to the gentle ways of *Chriſt*, wou'd convince us and others, but by Fire and Thunder, and Goals, and Swords of Princes; tho' our patient carriage and brotherly love towards them for their precious truths we ſtill hold in common, might evidence to them of what ſort of Spirit both they and we are. Yet our People are numerous in *Poland*, in *Hungary*, in *Holland* as well as *England*, but being under the threats of ſuch un-chriſtian Perſecutions, (which hath been in the Wiſdom of God the lot of all true Chriſtians from the beginning, for to try, exerciſe and fortify their knowledge and virtue by the oppoſition of their adverſaries) we cannot open our ſelves, nor argue touching our Faith, but that even our neareſt Friends that are Trinitarians, out of a miſtaken zeal, wou'd be the firſt to deliver us up to Biſhops Courts, Priſons and Inquiſitions to the endangering both our lives and fortunes. That is the ſad reaſon, that we have not hitherto waited in greater numbers, to congratulate and welcome your excellency, nor can at this preſent in ſuch a manner as we well judge to be ſuitable to your grandure, and the reſpect we bear to

your Prince and People, for any ſhare of divine truth, you or any other do hold entire with us from our God and from our Saviour *Chriſt*.

Countenance therefore this philoſophical plainneſs and freedom (that's part of our profeſſion) which emboldens us two to be more forward than others of our perſuaſion, to offer to you rather than fail, even a meſs of our own trade. Such ſlight preſents in appearance as theſe little Books are, whoſe contents nevertheleſs we think ſo important for the good of your Souls, that we wou'd be ready (if acceptable) to go and aſſert the contents thereof, to the learned of your Country, had we any proſpect of ſucceſs, while we are uncertain what entertainment attends ſuch as would object any thing againſt your *Alcoran* be it never ſo modeſtly and lovingly propos'd.

Therefore, ſince we cannot now in Perſon, be pleas'd, noble Sir, to communicate the import of theſe manuſcripts, to the conſideration of the fitteſt Perſons of your Country-men, only as a ſcantling of what the more learn'd of our Unitarian Brethren cou'd ſay, far beyond any thing that's here on theſe ſubjects of our differences. And leſt you might think it too mean an office to be inſtrumental in ſpreading any ſuch divine verity; conſider, if it be ſo great a matter to perform the part of an Embaſſador among earthly Princes (which your excellency hath ſo laudably done of late) how far more glorious is it, to undertake the leaſt embaſſy in the Cauſe and Religion of the ſupreme Monarch of the World? To whom be glory and dominion for ever, *Amen*.

THE

THE Socinian Trinity EXPLAIN'D, And COMPAR'D with that of the CHRISTIANS.

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

June, 1694.

SIR,

THE Socinians hold a Trinity as well as we: Nay they hold ſeveral Trinities. They have lately publiſhed *Bidles Confeſſion of Faith touching the holy Trinity*. But in the explanation of this is all the difference.

I. He, and one part of the Socinians, make the ſecond and third Perſons to be Creatures; wherein they are guilty of a very groſs ſort of Idolatry, beyond what was acknowledged by any of the Heathens, to join Creatures into one holy Trinity with God, and to baptize Men into the Faith and Worſhip of Creatures. The Arians could never anſwer the charge of Idolatry in giving divine honour to *Chriſt*, while they acknowledged him to be but a Creature: Nor can the Worſhip of *Chriſt*, ſuppoſing him but a Creature, be excuſed from Idolatry, by any manner of way, which will not at the ſame time juſtify the excuſes not only of the Church of *Rome*, but of the Heathens themſelves for their Idolatry.

II. Another ſort of Socinians deny the ſecond and third of the Trinity, to be Perſons: And make them no more than the Power and Wiſdom of God, one call'd his Word, the other his Spirit, but yet that they are nothing different from God; as by Man's Spirit, you mean the Man himſelf. Thus the *Brief Hiſtory of the Unitarians*.

But, by this rule, they cannot ſtop at a Trinity in God, but muſt go thro' all his attributes, juſtice, mercy, providence, omnipotence, eternity, and twenty more; and inſtead of the three in Heaven (which they acknowledge) they muſt go to a fourth, fifth, and ſixth, and without end.

In

In the next place, where it is ſaid, *The Word was made fleſh*, they ſay that no Perſon was made fleſh: This Second of the Trinity they ſay is not a Perſon, but only God's Power, or the manifeſtation of his Power, which they ſay inhabited an human perſon, *i. e.* the Perſon of *Jeſus Chriſt*. John i. 14.

So God inhabited or inſpired the Prophets, Apoſtles, *&c.* but this did not make him to become fleſh. But he inſpir'd *Chriſt* in a higher degree.

The degree ſignifies nothing as to the being made fleſh: No inſpiration or inhabitation of God, or any thing leſs than an imperſonation, *i. e.* taking our fleſh into his own Perſon, ſo as to be one Perſon with him, nothing leſs than this can make him to be fleſh.

And it is certain that nothing can be made fleſh but a Perſon. A manifeſtation of God, or of any thing elſe, is nothing in itſelf; it is but our manner of apprehending what is manifeſted or ſhewn to us: And to talk of this being made fleſh, is the groſſeſt nonſenſe and contradiction: Therefore if there be but one Perſon in the Trinity (as this ſett of *Socinians* do hold) then the whole Trinity was made fleſh; and then they muſt come to *Muggleton*, who ſays, as they do, that there is but one Perſon in the Godhead, which is God the Father; and that he was incarnate, and really died, ſo that there was then no God; but *Muggleton* ſays, that *Elijah* govern'd in his abſence, rais'd him from the dead, and reſtor'd him to his throne, and then he was God again.

But, on the other hand, if there be three Perſons in the holy Trinity (as the reſt of our *Socinians* do hold) but the ſecond and third only creatures, and that the Word (the ſecond Perſon) was incarnate; then they muſt anſwer for their idolatry, in worſhipping a mere creature; and anſwer the cloud of texts which require and atteſt divine honour to be due to *Chriſt*, and command the very Angels of God to worſhip him.

But to turn again to thoſe *Socinians* who will have but one Perſon in the Trinity; they put this meaning upon *Mat.* xxviii. 19. that we are *baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son*, (who is the ſelf-ſame Perſon with the Father) *and of the Holy Ghoſt*, (who is the ſame Perſon with them both.)

Again, *If you ſin againſt one of theſe you ſhall be forgiven, but if you ſin againſt another* (who is the very ſame with that one) *you ſhall not be forgiven.* Mat. xii. 32.

III. Now, I pray you, compare their Trinity and ours: They make three in Heaven who are not only three, but may be threeſcore, and yet all but one and the ſelf-ſame Perſon.

We acknowledge the three in Heaven, whom the Scriptures tell us of, to be only three, and that they are three Perſons.

One of theſe was made fleſh, the other not; yet they will not allow them to be different Perſons, but that he who took fleſh, and he who did not take fleſh were the ſame, or that they were not two.

Theſe are the Men who cry out upon myſteries, and pretend to explain their Faith wholly by Reaſon and Demonſtration, and to make it eaſy and intelligible to the meaneſt underſtanding!

Beſides, they differ more (if more can be) betwixt one another, than they do from us. What greater difference can there be concerning the object of our worſhip than one to make it God, the other but a Creature? As it is among the *Socinians* in their opinion of the ſecond and third in the holy Trinity. What greater difference, than for one to ſay they are Perſons, another no Perſon? One to ſay they are adorable, the other not? Muſt not one of theſe think the other Idolaters? And the other think them profane, and erroneous in Faith, who deny divine honour to whom it is due?

IV. We acknowledge a great and ſublime myſtery in the holy Trinity of God. That is a myſtery to us which exceeds our underſtanding: And many ſuch myſteries there are, to us, in the Nature of God which we all acknowledge: A firſt cauſe without a beginning! A Being which neither made itſelf, nor was made by any other! Infinite without extenſion! In every place, yet circumſcrib'd in no place! Eternal and perpetually exiſting, without any ſucceſſion of time! A preſent, without paſt or future! And many other ſuch unexplainable, unintelligible, incomprehenſible myſteries; which yet hinder not our belief of a God: And therefore not being able fully and clearly to explain the Trinity, which is the very nature of God, can be no reaſon for us to reject ſuch revelation which God has given us of himſelf. Yet do we not want ſeveral ſhadows and reſemblances of one nature communicating itſelf to many individuals, without either a multiplication or diviſion of the nature. We ſay that the Soul is all in all, and all in every part of the Body; yet that the Soul is neither multiplied nor divided among the ſeveral members of the Body. It is impoſſible for us either to explain this, or to deny it; for we feel it to be ſo, though it is wholly unconceiveable to us how it can be. Now if the ſoul which is but an image of God, at an infinite diſtance, can communicate it ſelf to ſeveral members, without breach of its unity; why ſhould it be impoſſible for the eternal and infinite mind to communicate itſelf to ſeveral perſons, without breach of its unity? I will be Bold to ſay, you will not find ſo near a parallel in nature whereby to conceive of God's Eternity, or his Infinity, as this and a great many more, whereby we may conceive of his Trinity and Unity. By what we feel in our ſelves, and ſee in a thouſand things that are before us, we ſee extenſion not divided but diſtinguiſh'd into its three dimenſions; and communicating its whole nature to each of the three, for each is extenſion; and yet there is but one extenſion in all the three.

The Soul is not divided betwixt its ſeveral faculties; they remain perfectly diſtinguiſh'd, though not divided from one another: To underſtand what is preſent, is a quite different thing from remembring what is paſt; and to love or hate is different from both of theſe; yet theſe three faculties, the Underſtanding, the Memory, and the Will, partake all equally of the ſame Soul.

Light and heat are ſo different, that ſome are capable of the one, who are not of the other; and yet they are not divided in the ſun, but flow equally and naturally from it without any diviſion of its nature.

I ſay not that any of theſe parallels do come up to the full explanation of the communication of the divine Nature to ſeveral perſons, without any diviſion or multiplication of the Nature; but I am ſure they take away the contradiction alledged to be in it, while we ſee the ſame difficulty in our own and other Natures, which we can as little explain.

V. But inſtead of ſolving this difficulty, the *Socinians* have made it a downright and irreconcileable contradiction. They would have three to be one and the ſelf-ſame Perſon: This cannot be ſav'd from a contradiction. They acknowledge the three in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit: If they are one and the ſelf-ſame Perſon, they cannot be three: If they are one Nature and ſeveral Perſons, this is a difficulty, it is a myſtery; but it is no contradiction, becauſe they are not one and three in the ſame reſpect; for that is neceſſary to make it a contradiction. In one reſpect, that is, of their Nature, they are one; in another reſpect, that is, of their Perſons, they are three: But if they are one in Perſon as well as in Nature, and yet are three, (as theſe *Socinians* do confeſs) then they are three and one, in the ſelf-ſame reſpect, which is a full contradiction.

THE

THE

SECOND LETTER,

PUTS OUR

Engliſh UNITARIANS

To DEFEND themſelves:

And ſhews they are not

CHRISTIANS.

July 17. 1697.

SIR,

I Have received yours dated the 5th inſtant, wherein you deſire a ſecond Letter from me concerning the Socinians, or Unitarians (as they call themſelves) and you tell me how much you have been diſappointed as to the iſſue of the firſt, which you deſir'd from me: That you were made believe by thoſe Socinians of your acquaintance, that they were as ready to defend their own Principles, by Reaſon, as to object againſt others: And that they wou'd immediately give you an anſwer to any thing upon that head, provided it were ſhort and clear. You tell me, that they object nothing againſt my firſt Letter, upon either of theſe accounts: And yet that now in three years time, you can get no anſwer from them, tho' you have been made daily to expect it. Sir, this is no ſurprize to me, this is what I told you at the beginning, wou'd be the event of it. I told you, that Men of leaſt Reaſon, were the greateſt Pretenders; that many can apprehend an objection, who have not depth of Reaſon enough to ſearch into the ſolution. Therefore objecting is the eaſier task; according to the Proverb, that *A F—— may ask more queſtions than a wiſe Man can anſwer.* Therefore I told you, that this ſort of Men wou'd never endure to have the tables turn'd upon them, and be put to defend themſelves. That when they ſaw more contradiction amongſt themſelves than they can pretend amongſt us; and the difficulties which they object againſt our *Hypotheſis*, return ten times more monſtrous and manifold againſt their own, they wou'd be ſilent, and at laſt modeſt.

Therefore ſince they have worn out your patience, and that you are now out of hopes of having any anſwer from them, you are provok'd to purſue

purſue them; and deſire to know from me how far they ought to be allow'd as Chriſtians. You ſpeak of our *Engliſh* Unitarians.

But I muſt firſt enter my proteſt againſt their aſſuming the name of Unitarians: For tho' they profeſs the unity of God (whence they take that name) yet they profeſs it not more than all Chriſtians do; neither can they avoid that name which they wou'd render ſo odious, of Trinitarians; for they all hold a Trinity as well as we: And which is worſe, different ſorts of Trinities, and contradictory to one another, and to themſelves, as is ſhewn in the firſt Letter. But however, they will have themſelves known by the name of Unitarians, and us of Trinitarians, and ſo let it go: For we contend not about names, but things. Yet this precaution was neceſſary, leſt they ſhou'd take advantage of words, or others be offended.

And now I come to anſwer directly to your queſtion. And I think, That our *Engliſh* Unitarians can in no propriety, be call'd Chriſtians; that they are more *Mahometans* than Chriſtians, and greater enemies to Chriſtianity than the *Mahometans*. Laſtly I will ſhew, that they are not own'd as Chriſtians, even by thoſe they call their Brethren, the main Body of the Unitarians or Socinians in *Chriſtendom*.

I. *Firſt*, That they are not Chriſtians. Chriſtians are ſo called from the God whom they Worſhip. And therefore theſe who think *Chriſt* not to be God, nor worſhip him as ſuch, with divine honour, cannot, in any propriety of ſpeech, be call'd Chriſtians.

For it will be allow'd me, on all hands, that to denominate a Man truly a Chriſtian, it is not enough that he believes there was ſuch a Man as *Chriſt*, for that is acknowledged by all the World: Nor is it ſufficient to believe no more than what the *Mahometans* profeſs, *viz.* That *Chriſt* was the *Meſſiah*, the Word of God, and interceſſor with God for Men; that he was conceiv'd and born miraculouſly of a Virgin; that he was a true Prophet ſent from God; that he rais'd the dead, cur'd the blind, lame, *&c.* and wrought many Miracles; that all he taught was truth, and finally, that the Scriptures both of the old and new Teſtament are the word of God: I ſay all this is not ſufficient to denominate a Man a Chriſtian, becauſe the *Mahometans* do believe all this; and their *Alcoran* does not reckon any to be a true *Muſſulman*, that is, a Believer, who does not acknowlege all this. As you may ſee in the *Alcoran*, Cap. 3, 4 and 5. in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation of it, printed at *London*, 1649. It was reprinted 1688. and added to the ſecond part of the new Edition of the *Turkiſh* Hiſtory. They who wou'd be farther ſatisfy'd may conſult the *Latin* Tranſlation of the *Alcoran* by *D. Pet. Abbas Cluniacenſis* put out by *Theodor. Bibliander*.

But in the Chapters above quoted, and many other places of the *Alcoran*, you will ſee as high and honourable things ſpoken of *Chriſt*, as you you will hear from any of our Unitarians here in *England*. And therefore if the belief of all this be not ſufficient to intitle the *Turks* and other *Mahometans* to the name of Chriſtians, neither can it intitle our *Engliſh* Unitarians to it; who are no more Chriſtians than theſe.

II. And from the affinity betwixt our Unitarians and the *Mahometans*, our Unitarians do apparently ſide with the *Mahometans* againſt the Chriſtians; and repreſent *Mahometans* as the true Chriſtians, and our Chriſtianity as mere *Paganiſm* and *Heatheniſm*, as I will ſhew you preſently.

But they put their words into the mouths of others for popularity ſake; for ſuch new ſchemes when underſtood (and they are eaſily underſtood) wou'd, as yet, ſound very ſurprizingly here in *England*.

Yet all this notwithſtanding, when ſo fair an opportunity offer'd as the preſence of the *Morocco* Embaſſador, and the acceptance he found at Court

in

in the year 1682. our *Engliſh* Unitarians here in *London* cou'd not reſiſt the occaſion, but ſent an addreſs to him, by two of their number, a copy of which I have from unqueſtionable hands, and wherein you will ſee how gently they deal with *Mahomet*, and the *Alcoran*, both of which they vindicate, and prefer to our Chriſtianity.

And they have not been idle, ſince that time, of promoting their common cauſe ſecretly and under-hand, while they were kept under by the authority of Laws, and diſ-countenance of the Government. But of late years, taking advantage of the plenitude of the indulgence granted to Diſſenters of ſeveral ſorts and ſizes, they have appear'd publickly in print; and indefatigably fill'd the Nation with their numerous Pamphlets. And, finding encouragement have, at laſt proceeded, as to vilifie Chriſtianity, ſo, in its place, to recommend *Mahometiſm*, under the faireſt and moſt taking Characters. One of their late Treatiſes entituled, *A Letter of Reſolution concerning the Doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation.* p. 18. repreſents *Mahomet*, as having had *no other deſign, but to reſtore the belief of the Unity of God, which at that time* (ſays he) *was extirpated among the Eaſtern Chriſtians, by the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. That* Mahomet *meant not his Religion ſhou'd be eſteemed a new Religion, but only the reſtitution of the true intent of the Chriſtian Religion. That the* Mahometan *learned Men call themſelves the true Diſciples of the* Meſſias, *or* Chriſt; intimating thereby that Chriſtians are Apoſtates from the moſt eſſential parts of the Doctrine of the *Meſſias*; ſuch as the Unity of God, *&c.* That *Mahometiſm* has preval'd ſo greatly, *not by force and the ſword—— but by that one truth in the* Alcoran, *the Unity of God.*

Then he repreſents the *Tartars* as acting more rationally in embracing *the more plauſible Sect of* Mahomet (as he tranſlates it from an Author he quotes) than the Chriſtian Faith of the Trinity, Incarnation, *&c.*

He wou'd have us believe, that the Doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation was that which pav'd the way for *Mahometiſm*, by prejudicing Men againſt the Chriſtian Faith: Whereas the truth is, that *Mahometiſm* came in upon the ruins of the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, advanced by the *Arians*, which ſhook the Chriſtian Faith, ſo as to diſpoſe thoſe who had forſaken it for the vile hereſie of *Arius*, to receive any new impreſſions which were contrary to it: Inſomuch, that generally ſpeaking, wherever *Arianiſm* prevail'd, and no where elſe among Chriſtians, was *Mahometiſm* embrac'd; which was but an improvement upon the ſtock that the *Arians* had laid down. And the *Alcoran* is a ſyſtem of *Arianiſm.*

He ſays, that the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation do hinder the *Mahometans*, *Jews*, and *Pagans*, from embracing of Chriſtianity.

Yes: And the Socinians, and our *Engliſh* Unitarians too. For till they believe theſe Doctrines, they are not Chriſtians: Theſe being the eſſential Doctrines of Chriſtianity.

Indeed if we ſhou'd dwindle down the Chriſtian Doctrine to what they believe, we ſhou'd ſoon gain them: For then we were agreed, that is, we ſhou'd ceaſe to be Chriſtians as well as they.

If it be true that is ſaid of a *Jeſuite*, who finding no other way to convert an Heathen Prince, repreſented *Chriſt* to him as a Warrier, and mighty Conqueror, and ſo gain'd him to be baptized in his Name; this was ſuch a ſort of Chriſtian as we ſhou'd make, by bringing down the Chriſtian Faith to their ſize, whom we cou'd not perſuade to come up to it.

But I am not now arguing with theſe our Unitarians, only ſhewing their Principles; and how much nearer they come to *Mahometiſm*, or *Paganiſm*, than to Chriſtianity.

And therefore I do not examine all that moſt notorious falſe repreſentation before quoted, which our Unitarians have given of *Mahomet* and his Doctrine, from divers Hiſtorians, as they ſay, (but name none of them, leaſt we ſhou'd examine them) as that he did not propagate his Religion *by force and the ſword*, tho' it be the profeſt Principle of the *Alcoran*, and Practice of *Mahomet* and his followers, and is own'd in the addreſs of our Unitarians to the *Morocco* Embaſſador, as well as witneſſed by the Hiſtories and Experience of all the ages ſince *Mahomet*.

This modeſt Author (or Clubb) affirms, with the ſame aſſurance, *ibid.* that the *Mahometans* call themſelves the *True Diſciples of* Chriſt. And in the ſame p. 18. he repreſents our modern Chriſtianity (ſo he calls the Faith of the Trinity and Incarnation) as *no better nor other than a ſort of* Paganiſm *and Heatheniſm*.

I ſtay not now to confute theſe. My preſent buſineſs being only to let the World ſee what ſort of Chriſtians our modern Unitarians are: And to give notice of them, as ſcouts amongſt us for *Mahomet*, whom they have in ſo great a meaſure, already owned; and now openly propagate his cauſe, write apologies for him, and recommend him in the beſt manner that they can, in *odium* to the common Chriſtianity, which they repreſent as much more vile; nay more vile than *Mahomet* ever repreſented it; as *no better nor other than a ſort of* Paganiſm *and Heatheniſm*. Therefore theſe are greater enemies to Chriſtianity than the *Mahometans*.

If theſe be Chriſtians, I am ſure we are not. But they are abominable and deteſted, ſo as not to be own'd for ſo much as Chriſtians even by thoſe whom they ſometimes vouch to be of their own party, and boaſt in their numbers and authority: I mean the Socinians or Unitarians in *Poland*, *Tranſylvania*, and other parts of Chriſtendom. Which is the *Second* branch of what I promis'd and come now to conſider.

III. The great body of the Socinian Unitarians are in *Poland*; and their *Metropolis* is *Cracovia*; there is their root and ſtock whence branches are ſpread into other Countries.

And the *Cracovian* commonly call'd the *Racovian* Catechiſm is their Text; publiſhed by the body of them, in the year 1609. as the true ſtandard of their Doctrine; and is own'd as ſuch by the body of the Socinians elſewhere. Therefore I will take my proofs from thence, as being more authentick than any quotations out of their particular writers. And thus I frame my argument.

Thoſe who deny divine Worſhip to *Chriſt* are not reckon'd Chriſtians by the *Racovian Catechiſm*.

But the *Engliſh* Socinian Unitarians do deny divine Worſhip to *Chriſt*.

Therefore the *Engliſh* Socinian Unitarians, are not reckon'd Chriſtians by the *Racovian Catechiſm*.

The *Minor* is prov'd (to ſave multiplicity of quotations) from a Book of theirs printed at *London* 1694. Intituled *Conſiderations upon the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c. where, p. 59. they expreſs themſelves plainly in theſe words. *We have wrote no Book theſe ſeven years, in which we have not been careful to profeſs to all the World, that alike Honour or Worſhip (much leſs the ſame) is not to be given to* Chriſt *as to God.*

The

The *Major* is prov'd from the *Racov. Catech. Sect. 6. cap.* 1. in that printed *Irenopoli*, 1659. in *Octavo*, p. 164. I will tranſlate the words for the ſake of the *Engliſh* Reader.

Queſt. *In what manner ought we to truſt in* Chriſt?

Anſ. *In the ſame manner as in God himſelf.*

Queſt. *What then do you think of thoſe Men, who belive that* Chriſt *is neither to be pray'd to, nor worſhipped?*

Anſ. *Foraſmuch as thoſe are Chriſtians, who worſhip* Chriſt *with divine Honour, and do not doubt to call upon his name, it is eaſily underſtood, that thoſe who will not do this, are not hitherto Chriſtians, altho' otherwiſe they profeſs the name of* Chriſt, *and pretend to adhere to his Doctrine.*

Queſt. Quo vero pacto Chriſto debemus confidere?

Reſp. Eo pacto quo ipſi Deo. *ibid.* p. 172.

Queſt. Quid vero ſentis de iis hominibus qui Chriſtum nec invocandum nec adorandum cenſent?

Reſp. Quandoquidem illi demum Chriſtiani ſunt, qui Jeſum—— divina ratione colunt, ejuſque nomen invocare non dubitant—— facile intelligitur, eos qui id facere nolunt, Chriſtianos hactenus non eſſe, quamvis alioqui Chriſti nomen profiteantur, & Doctrinæ illius ſe adhærere dicant.

And to cut off the diſtinction of ſeveral degrees of divine honour; and that a leſſer degree of it may be given to *Chriſt* than to God; and that that which is given to *Chriſt* ſhould be relative only to God, and ſo paid ultimately to God alone: By which diſtinction (of *Latria* and *Dulia*) the Church of *Rome* pretends to defend her giving an inferior honour to the bleſſed Virgin, and to Saints and Angels, but all referred ultimately to God: I ſay, the *Racov. Catech.* does plainly name this diſtinction, and overthrows it; and eſtabliſhes this as a fundamental truth: That

All religious worſhip is due only to God: And that *it is not lawful to give not only the higheſt, but the leaſt degree of religious honour to any but God.*

Ibid. p. 172, 173. Etenim cultus religioſus ſoli Deo omnis debetur—— Ex quo apparet, non modo ſummo honoris gradu, ſed nec inferiori, qui modo religioſus ſit, quenquam licere afficere, præter Deum.

And ſays, that Chriſt *is not only like God, but equal to God in the ſupreme power and government of all things:* That *he is not only the only begotten Son of God, but God.*

Ibid. *Sect.* 4. p. 47. Denique quia etiam imperio, ac ſuprema in omnia poteſtate Deo ſimilis, imo æqualis eſt effectus——Non ſolum autem eſt Filius Dei ungenitus, ſed etiam——jam tum Deus fuit.

To whom all things obey as unto God, and to whom divine worſhip ought to be paid, as being God over all bleſſed for ever.

Ibid. p. 100. Cui, ſicut Deo, omnia parebant, & cui divina adoratio exhibeatur.

Ibid. p. 108. Cum Deus ſit ſuper omnia, benedictus in ſecula.

It is true that the *Racov. Catech.* does, notwithſtanding all this, deny *Chriſt* to be partaker of the divine Nature, and allows him to be but a creature: (*Sect.* 4. c. 1. p. 114.) Tho' it grants,

That *God did make* Chriſt *moſt like unto himſelf by the participation of his divine Nature and Glory, and that, in* Chriſt, *he would have all to worſhip and adore himſelf.*

Ibid. p. 118. Quod Deus Chriſtum ſibi divinæ Naturæ & Gloriæ participatione ſimillimum effecerit, in eoque ſe coli & adorari ab omnibus velit.

That *he communicated to* Christ *his own divine and heavenly Majesty, and made him one and the self-same with himself.*

Ibid. p. 170. Siquidem ipse Deus divinam suam cœlestemque Majestatem cum illo communicavit, & hactenus unum eundemque secum effecit.

I grant this to be a manifest contradiction: It says that *Christ* did, and did not partake of the divine Nature: And besides, it quite overthrows the distinction of relative and inferior worship, which it set up, p. 172, 173. against the Church of *Rome*; and yet, p. 118. as above quoted, is forc'd to make use of it, to solve the idolatry of paying divine or religious honour to *Christ*, supposing him not to be true God by Nature, but only a made God, as these *Socinians* most foolishly, blasphemously and contradictorily do dream.

But the use I have to make of it, is to shew, that our *English Socinian Unitarians* (because they deny divine honour to *Christ*) are exploded, as no Christians, by the main body of the *Socinians*.

If they say, that, because of this difference, they are not to be reckon'd among the *Polonian Unitarians*, I have shewn in the *first Letter*, that they differ as widely, and in points as fundamental, among themselves here in *England*; and that they own as Brethren (to increase their number, and make themselves more considerable) those whom they have as little pretence to as to the *Socinians* of *Poland*, and other countries; and from whom they differ as much as from these in *Poland*.

In the next place, when they come to boast their Antiquity, and to rid themselves from the scandalous imputation of being an upstart heresy, and contrary to all ages of Christianity; and from being such a contemptible number, in this small corner of the World, our miserably distracted and divided Island, which in the time of our late schism of forty one produc'd, like *Ægypt* upon the overflowing of the *Nile*, monstrous herds of heterogeneous heresies; among whom were these now reviv'd, *Semi-Arian*, *Semi-Socinian*, *English Unitarians*, the foundation and rise of *Quakers*, *Muggletonians*, and vile puddle of our sectaries; among whom *John Bidle*, not the least, then arose, a School-master in *Gloucester*, now own'd by our *English Unitarians*, his life written with great pomp, and his blasphemous works reprinted, and put amongst the volumes of the *Unitarian* tracts, now freely publish'd and openly dispers'd, to poison the nation; I say, when this novelty and paucity of our *English Unitarians* is objected, then the *Socinians* of *Poland*, *Transylvania*, and all other parts are mustered up, *Socinus* is magnified, and *Arius* too is brought in aid, and the numerous Council at *Ariminum* is much insisted on, and more ancient hereticks are inlisted to shew the Antiquity and Universality of the *English Unitarian* Creed:

But when press'd with the different tenets of these or any of them, then they are all thrown off, and disown'd, and as hard words given them by our *English Unitarians* as by any other their adversaries whatsoever.

Then they take pains to shew, and brag of it, that they (the *Unitarians* of *England*) are not only disown'd, but that they would be excommunicated by the *Unitarians* of *Poland* if they were there.

See the full confession to this, in that most celebrated Book with them which bears this title, *A brief History of the* Unitarians, *called also* Socinians. This was printed, and industriously dispers'd *gratis*, in the year 1689. and re-printed, with additions, *Anno* 1691. There, in answer to *Acts* IX. 14. and 21. p. 33. of the second edition, they confess in these words, *The* Polonian Unitarians *were so zealous in this matter, that they excommunicated and deposed from their ministry such of their own party as denied that* Christ *was to be pray'd to, and worshipped with divine worship. This had bad effects; therefore the* Unitarians *of* Transylvania *were more moderate; they admitted to the Ministers and Professors places, those that*

rejected

rejected the invocation and adoration of Christ; *but obliged them, under their hands, not to speak against worshipping or praying to the Lord* Christ *in their Sermons or Lectures. Those* Unitarians *that reject the invocation of* Christ, *say*, &c. And so he goes on in favour of these latter *Unitarians*, who reject the invocation of *Christ*.

And by what themselves here confess, our *English Unitarians* would not be permitted among the *Unitarians* of *Poland*, or *Transylvania*, or indeed in any other part of the christian World, except in *England* at this time.

And if Christianity holds here, their next remove will be under *Mahomet*; to whom they are nearer a-kin, and with whose Embassador they have already concerted; for his disciples too are *Unitarians*, and of as good a form as those who, very unjustly, distinguish themselves by that name here in *England*: From whom,

Good Lord deliver this Church and Nation.

N. B. I have printed the address of our *English Unitarians* to the *Morocco* Embassador, without any remarks upon it in that place, because all the allegations there made on their behalf are fully answer'd in what follows.

Our *English Unitarians* say that the Christians borrow'd the notion of the Trinity from the Heathen (see before, p. 218. and the *Remarks* on my *first Dialogue* p. 6.) and yet their chief objection against the doctrine of the Trinity, is, that it is so absurd and contradictory as that neither *Jews* nor Heathens knew any thing of it.

THE FIRST DIALOGUE.

INTRODUCTION.

SOCINIAN. HAVE you read the Book I gave you, entituled, *A brief History of the* Unitarians, *called also* Socinians?

CHRISTIAN. I have: And I know it to be the celebrated Book of your party: Which therefore you have printed and reprinted often, in several volumes, since the year 1687. when you first did publish it: And you have since fully employ'd the liberty given you of propagating your principles openly and above-board; whereby

you have gain'd too plentiful a harveſt among thoſe who, ſince they muſt have ſome Religion, delight in that which is fartheſt from the true. But your ſucceſs has been moſt among thoſe who had not leiſure or learning to examine your pretences; for whom this Book is calculated, in a ſhort, eaſy, and plauſible turn to ſeveral texts of Scripture; which they who love not the trouble of examining, are pleas'd ſhould be true, think it ſufficient for them, and ſo reſt ſatisfy'd.

It is a tranſlation and a compendium, yet with improvements, of larger *Socinian* treatiſes wrote in *Latin*, in the ſame method, of anſwering the ſeveral texts of Scripture, in the order of the Books as they lie, from *Geneſis* to the *Revelation*, which are brought to prove the chriſtian doctrines of the holy Trinity, and the Incarnation of the ſecond Perſon, which is *Chriſt*.

And this is the true and only method to determine this Controverſy; becauſe theſe doctrines are diſcover'd to us only by the Revelation which is given of them in the holy Scriptures: So that the whole queſtion is, whether they are reveal'd there or not?

And the way to know this is two-fold. *Firſt*, from the very words of the Scripture itſelf. *Secondly*, from the current ſenſe of the Church in thoſe ages wherein the Scriptures were wrote, and downwards; which is, at leaſt, the beſt comment upon the Scriptures: They who learned the Faith from the mouths of the inſpir'd writers themſelves, and convey'd their writings down to us, being the moſt capable of any to give us the true ſenſe and meaning of them.

And in both theſe reſpects you pretend to have the advantage: Not only in your own interpretation of the Scriptures; but you ſay likewiſe, that your doctrine was the primitive doctrine of the Church; and ours introduc'd as a novelty and corruption afterwards.

We will diſcourſe upon both theſe points in their order. But firſt let me ask you a queſtion, in the ſame freedom of converſation which we have always us'd; and that is, whether your conviction or ſcruples began upon either the uncertainty of the Scripture-Expreſſions themſelves, or the ſenſe of the firſt ages of the Church? But, on the other hand, is not this truely the caſe, that you thought theſe doctrines irreconcileable to your own natural Reaſon; and therefore by no means to be admitted, let the words of the revelation be never ſo poſitive, or the teſtimony of antiquity never ſo clear in the matter? And therefore that you were oblig'd to turn and wind theſe the beſt you could, and to force them to comply with your hypotheſis?

SOC. I will not deny but that, if there were no difficulty in apprehending how three can be one, or God could be Man, I ſhould without more ado acquieſce in ſuch texts as theſe, that *theſe three are one*, that *the Word was God*, and that *the Word was made fleſh*. But I ſuppoſe you will allow me, that where there is manifeſt contradiction, we muſt turn the ſenſe of the text another way. Will you ſay, that we are oblig'd to believe contradictions?

CHR. No: But we are to be aware that we think not things to be contradictions thro' the weakneſs of our underſtandings, which are not ſo in themſelves.

SOC. I grant you all that: Therefore if you can reconcile theſe things from being plain contradictions, I confeſs you will clear the way very conſiderably towards my receiving the texts you bring, in the eaſy literal ſenſe, and likewiſe for my joining in the teſtimonies of the ancient Fathers of the Church; with both of which (I have no ſcruple to tell you) we have trouble enough, to ſatisfy our ſelves, and ward off the force of the arguments you bring againſt us.

CHR. Therefore if I can ſay any thing towards your ſatisfaction in this, it will be a good preparative for what is to follow, that is, the conſideration of the Scripture texts, and the ſenſe of Antiquity in the matter.

All Belief founded upon Reaſon.

SOC. If you can do that, your buſineſs is more than half done: And therefore I ſhould be glad to know if you have any thing to offer upon that head. But I muſt caution you not to trouble me with ſubjecting my Reaſon to Faith, and ſuch topicks, with which I have been teaz'd till I have no patience left: For I muſt tell you, that I cannot believe any thing but what I think I have Reaſon to believe; elſe I could not believe it: And whoever tells me, that I muſt believe becauſe I muſt believe, I will not anſwer him one word more; but look upon him as abandon'd from common ſenſe, and only fit for *Bedlam*.

CHR. I readily agree with you, that we not only ought not, but that it is not in our power to believe any thing, but what we think we have Reaſon to believe. The Reaſon we go upon may not be good, that is the weakneſs of our underſtandings; but ſtill we muſt think it good, elſe we cou'd not believe it: For that wou'd be to believe, what we do indeed not believe. Every Man has a Reaſon (ſuch as it is) for what he believes, tho' every Man cannot always expreſs it. My Barber told me ſo, may be a Reaſon with ſome: But they cou'd not believe it, if they did not think it a good Reaſon.

Yet we know not the Reaſon of many things that we believe.

But after all this, you will allow me, that we may have good Reaſon to believe the matter of fact of many things, that ſuch things are truly ſo and ſo; of the cauſes of which, or the nature of the things themſelves, we may be ignorant to a great degree, and not able to ſolve many difficulties and objections which may ariſe concerning them. We know not the nature of any one thing under the ſun, but *à poſteriori*; by gueſſing at it, from the effects we ſee it produce. Our Knowledge here, is nothing but Obſervation: We ſee Trees grow, and produce their like; ſo of Beaſts, and Men: We find ſuch and ſuch virtues in Herbs and Minerals, *&c.* But we know not the Reaſon of any one thing, no, not of a pile of Graſs, why of that colour, ſhape, or virtue.

But this we aſſuredly know, not only from Obſervation, but from Reaſon; that nothing can produce itſelf: For that wou'd be to ſay, the cauſe is not before the effect; it wou'd be to ſuppoſe the ſame thing to be before itſelf, that is, to be, and not to be, at the ſame time, which is the height of contradiction. Therefore we are forc'd, even from plain Reaſon, to acknowledge a firſt Cauſe, which gave a Being to all other things, and from whom all other things have proceeded.

But then, from the ſame Reaſon, we muſt believe that the firſt Cauſe did not produce it ſelf; for that wou'd be the ſame contradiction as before: Neither that it was produc'd by any other; for then it wou'd not be the firſt Cauſe. We muſt likewiſe believe that this firſt Cauſe had no beginning; for then it muſt have a Cauſe, and there muſt be a time ſuppos'd wherein it was not: And if that were ſuppos'd, then it cou'd never be, becauſe it cou'd not receive its Being from itſelf, nor from any other. From hence we muſt believe that its duration cannot be by ſucceſſion or time; for then it muſt have a beginning.

Now, how can we apprehend a duration without time; an eternity all preſent together; a Being that is ſelf-exiſtent, neither produc'd by itſelf, nor by any other: Yet all this hinders not our belief of a firſt Cauſe, being forc'd to confeſs it, by undeniable Reaſon; tho' we cannot ſolve theſe and a thouſand more difficulties, and ſeeming contradictions, which neceſſarily ariſe from ſuch a ſuppoſition.

And

And becauſe you cannot ſolve the difficulties which occurr to you in this ſame incomprehenſible Nature of God, as to the Trinity and Incarnation, you reject the Revelation that is given of it in the holy Scriptures, and the current ſenſe of the Catholick Church in the firſt and all following ages of Chriſtianity; and ſtrain your wit, to turn and ſcrew theſe to your purpoſe: Which you confeſs you wou'd not othetways have done.

SOC. I make a difference betwixt things incomprehenſible and which exceed our underſtandings, many of which are in the Nature of God, beſides thoſe that you have nam'd; and betwixt thoſe poſitions which are downright contradictions, for theſe cannot be true. And we muſt force all the Texts, and all the Authority in the World, rather than admit of them: As that God ſhou'd be Man; or, that three ſhou'd make but one.

No contradiction in the terms by which we expreſs the holy Trinity.

CHR. A contradiction is only where two contraries are predicated of the ſame thing, and in the ſame reſpect, for three Men, or three thouſand may make but one Company, or one Army: There is no difficulty in this.

Now I will grant you, that it is a contradiction to ſay, that three Perſons are but one Perſon. But that three Perſons may be in one Nature is no contradiction.

SOC. Come let us be plain. Is it not a contradiction that three Men, ſhou'd be but one Man?

CHR. By Man here you mean Perſon, in which ſenſe it is a contradiction: But it is no contradiction to ſay, that there may be ſeveral human Perſons, in the ſame human Nature. We ſay there is but one human Nature: Yet we know there are many human Perſons.

SOC. But every Perſon that partakes of this one common Nature, is a diſtinct Man from all other Men. And one Man cannot be another Man.

CHR. That is, one Perſon cannot be another Perſon, which is granted. And tho' we call each Perſon a diſtinct Man, yet, as I ſaid, that is only with reſpect to his Perſonality: For one Man does not differ from another as to his Nature, but only as to his Perſon. And tho' we allow this common way of ſpeaking as to Men, to ſay, one, two, or three Men, *&c.* when it is ſtrictly true only of their Perſons; yet this is not allow'd as to the Perſons in the divine Nature, to ſay, one, two, or three Gods; becauſe it might lead Men into the notion of Polytheiſm, to think that there were more than one divine Nature. Therefore there is reaſon to guard our expreſſions of God, with much more care and ſtrictneſs, than when we ſpeak of Men. But if you wou'd allow that ſeveral Perſons might partake of the one divine Nature, as you allow they do of one human Nature, our diſpute wou'd be at an end, as to the ſubſtance of it; tho' ſtill we have reaſon to inſiſt upon the nicety of the expreſſion, for the cauſe told before.

SOC. This is nicety and philoſophy indeed ſomewhat incomprehenſible.

CHR. You make that no objection in our contemplation of the incomprehenſible Nature of God, as in the ſeveral inſtances before given: All that you require is, that there ſhou'd be no contradiction.

SOC. That is true. But ſtill I think it a contradiction that ſeveral Perſons ſhou'd not be ſeveral Men. And tho' the divine Nature is infinitely exalted above the human; yet what is a contradiction in one Nature, muſt be ſo in another.

CHR. I have before told you, in what ſenſe ſeveral Perſons may be call'd ſeveral Men, not with reſpect to their Nature, but only of their Perſonalities, which may differ, but their Nature cannot; for it is the ſame in all. So that here is no contradiction, tho' it may be a difficulty.

But now, as to your other poſition, that what is a contradiction in one Nature muſt be ſo in another, I think it will not hold.

SOC.

SOC. Why? A contradiction is a contradiction wherever it is.

CHR. That is true. But that may not be a contradiction in one Nature, which is ſo in another.

SOC. I do not underſtand you: Explain your ſelf.

CHR. Let me ask you a Queſtion. Is it not a contradiction that a Man ſhou'd go two yards as ſoon as one?

SOC. Yes ſurely: For two yards are but one yard, and another yard. And I cannot go two yards, till I have firſt gone one.

CHR. Now open your Eyes, and try if you ſee not what is at two yards diſtance from you, as ſoon as you ſee what is but one yard from you? You ſee a ſtar, as ſoon as the top of the chimney.

Then go to Thought. Can you not think of *Rome*, of *Conſtantinople*, as ſoon as of the next ſtreet?

Thus you ſee that what is a contradiction to Legs, is none to Eyes, nor Thought. And the reaſon of this is, the different Natures of theſe things.

Again, Is it not a contradiction that I ſhou'd be here ſitting with you in this room, and at the ſame time ſhould be with other Company in another room? This is a flat contradiction to Body: But it is no contradiction to Soul, which at the ſame time is preſent in all the diſtant parts of the Body, according to the old ſaying, That *the Soul is all in all, and all in every part of the Body.*

Once more. Is it not a contradiction that yeſterday ſhou'd be to day, or that to day ſhou'd be to morrow? For it wou'd imply, that the ſame thing ſhou'd be paſt and not paſt, preſent and not preſent, preſent and yet to come. But with God all things are preſent, there is no paſt or to come in Eternity.

Thus what is a contradiction to Body, is not to Soul; and what is a contradiction to Time, is none to Eternity; and what is a contradiction with Men, is not ſo with God. And the reaſon is, as I have ſaid, the different Natures of theſe things; and that from a contradiction in the one, we cannot infer a contradiction in the other.

From hence I may conclude, That tho' it were a contradiction in human Nature, for ſeveral Perſons to partake of the ſame Nature, and not to be ſeveral Men, that is, ſeveral Natures, as well as Perſons; yet it will not follow, that it is ſo in the divine Nature, which is infinitely more diſtant and diverſe from our Nature, than the motion of Sight or Thought is from that of our Legs, than Body is from Spirit, or Time from Eternity. And if it be impoſſible for all the philoſophy and deſcription in the world, to give to a Man that is born blind, any Idea whatſoever of the nature of Sight, or of its motion; or to reconcile its going two yards as ſoon as one, from downright contradiction; for he cannot but compare it with that motion which he only knows, of Legs, or Arms: Or, if we cou'd ſuppoſe a Man without Thought, it were utterly impoſſible to reconcile to him the progreſs of Thought, from the moſt palpable contradictions: How then ſhou'd we object contradictions in the incomprehenſible Nature of God, from comparing it with our frail ſtate of fleſh and blood? Therefore I think we may ſafely depend upon this as a ſtanding concluſion; That we cannot charge that as a contradiction in one Nature, becauſe we find it ſo in another, unleſs we underſtand both Natures perfectly well. And the divine Nature being allow'd on all hands, to be incomprehenſible, conſequently we cannot charge any thing as a contradiction in it, becauſe we find it ſo in our frail Nature.

And we find it thus in many other things. It is common to ſay, this is impoſſible, it is a contradiction. But being explain'd to us, we ſay, now it is eaſy, I did not underſtand it before, I took it quite wrong. There-

fore we muſt underſtand things firſt before we charge contradictions in them. It is our ignorance often which makes the contradiction. As of the blind Man judging of colours, or of the nature of ſight, and comparing it w ithhis walking.

II. Of the word Perſon as apply'd to God.

SOC. It is eaſy to apprehend the difference between walking, ſeeing and thinking: The very words do expreſs it. And it wou'd be improper to confound the words, to call walking, ſeeing; or ſeeing, walking, *&c.* Therefore, tho' doubtleſs there are many things in the divine Nature, which infinitely exceed our underſtanding; yet, for that reaſon, we ought not to apply to God thoſe terms which are proper only to our ſelves; as the word Perſon, to ſay there are three Perſons in the Godhead. This raiſes the contradiction we ſpeak of: Becauſe we cannot comprehend how three Perſons can be one, in our Nature.

CHR. I told you before, that we do not make three Perſons to be one Perſon, but one Nature. And tho' the motion of the Feet is called walking, of the Eye is call'd ſeeing, and of the Mind is call'd thinking: Yet to a Man born blind, the word ſeeing is altogether unintelligible: He knows nothing at all of it. And you cannot give him any Idea of Light, or Colour, but he muſt apprehend it as ſomething that may be felt, heard, ſmell'd, or taſted. For he cannot conceive but according to the ſenſes he has. Now if there were words which cou'd expreſs the Nature of God properly, or as he is known to the Angels of Heaven, they wou'd be as unintelligible to us, as the word ſeeing is to one born blind. The Apoſtle ſaid, that when he was

2 Cor. xii. 4. *Caught up into Paradiſe, he heard unſpeakable words, which it is not poſſible for a man to utter:* And if they were utter'd it wou'd be impoſſible for us to underſtand them.

SOC. I can readily allow, that we muſt ſpeak of God, in words not ſtrictly and properly adapted to him, but borrow'd from terms we uſe among our ſelves. As when we call God Father, we mean that we have our Being from him; but not in that manner as a Son is begotten by his Father among Men.

Heb. i. 3. CHR. And thus we underſtand the word Perſon. As when *Chriſt* is call'd *The expreſs image of his* (God's) *Perſon*; we mean ſomething of a quite different kind from the Perſon of a Man upon Earth. But it is a word we muſt uſe, like the word Father, becauſe we have no other word to expreſs it by.

And we find what we call perſonal actions, attributed to the Father, to the Son, and to the holy Spirit; as the one to ſend, the other to be ſent. The one to proceed from the other. The one to beget, the other to be begotten of him. The one to take fleſh and not the other, *&c.* Therefore we call theſe Perſons, becauſe we find perſonal actions attributed to them. And I cannot ſee but you have full as much reaſon to quarrel with the word Father, as the word Perſon; they are both Scripture words. Therefore keep the word Perſon, till you can find another word more proper, ſtill remembring that theſe are words only *ad Captum*, in condeſcenſion to our capacities, and therefore not to be taken ſtrictly and properly as to God, and from a ſeeming contradiction that may appear in theſe things, as they relate to Men, we muſt not infer a contradiction in God, to whom theſe words are but improperly apply'd, and whoſe Nature we do not underſtand. And therefore, as I ſaid before, we cannot charge a contradiction in him, from what we find ſo in other Natures which we do underſtand. For we cannot infer from the one to the other, unleſs we underſtand both; as in the inſtances before given of the motion of Legs, Sight, and Thought, of Body and Soul, of Time and Eternity.

SOC. But is it not a contradiction, that the Son ſhou'd be as old as the Father: As you ſay of the Perſons in the Trinity. For muſt not the cauſe be before the effect?

CHR. This is ſtill meaſuring from one Nature to another, when the one we underſtand not, and can ſpeak of it only by alluſion to the other. Therefore I may fairly deny your conſequence, and ſhew that you argue from a wrong topick: That becauſe it is a contradiction betwixt Father and Son among Men, it will not follow that it is ſo in God.

III. Of the Son being as old as the Father.

But in this, I can give you a plain anſwer, even from created Natures, which are before us. For tho' the cauſe muſt be before the effect in Nature, yet not always in time; nay, never in time, in all neceſſary Effects. For where the effect is neceſſary to the cauſe, the cauſe cannot be without it; and therefore the effect muſt be as early in time as the cauſe. Thus Light and Heat are neceſſary effects of the Sun; therefore they muſt be as early in time as the Sun. And if the Sun were eternal, light and heat wou'd be as eternal. And yet they both proceed from the Sun. And the Sun is before them in Nature, becauſe they proceed from it; but not before them in time, becauſe they are neceſſary effects, and the Sun cannot be without them.

Of light and heat in the Sun.

Now it is not neceſſary for a Man to be a Father; elſe every Man muſt be a Father. But if a Man could not be a Man without being a Father, then he muſt be a Father as ſoon as he was a Man; and conſequently, the Son muſt be as old in time as the Father, tho' in the order of Nature he would come behind him, as proceeding from him, and as the effect follows the cauſe: Therefore tho' it cannot be in human Nature, that the Son ſhould be as old as his Father, yet it may be in the divine Nature.

SOC. That is, if the production in the divine Nature be neceſſary.

CHR. As no doubt it is: For the firſt cauſe muſt be a neceſſary Being: And there can be no accidents in him: He is incapable either of addition or diminution; for either would argue imperfection.

SOC. But God is a Spirit. Is there production or generation in Spirits? Do they beget their like, as Men do? Or muſt two Spirits join for the production of a third? Or can Spirits beget of themſelves?

IV. Of the production in Spirits.

CHR. This is ſtill bewildering your ſelf with the compariſon of a Nature you do not underſtand, and meaſuring it with a nature you do underſtand, and inferring from the one to the other, which will by no means hold.

But in the caſe you put, there is ſome light given to us in the contemplation of our own Soul, which is that Image of God, wherein he made Man. In our Soul we find there is a faculty of underſtanding a thing, that is, apprehending, or, as it were, ſeeing of it: And this reſembles creation, or bringing things into being, as to us; for what we underſtand not is to us as if it were not.

I. Of the faculties in the Soul.

Then when we underſtand a thing, and are thus in poſſeſſion of it, we find that our Soul has another faculty of remembring it, that is, preſerving its being, as to us: For without this, our underſtanding of any thing would laſt no longer than the impreſſion of a ſeal upon water; and when the thought was paſt, it would be gone for ever, and we could never recover it. By which means we could have but one thought at a time; but we could not compare thoughts and things, and infer or draw conſequences from one to another, which we call reaſoning; which therefore is attributed chiefly to this faculty of the Soul: So that a Man of ſound Memory, which is the form in Wills, means the ſame in the conſtruction of Law, as a Man of ſound Judgment.

This reſembles the Λόγος, or Word of God: Which *Juſtin Martyr* in his *Apol.* calls the Reaſon of God; for the word Λόγος ſignifies Reaſon, and

and ſo is uſed, *Luke* XVI. 2. *Rom.* III. 28. XII. 1. 2 *Pet.* II. 12. *Mat.* XVI. 7, 8. *Luke* V. 21. and ſeveral other places of holy Scripture. And indeed Reaſon, which is the reflexion of the Mind, is properly call'd the Word of the Mind, as near as an alluſion can be made from Body to Soul: For Words do outwardly expreſs the reaſoning that is inwardly in the Thoughts; and the reflexion of the Mind is ſpeaking Words to its ſelf: Every reflex act is a colloquy.

When things are thus as it were created to us by the Underſtanding, and preſerv'd by the Memory, that we may reaſon and reflect upon them, then they appear either agreeable or diſagreeable to us: We contract either a liking or diſtaſte to them; that is, we love or hate them: And this is the operation of a diſtinct faculty of the Mind, which is called the Will, and is the ſeat of happineſs or miſery. To enjoy what we love, is pleaſure and happineſs; and to be join'd to what we hate, is miſery and affliction. There are ſeveral things which we know, and which we remember; but they are indifferent to us, we neither love nor hate them; and therefore they afford us neither pleaſure nor trouble: Theſe paſſions are ſeated in the Will, and come not till the Will has exerted an act either of love or averſion: Thence ariſe love, fear, joy, grief, hope, deſpair, and all the paſſions: The Will is the ſeat of all the paſſions.

This is a reſemblance of the third Perſon in the holy Trinity, who is therefore called the Spirit of Love, and the Comforter.

Now of theſe three faculties of the Soul, the Underſtanding may well be call'd the father faculty; and the Memory may be ſaid to be begotten by it: For we could not remember what we did not firſt know. And the Will reſults or proceeds from both of theſe: For we cannot love or hate what we do not both know and remember.

But in how many things ſhould we err and be miſtaken, if we ſhould think to draw an exact parallel betwixt this generation in the faculties of the Soul, and the generation of Bodies? In that of Bodies, it is contradiction the Father ſhould not be prior in time to the Son. In that of the Soul, it is a contradiction the Son ſhould not be as old as the Father, becauſe the Soul cannot be without the three faculties: They are of the conſtitution of the Soul, and it could not be a Soul without them: Therefore each of them muſt be as old as the other, and all as old as the Soul.

SOC. That is, becauſe the words Father and Son are not ſtrictly and properly belonging to the faculties of the Soul, only by way of alluſion to the generation of Bodies; therefore what is a contradiction in the one, is none in the other.

CHR. How readily you can give this anſwer in the parallel betwixt Body and Soul! And yet how do you ſtick to give the ſame allowance in the parallel betwixt mortal Man and the infinite Being! But you will make that to be a contradiction in the one, becauſe you find it to be ſo in the other!

SOC. I grant there muſt be a vaſt difference betwixt the production there is in Bodies, and that in Spirits: They are not of the ſame kind. But methinks there ſhould be an exact parallel in the production of Spirits; for tho' there is higher and lower among them, yet they are all Spirits, and ſo of the ſame kind. Now ſee if you can find an exact parallel betwixt the faculties of the Soul, and the Perſons of the Godhead; and I will be content.

CHR. Think you not that there is infinitely greater difference and diſproportion, even in kind, betwixt the Soul of Man and the eternal incomprehenſible Almighty, than there is betwixt the Body and Soul of Man! So that you ask of me what I will no ways undertake.

Only I ſtill inſiſt, that from a contradiction in the one, if you could find it, you could not infer a contradiction in the other, becauſe you underſtand

not both the Natures you ſpeak of: And what is ſpoken of the one, is by way of alluſion only to the other.

In the next place, the contradictions you alledge are all by way of parallel betwixt God and the bodily Perſons of Men upon Earth: And ſince you have granted me, that a contradiction will not lie in the parallel betwixt the Body and Soul of Man, I can much more ſtrongly argue, that it will not lie in the parallel betwixt the Body of Man, and God; ſo as that a contradiction in the one ſhould infer a contradiction in the other.

But ſtill I will go as far along with you as I can: And having enter'd my proteſt, that I put nothing of the merits of the cauſe upon it, I will go on to ſhew you what is no contradiction in the Faculties of the Soul.

It is no contradiction, that theſe three faculties ſhould be one Soul; and the Soul nothing elſe, that we can tell, but theſe three Faculties: That theſe three Faculties ſhould be all coeval as to Time, and yet one before the other in order of Nature, as proceeding the one from the other: That they are perfectly diſtinct the one from the other, having different objects and different manners of operation; the Underſtanding being converſant about what is preſent, the Memory about what is paſt, and the Will about love and hatred: Yet that they all act in concert, and no one of them can act without the other: For as the Memory cannot act but upon a previous act of the Underſtanding, and the Will upon the act both of the Underſtanding and the Memory, ſo even the Underſtanding does not act, nor the Memory without a concurrent act of the Will which conſents to it: So that tho' they act diſtinctly, yet not ſeparately; and the Soul is not divided or multiply'd among them, but the whole Soul acts in each and all of them.

2. Of the difference betwixt Faculties and Perſons.

SOC. And now you think you have ſolv'd all our objections as to the Trinity, of three being one, and one three; and of their being co-eternal, tho' one proceeding from the other: But your parallel will not hold betwixt Faculties and Perſons.

CHR. I pretend not to prove any thing by parallels; they are but illuſtrations: Nor do I think there can be any exact parallel betwixt God and any Creature. But if the objections you bring may be ſolv'd by what we can obſerve in created Natures, it ſhews your unreaſonableneſs to inſiſt upon ſuch difficulties againſt what is reveal'd of the incomprehenſible Being: Therefore let me hear what uſe you make of the difference betwixt Faculties and Perſons in the preſent caſe.

SOC. You know the difference betwixt Subſtance and Subſiſtence: It is the latter only makes a Perſon: And we give not different Subſiſtences to the Faculties of the Soul; therefore they are not different Perſons: And we ſay, that three Perſons or Subſiſtences cannot be one Perſon.

CHR. And ſo ſay we too: We ſay that three Perſons are always three Perſons, tho' they may be one Nature. But let me ask you, can three Subſtances be one Subſtance, or three Faculties one Faculty, more than three Subſiſtences or Perſons can be one Perſon? If not, then your diſtinction is of no uſe in the preſent caſe: For the difficulty of three being one, and one three, lies as much in the one caſe as in the other, and all you can ſay from this puzzling piece of Philoſophy ſignifies nothing: For whatever other uſes may be made of it, it cannot help you in this caſe, ſince one Subſtance can no more be another Subſtance, nor one Faculty be another Faculty, than one Perſon can be another Perſon.

3. Why we ſay Perſons and not Faculties, in God.

SOC. But why do you not ſay three Faculties inſtead of three Perſons in God? And then we ſhould not ſo much quarrel with you.

CHR. Because we must not alter the phrase of Scripture, which calls *Christ the express Image of his* (Father's) *Person*; Heb. i. 3. Χαρακτὴρ τῆς Ὑποστάσεως αὐτῦ, the Image of his Subsistence or Personality.

For a Son, being a distinct Person, is the Image of his Father's Person, but not of his Nature; because the Son partakes of the same Nature in as full and ample manner as his Father, and is as much and truly a Man, having the same human Nature with his Father; in which he is equal to his Father, but inferior as to his Person: The Relation and Subordination between them is only upon a personal account: As it is among the Persons of the holy Trinity; tho' all equal in Nature, which is but one: For if we say there is not more than one human Nature, we cannot say there is more than one divine Nature, tho' several Persons partake of it.

Again, a Person being the most complete and perfect Substance, as subsisting by its self, and not in another, (like Faculties or Qualities) must be given to God. There are no Accidents, Faculties, or Qualities in him: But every thing in him is himself: And the Faculties of the Soul are but a resemblance of the Persons of God.

4. Of the Difference betwixt Faculties and Passions.

SOC. How come you to make but three Faculties in the Soul? You may make three hundred if you will. Why do not you make every Passion a distinct Faculty? And so of the Attributes of God, you may make them all Persons; one of Wisdom, another of Justice, another of Mercy, another of Power, and so forth.

CHR. The Faculties are the Powers of the Soul itself, and of perpetual necessity to its constitution; so that without these the Soul would not be a Soul: Therefore they are always in the Soul. Not so of the Passions: They go and come: A Man is not always in Joy, Grief, Fear, Anger, &c. but he always has an Understanding, a Memory, and a Will, and it is as these are conversant about any object, that the Passions arise: The Faculties are the Constitution, the Passions the Complexion of the Soul: The Complexion often changes; but when the Constitution is broke it is death; and the Complexion arises from the Constitution, not the Constitution from the Complexion.

Now tho' the Passions are many and various, yet the Faculties are but three, and they can be neither more nor less.

5. Of Extension and the Dimensions.

The difference betwixt these is like that of Colour and Dimensions in a Body: The Colours are many and various; the Dimensions are but three, and can be neither more nor less; that is Length, Breadth, and Thickness: These must be in every Extension: They are of the Nature of Extension, and therefore inseparable from it: And tho' these three make one Extension, yet they are perfectly distinguish'd, tho' never separated from one another. Length is not Breadth, and neither of them is Thickness; yet no one of these can be without the other two: They are distinctly three, yet entirely but one; they all make up but one and the self same Extension.

The Colours change according to every variation of the Light; but the Dimensions are still the same, and still necessary to the Body: Which alters not in its Nature from the change of Colours in it: But would cease to be a Body, if it were possible it could want any of the three Dimensions; for then it would be no longer an Extension, that is, no more a Body.

Thus we say of the Soul: It could not be a Soul if it wanted any of the three Faculties, for they are of its Nature: But the Passions may go and come without any alteration in the Nature of the Soul. The Passions suppose the Faculties, for the Passions are an operation of the Faculties: But the Faculties suppose no more than that we are capable of the Passions, not that they are always necessary to us, for sometimes we are without any.

And our bleſſed Saviour in the Parable of the Sower, deſcribing the ſeveral ways by which the Seed becomes unfruitful, ranges them into three, according to the three Faculties of the Soul, but not after the Paſſions, which are many. The firſt was of thoſe who underſtand not; the ſecond was of thoſe who retain or remember not; and the the third was of thoſe whoſe Wills or affections were corrupted, through the cares and pleaſures of this life.

6. Apply'd to the Perſons and Attributes of God.

Now this alluſion betwixt the Body and the Mind, betwixt Colours and Dimenſions in the Body, and the Faculties and Paſſions in the Soul, will not come up nor anſwer exactly in every thing, becauſe of the vaſt difference there is in the Natures of Body and Spirit, and the different manner of their operations. But tho' they fail in ſome things, yet they anſwer in others, and ſerve for illuſtration. And ſo much the more, becauſe, while we are in the Body, we conceive of ſpiritual things, even of our own Soul, in ſome ſort, after the manner of Body. And if our own Soul, by which we move, and act, and think, is ſo hidden from us, that we cannot conceive rightly of it; how much more muſt the infinite and incomprehenſible Nature be remov'd far above our poor underſtanding? Seeing we cannot conceive any thing of it but by alluſion to what we underſtand here of our ſelves, and other Creatures that are before us. Therefore ſuch alluſions are given to us, and God ſpeaks to us of himſelf after the manner of Men, becauſe we cou'd not otherwiſe underſtand any thing at all of him. Thus God aſcribes Paſſions to himſelf, as Joy, Anger, Grief, Repentance, &c. And we deſcribe him by what we call his Attributes, as Power, Wiſdom, Goodneſs, Juſtice, *&c.* And theſe we conceive to flow from his Nature. Tho' at the ſame time our Reaſon tells us, that there can be no accidents in God, nor any change in him; and therefore, that whatever is in God, is God: But by the three Perſons in the Godhead, we mean the divine Nature, which conſiſts of the three Perſons, as the Soul does of the three Faculties, and Extenſion of the three Dimenſions, without any confuſion of the Faculties, or Dimenſions; or diviſion of the Soul, or of the Extenſion. As we ſay the three Perſons are God, neither confounding the Perſons, nor dividing the Subſtance. But what we call the Attributes of God, are the different manners of our apprehenſion of the actions of God, and ſo are many and various: As Paſſions are in Men, and Colours in Bodies. But Colours do not make the Body in which they are, tho' they ſuppoſe it; and Paſſions do not make the Soul, tho' they are in it: But the Faculties are the Soul, and the Dimenſions are the Extenſion. Thus we ſay, the Perſons in the Godhead are God, but we conceive of the Attributes of God, after the manner of Paſſions in the Soul; tho' we know at the ſame time, that the alluſion does not, cannot anſwer; but we cannot conceive otherwiſe of God. And thus it is when we uſe the words, Father, Son, Spirit, Perſon, in relation to God, we muſt not ſuppoſe them to quadrate and anſwer to theſe words as us'd among Men; they are only alluſions, but they are neceſſary, becauſe we cannot otherwiſe ſpeak of God at all.

7. Theſe concluſive to the Argument.

Hence appears the unreaſonableneſs of inferring a contradiction in the Nature of God, from what we find to be ſo in the Nature of Man, and in theſe words as apply'd to Man; which is the topick I have inſiſted upon from the beginning. And I have illuſtrated it by the compariſon of thoſe irreconcilable contradictions which muſt appear to a Man born blind, in any deſcription poſſible to be given him of the Nature, Motion, and Progreſs of Sight. And you cannot help him with any alluſion or image of it, in any thing that he underſtands. He can apprehend nothing like it, in any manner whatſoever, tho' at never ſo great a diſtance. It cannot be ſaid he has a wrong or imperfect notion of it, for he has not, nor can have any notion of it at all, not the leaſt glimps. Whereas on the other hand, as to the

preſent

preſent ſubject we are upon, and to which I apply this; tho' it be impoſſible for any Creature to have a full and compleat apprehenſion of the infinite Nature; yet there are ſuch alluſions and ſimilitudes given us of it, chiefly in the Soul of Man, which is ſaid to be made after his image, as enables us to have ſome ſort of idea and apprehenſion of it, tho' we muſt ſtill ſuppoſe at infinite diſtance, and that we preſume not to draw inferences from the one to the other, from Man to God. And even as to that ineffable myſtery of the holy Trinity, there is no obſcure reſemblance of it given us in the frame of our own Soul, conſiſting of three diſtinct Faculties, as I have before explain'd it. And even in the three Dimenſions which make up every Extenſion, ſo far as Body is capable of ſuch a reſemblance; at leaſt it ſolves the contradictions you alledge as to the holy Trinity, when we ſee how three may be one, even in Bodies: Nay that one muſt be three; for Extenſion cou'd not be Extenſion, if it were not three Dimenſions. As the Soul cou'd not be a Soul, if it were not Underſtanding, Memory and Will: ſo that the multiplicity makes the unity. Tho' as I have ſaid, if theſe were contradictions in Body, or in our Soul, it wou'd not follow it was ſo in God, becauſe of the infinite diſparity of the Natures.

8. Alluſions from Body to Soul neceſſary: Yet many contradictions in them.

I have ſaid likewiſe, That we cannot apprehend the Nature of a Spirit, even of our own Soul, but by alluſion to Body, to ſomething material: Hence ſome have contended that our Soul is Matter, that is, a Body; nay, that God himſelf is ſo; that there is nothing but Matter. And yet we find many contradictions in this alluſion. As what I mention'd before of the preſence of a Body which is ſo circumſcrib'd, that it cannot be in two places at once. And yet how one and the ſame Soul can actuate all the diſtant members of the Body, without being either multiply'd or divided among them, is what we can find no reſemblance of in Bodies. And yet we cannot frame a conception of a Soul, without alluſion to ſomething material. And yet all this notwithſtanding, we charge not this as a contradiction in Soul, becauſe we find it ſo in Body: Tho' all our notices of the Soul come from the Body.

9. Apply'd to our preſent Subject.

Now to apply: The imperfect notices we have of the Nature of God come from his works of Creation which we have ſeen; yet in none of theſe do we find any reſemblance to his eternity, ſelf-exiſtence, and omni-preſence, *&c.* nay, they wou'd be flat contradictions, if apply'd to any Creature: Yet we call them not contradictions in God; how then can we call three and one a contradiction in God, tho' we found it ſo in all Creatures? But when we find it not to be a contradiction, both in the Nature of Body, and of Soul, will we ſtill make it a contradiction in God, whoſe Nature we underſtand not; and for this only cauſe, reject the plain Revelations that are given to us of it?

10. We muſt think of three in every Spirit.

But pray, let me ask you, what notion have you of any Spirit, of an Angel? Can you apprehend an Angel without an Underſtanding, a Memory, and a Will? Can you think otherwiſe of God the Father of Spirits, and who made them after his own image? There cannot be a Thought without theſe three; for every Thought is the act of theſe three. We have no nearer an idea of God than an omnipotent Mind; and whoſe Thoughts are omnipotent: Therefore God muſt be theſe three; and theſe three are God. Our notion of his attributes are the acts of theſe three, Mercy, Wiſdom, Power, Truth, Juſtice, *&c.* And ſince there is no accident in God, but every thing that is in him muſt be of his eſſence, conſequently theſe three are of the eſſence of God; and each of them is God, and all three the ſame God. So that inſtead of this being a contradiction, it wou'd rather be a contradiction if it were not ſo. That is, that there cou'd be a Thought without what is of the eſſence of a Thought, that it ſhould proceed from three

jointly,

ſointly, from an Underſtanding, a Memory, and a Will, each diſtinct from the other, yet all three one and the ſame Mind. So that if we think of God, after the image he has made of himſelf (and we can think of him no otherwiſe) we muſt think of a Trinity, in Unity.

At leaſt, I hope what I have ſaid is ſufficient to take away all pretence of contradiction in the caſe, ſo as to hinder us to believe the revelation God has given us of it.

V. If the Trinity were a contradiction, that wou'd prove it not to be of human invention.

Soc. Whether God has given us any revelation of it, is the grand Queſtion, which muſt be determin'd when we come to examine thoſe texts of Scripture which are alledg'd for it. But we inſiſt it is a contradiction, and therefore that theſe texts muſt not be underſtood in that ſenſe.

Chr. If it be not a revelation, it muſt be an invention of ſome or other; but if it be a contradiction, it cou'd not be an invention. For who cou'd invent a contradiction? Or if he cou'd, who wou'd do it with a deſign to have it paſs upon the world, and to be receiv'd among Mankind? When Men have a mind to impoſe upon others, they contrive their ſtory as plauſible as poſſibly they can; to be free, not only from contradiction, but objection.

In the next place, what does any Man get by it? What end cou'd it ſerve to ſet up ſuch a notion in the world? Men generally have ſome proſpect of advantage when they wou'd impoſe upon others.

I. The Objection as to Tranſubſtantiation ſolv'd.

Soc. Who invented Tranſubſtantiation? Which you, as well as we think a contradiction, that one and the ſame Body ſhou'd be in many places, at ſame time.

Chr. *Firſt*, It was not purely an invention; for I believe that cou'd never have come into the head of a Man of it ſelf. It was but grafting upon ſome very high expreſſions in the Fathers, concerning the great myſtery in the holy Sacrament, which they miſtook, and thence were led to take the words, *This is my Body*, ſtrictly according to the Letter. Whereas they were plainly figurative; and there are ſeveral other figures in the words of inſtitution of the holy Sacrament, which they cannot deny, as where the cup is put for the wine: Which is the figure we call *continens pro contento*, where the thing that contains is put for what is contain'd in it. And again the preſent is us'd for the future, *Luke* xxii. 20. *This cup is the new teſtament in my blood, which is ſhed for you.* Whereas this was ſpoke before his Blood was ſhed. There *is*, is put for ſhall be, which is another figure of Speech. Then, *this Cup is the new teſtament* another plain figure. Men may run themſelves into contradictions, in purſuit of an argument, but none can invent a contradiction.

Soc. This is the ſame we ſay of you: That the contradictions you run into ariſe from your miſtake of thoſe texts which you alledge for the Trinity, which we ſay you take too literally.

Chr. But you cannot ſhew the figure: They are no figurative expreſſions. This we ſhall ſee plainly when we come to them. So that if there be a contradiction, it muſt be in the words, not in what we inferr from them.

Secondly, We put no new conſtruction upon them, but the ſame that was taught in the whole chriſtian Church from the beginning, which likewiſe I ſhall ſhew you. Whereas, in the caſe of Tranſubſtantiation, we ſhew the novel conſtruction they have put upon the words, contrary to the ſenſe of all Antiquity. This is unanſwerably done in Biſhop *Coſins*'s *Hiſtory of Tranſubſtantiation.*

Thirdly, There is no temptation in the world to ſet up the Doctrine of the Trinity: But there was a very great one in that of Tranſubſtantiation, of re-

verence, and even adoration to the Prieſthood, to think that four words pronounc'd by a Prieſt ſhou'd make God.

But, *Fourthly*, there are contradictions in Tranſubſtantiation, which cannot be alledg'd in the doctrine of the Trinity: For example, that I ſhould disbelieve my Senſes upon the credit of a Revelation made to my Senſes: Which is to believe, and not to believe my Senſes at the ſame time: If I believe the Revelation, I muſt disbelieve my Senſes; and yet unleſs I believe my Senſes, I cannot believe the Revelation. They who were preſent at the Inſtitution muſt believe their Senſes, that it was *Chriſt* who ſpoke to them, and that they heard ſuch Words: Yet they muſt not believe their Senſes, that it was Bread and Wine which they ſaw and taſted; but that they eat and ſwallow'd the very Perſon whom they ſaw ſit whole and entire before them, and who was then diſcourſing with them!

SOC And does not the doctrine of the Trinity contradict our Senſes as much as all this?

CHR. No: Not at all: It contradicts none of our outward Senſes. Pray which of them does it contradict? Is it our Seeing, Taſte, or Smell?

SOC. None of theſe can reach to it.

CHR. No: Nor to our Soul: They can neither touch, ſee, nor ſmell it. A Spirit is not the object of outward Senſe; therefore no contradiction to it: It is above it, and of another kind. But an outward Revelation is an appeal to our outward Senſes: And without the truth of our Senſes ſuppos'd, we could believe neither Revelation nor Miracle exhibited to our Senſes: And no Miracle that ever God wrought, or Revelation that he gave, did contradict any one of our Senſes, much leſs all together; For, as I ſaid, it would be a perfect contradiction to our believing them.

And as you *Socinians* make uſe of this of Tranſubſtantiation, to ſhew that Chriſtians believe contradictions; and compare thoſe you ſuppoſe in the Trinity with this: So the Church of *Rome* inſiſts mainly upon this againſt us, why we ſhould make ſuch difficulty in believing Tranſubſtantiation, ſince we believe the Trinity, which they and you ſay implies as many contradictions as the other.

2. No aliuſion or parallel in Nature to Tranſubſtantiation.

And I will add this to what I have ſaid, that there is not any thing in Nature which bears the leaſt reſemblance or likeneſs to Tranſubſtantiation, that we might be able to frame any ſort of notion of it: Whereas God has given us ſeveral Alluſions and Images of his holy Trinity, in as near proportion as finite can bear to infinite, chiefly in the frame of our own Soul; whereby, tho' we cannot come to a clear and full perception of his Nature, for that is impoſſible; yet we ſee ſo much of him in the glaſs of his Creatures, as to give us ſome idea of him, and to ſolve what is reveal'd to us of him from being contradictions, by comparing it with the likeneſs, tho' faint, that is found of it in Creatures. But Tranſubſtantiation is the very reverſe to Nature, and all natural things: Not only above them, but ſtands in direct oppoſition to them, and leaves nothing certain, no not our Senſes. And what then can be like to it?

3. Compar'd with Conſubſtantiation.

The *Lutherans* endeavour to get clear of this, who take the words of Inſtitution, *this is my Body*, as literally as the Church of *Rome* does; but they deny not the certainty of our Senſes, and own that it is true and real Bread and Wine which we ſee, ſmell, and taſte. But then there is no reſemblance in Nature, nor ground in Reaſon, and as little in Revelation, that two Bodies ſhould be conſubſtantiated under the accidents of one of them, and which are not accidents proper for the other: In which, tho' there is not a deception of the Senſes as to the Bread and Wine, yet there is as to the Body and Blood of a Man, which if hid under the accidents of Bread, my Senſes are deceiv'd; for they have no other way to diſtinguiſh Subſtances but by the accidents proper to them: And when I eat a piece of Bread,

my

my Sight, Touch, Smell, and Taſte, inform me that it is not Fleſh; which if it be, they have all deceiv'd me, and I can be certain of nothing in the world.

Beſides, the *Lutheran* notion gives Ubiquity to Body, as well as that of Tranſubſtantiation: Which is a contradiction to the Nature of Body, which muſt be circumſcrib'd, elſe there could not be a greater or a leſſer Body.

So that upon the whole Conſubſtantiation is very little remov'd from Tranſubſtantiation.

SOC. But was not Conſubſtantiation the invention of *Luther?* So you ſee Men may invent contradictions.

CHR. That will not follow: For *Luther* was bred up under Tranſubſtantiation; in which finding abſurdities, he thought to mend them by this new-coin'd diſtinction. I grant that Men may invent diſtinctions, and upon examination they may be found contradictory, which themſelves might not ſee at firſt; but that is not parallel to the inventing a downright flat contradiction in terms, without ground or foundation, or any previous principles leading to it; as it would be in our notion of the Trinity if it was invented; and, as I ſaid, without any temptation, or ſerving any end or purpoſe in the world. If there was no foundation for ſuch a thing in Reaſon, as you ſay, nor any Revelation of it, how could it have come into the head of any Man living?

SOC. Do you think there is any thing in Reaſon for it? Or that all your alluſions and parallels will prove it?

VI. Alluſions and Parallels neceſſary, in our contemplation of the Nature of God.

CHR. I bring them not for proof, but to clear our way towards the proof, which is the Revelation of it in holy Scripture; and to take off your objection and great prejudice towards the receiving that proof, which is, your conceit of contradiction in the thing, and which blinds your eyes againſt the proof let it be never ſo plain.

Yet this I will ſay on behalf of alluſions and parallels in the preſent caſe, that they are not only uſeful, but neceſſary: For we cannot otherwiſe come at any notion or apprehenſion of God at all: His Being, in itſelf, is far exalted above all created Underſtanding: Therefore we cannot come at it directly, it is Light inacceſſible, and would ſtrike us blind. We muſt know it then by the reflexion of it in Creatures, like beholding the Sun in Water, which is too bright for our eyes to look upon, without ſome means to darken its rays.

And God diſcovers himſelf to us by ſuch alluſions: For how could he do it otherwiſe? He calls himſelf our King and our Father: Is it not lawful then to contemplate him under ſuch alluſions, when it is impoſſible for us to do it otherwiſe? We come at the knowledge of him by thoſe Images of himſelf which he has created in us: He has planted Wiſdom in our hearts, and a Fore-ſight or Providence in managing our own affairs, as likewiſe Juſtice and Mercy, and other noble endowments: Thence we frame our notions of his infinite Wiſdom, Power, Providence, *&c.* And we can have no notion of him at all but by alluſion to what he has created in us: All the reſt is clouds and thick darkneſs to us.

Therefore I have inſiſted upon theſe parallels and alluſions, to ſhew, that there is an Image and Reſemblance of his holy Trinity imprinted in our very Souls, as well as in Bodies, ſo far as they are capable of it: But ſtill with that diſtance and diſproportion that muſt neceſſarily be ſuppos'd betwixt finite and infinite.

Having ſaid thus much to remove your prejudice, I will go on and ſhew you yet farther parallels, whereby we may riſe up higher, as on a ladder, and view more of the Perfection of God, by that Image of it which he has impreſs'd upon Creatures.

VII. Self-reflexion an Image of the holy Trinity.

To be beneficial to others is an Image of God, from whom all good things do come: This is expreſs'd in the Heavens, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and their Influence upon the Earth: But they are not ſenſible of it, nor have any Pleaſure and Happineſs in it: The Sun ſhines to others, not to himſelf.

It is then a nearer Image of God to know when we do good, and to take Pleaſure and Satisfaction in it; to do it voluntarily, and when it was in our power not to do it: Whereby it becomes our act, and we gain the name of benefactors; and rejoice in it, as God did in his works, and ſaw they were very good: We by this partake of the Happineſs we give to others.

But there is an higher degree of Happineſs ſtill, and a yet nearer Image of God, and that is, when we our ſelves are made the object of our own benefactions, as I may ſo call it: When we can do good to our ſelves, and can taſte our own Happineſs, can rejoice and take pleaſure in our ſelves. This is the neareſt to us of any thing; and this Joy no Man can take from us, no Stranger can intermeddle with it: This is perform'd in us by what we call Self-Reflexion, whereby we become the object of our own knowledge and love: And this is reciprocal in us, we are the Perſon knowing, and the Perſon that is known, the Perſon that loves, and the Perſon that is loved: And this could not be done but by the operation of ſeveral Faculties in the Soul, which are an Image of the ſeveral Perſons in the Deity: And the original of this Self-reflexion is a reflex-act of the Underſtanding, the father Faculty, as has been before diſcours'd: And this reſembles the Father, the Fountain (as I may ſo ſay) of the Deity.

In this conſiſts the eſſential Happineſs of God, in the Knowledge and Love of himſelf; and this reflected perfectly from one Perſon of the Godhead to another: Which is infinitely more complete than the Shadow of it in the reciprocal Reflexion of the Faculties in our Soul: But a Shadow and Image of it, it is; and without which we ſhould not be able to have the leaſt glimps or apprehenſion of the other.

VIII. Of the Fecundity in the Deity.

This leads me to another ſtep up this ladder, which neceſſarily follows from what has been ſaid, or is rather but a farther proſecution of it.

We all agree that whatever Perfection is in Man muſt be much more eminently in God from whom it came.

Now to the Happineſs there is in Thought, there is a farther added, which is, to communicate that Thought to another: Without this the Soul would be a very ſolitary thing; and would grow weary of it ſelf in a little time: As we find it when we are left too long alone. Without converſation Life would be a burthen. Who would be content to live if there were never a Man left in the World but himſelf? This communication of Thought is done among Men by Words: Whence in compliance to our manner of apprehenſion, the Son is likewiſe call'd the Word of God. Self-reflexion is very properly call'd the Word of the Mind: And this Word was the firſt communication which God gave of himſelf. He is alſo call'd the Word, as he was the inſtrument by which God made all things, and communicated himſelf to Creatures: Whence the Creation is deſcrib'd as being all ſpoken; *he ſpake the word, and it was done, he commanded, and they were created. God ſaid, let there be light*, &c. And *by his word were the heavens made, and all the hoſt of them by the breath of his mouth.* So the Son is called the Word, in reſpect of God's communicating himſelf to himſelf; and likewiſe of his communicating himſelf to Creatures.

But there is another communication beyond the communication of Thoughts by Words, and that is, to communicate ones ſelf, our whole Nature, full and entire; to produce ones like, in full perfection as ones ſelf, thus we ſee Trees ſpring from Trees, Beaſts, Fiſh, and Fowl, and Man,

propagate their kind: And ſhall God who gave fertility to Creatures, be barren himſelf? *He that made the eye, does he not ſee?* And is not the fertility of Creatures an Image of a much more eminent fecundity of God? As he ſays, *Iſah.* LXVI. 9. according to the vulgar tranſlation. *Numquid ego qui alias parere facio, ipſe non pariam? dicit Dominus. Si ego, qui generationem cæteris tribuo, ſterilis ero? ait Dominus Deus tuus.* That is, *Shall not I who cauſe others to bring forth, bring forth my ſelf? ſaith the Lord. If I give to others the power of generation, ſhall I be barren my ſelf? ſaith the Lord thy God.* Since therefore the communication of ones Nature is a perfection, it is of neceſſity that God muſt have it. For it is a maxim, in philoſophy, that *Nemo dat quod non habet*, *None can give what he has not.*

Beſides, the former argument includes this: For God cou'd not communicate his Thoughts, without communicating alſo his Nature; that is, he cou'd not communicate all of his Thoughts, except to what was capable to receive them: And nothing but infinite can contain infinite: And it being natural to goodneſs to delight in communicating it ſelf, conſequently God muſt be depriv'd of the plenitude of this Perfection, if there were not a Perſon capable of receiving all his goodneſs; elſe God muſt be ſtinted in this greateſt of happineſs. As a River cou'd not empty it ſelf, unleſs there were a place to receive it; and ſo wou'd ceaſe to be a River.

And thus, unleſs there were different Perſons in God, there wou'd be a contradiction in all his Attributes. There wou'd be infinite Power, without Power, to exert it ſelf infinitely; which is a flat contradiction: And ſo of infinite Love, Wiſdom, *&c.*

1. Of a third Perſon in the Trinity.

SOC. Whatever there may be in theſe reaſons for two Perſons in the Godhead, the one to contain and receive all of the other, yet what can you ſay for a third? What need is there of that?

CHR. Firſt, that it is reveal'd which we are to ſee: In the next place, by the Image God has given us of himſelf in our own Soul, we have ſeen already, that the Soul is not compleat, nor can act, without three Faculties, and no two of them can act without the third. And to apply this, the communication of infinite Power and Wiſdom (which are repreſented in the two firſt Faculties of our mind) cannot be ſuppos'd without an infinite reciprocal love, betwixt theſe Perſons: And there being no accident in God; but whatever is in God, is God; conſequently the reciprocal love (to which anſwers the third Faculty of the Soul) which unites theſe two Perſons, muſt be a Perſon too, and God, for it muſt be infinite. And there is an Image of this in human Production, wherein there muſt be juſt three Perſons, neither more nor leſs, that is, Father, Mother, and Child. Which names God uſes in relation to himſelf; Therefore we may uſe them. Thus the Son of *Sirach* uſes them *Eccluſ.* XXIV. where he ſpeaks of the ſecond Perſon by the name of Wiſdom, and as that word of God he introduceth him ſaying, ℣. 5. *I came out of the mouth of the moſt high, firſt born before all creatures. I cauſed the light*, &c. And ſo ſpeaks of the other works of Creation, all of which he aſcribes to himſelf: Then ſays, ℣. 20. *I am the mother of beautiful love.* This is the third Perſon of the holy Trinity. But more of this, when we come to the texts of Scripture.

2. Why but one Production in the Deity.

SOC. If the divine Nature ſhou'd repeat this Production of Perſons, then you might have as many Perſons in the divine Nature, as in the human, and conſequently as many Gods as Men.

CHR. Your conception is groſs. For *Firſt*, three Perſons in the divine Nature does not make three Gods, more than three Faculties make three Souls, as we have diſcours'd before. But *Secondly*, there cannot be another Production in the divine Nature, more than there can be another divine Nature; for the three Perſons are of the eſſence of the divine Nature; as the three Faculties

ties are of the Soul, therefore unchangeable and unalterable. And as to the argument I have proceeded upon of infinite communication from one to another, if it be infinite, it can be no more: And to infinite production nothing can be added; but human productions may be oft repeated, becauſe they are all finite, therefore additions and additions may be made to them: From all which follows;

Firſt, That an infinite Power without an infinite production, is a contradiction: For it ſuppoſes infinity to be limited.

Secondly, That there can be no infinite production but in the Perſons of the bleſſed Trinity.

Thirdly, That an infinite production cannot be repeated; becauſe it wou'd add to infinite, and make more infinites.

SOC. The heathen Philoſophers might have talk'd at this rate: How came they not to find out a Trinity as well as you?

CHR. They did talk at this rate; and did hold a Trinity in the Godhead, as I ſhall ſhew you by and by, when we come to that head.

3. The ſecond Perſon begotten, the third proceeding,

SOC. But your St. *Athanaſius* the Creed-maker will not only have us believe all this, but takes upon him to determine the very manner forſooth, as if he knew it, how all this is done, that *the Father is neither created nor begotten; the Son not created, but begotten; the Holy Ghoſt neither created nor begotten, but proceeding.*

CHR. You *Socinians* pretend of all Men to argue without paſſion and perſonal reflexions, but fairly and upon the ſquare, keeping cloſe to the argument; and have been propos'd as a pattern for this, by ſome that lov'd you better than they knew you: For none have exceeded you in bitterneſs and foul language; even in this brief Hiſtory we are now upon, the common Epithets you beſtow upon Chriſtians are *ignorant, brutal, ſtupid, without common ſenſe, &c.* Hence came your Witticiſm, in your *Brief Notes upon St.* Athanaſius's *Creed*, whom you call *Sathanaſius*, and *Creed-maker* there, and in other of your Books; and pleaſe your ſelves with this prophane jeſt and contempt caſt upon that great and learned champion of Chriſtianity.

But to leave your dirt. You charge very unjuſtly upon him, the inventing of theſe terms and diſtinctions: He follow'd the ſame terms us'd in holy Scripture, and by the Catholick Church before him. The terms of Father and Son, and the Son being call'd the only begotten of the Father, you cannot be ignorant are Scripture-phraſes. But the word *begotten* is never apply'd to the Holy Ghoſt, but the word *proceeding* is, as *John* XV. 26. *The Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father.*

SOC. But you ſay he proceedeth from both Father and Son.

4. The Holy Ghoſt proceedeth from the Father and the Son.

CHR. Then he proceedeth from the Father: If he proceeds from both, he proceeds from each. And in the ſame text, the Son takes upon him to ſend the Holy Ghoſt jointly with the Father. *The comforter—— whom I will ſend unto you from the Father.* And *Chap.* XIV. 13, 14. *He ſhall not ſpeak of himſelf, but whatſoever he ſhall hear, that ſhall he ſpeak.* And from whom ſhall he hear? Even from the Son, who ſaith, *He ſhall receive of mine, and ſhall ſhew it unto you.* Does he not receive it likewiſe of the Father? Yes, for *Chriſt* ſaith in the next verſe, *All things that the Father hath are mine; therefore ſaid I, that he ſhall take of mine, and ſhall ſhew it unto you.* Here the Father is made the fountain, from whom the Son receives all the whole of the Father, all that the Father hath; and the Holy Ghoſt receives the ſame all from the Father and Son, and he is call'd the Spirit of God, and the Spirit of *Chriſt*, as *Rom.* VIII. 9. *If ſo be the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of* Chriſt, *he is none of his.* And *Gal.* IV. 6. *God hath ſent forth the Spirit of*

of his Son into your hearts. And he cou'd not be call'd the Spirit of the Son, any otherwiſe than as proceeding from the Son; ſo that it is evident he proceeds from both Father and Son; and he is call'd the Spirit of each, that is, of both.

And to this anſwers the parallel I have before mention'd of the three Faculties in the Soul, for the Underſtanding is the fountain or father Faculty, whence the Memory receives all that it has, and may be call'd its Son; and the Will receives from both, and proceeds from both.

5. Of the terms begetting and proceeding.

Soc. But why do you ſay the one is begotten, the other proceeding? Where is the difference?

Chr. This is entring too far into the myſtery of God: Or to expect that parallels ſhou'd hold in every thing. We are to follow the expreſſions of holy Scripture. But yet we are not left wholly deſtitute even in this point. We have diſcours'd before, *Sect.* VII. of Self-reflexion in the Soul; and that this is the generation of Spirits: And that this is an act of the Underſtanding the father Faculty, by which it begets its own ſimilitude and likeneſs in the Memory, by its own internal power and fecundity; ſo that the Memory may be call'd a ſecond Underſtanding: But the Memory is no reflective Faculty, it only preſerves what the Underſtanding has committed to it; and the Will determines itſelf only as to like or diſlike; and therefore may be ſaid to proceed, rather than to be begotten: And the more becauſe the Will acts perfectly voluntarily, tho' as we ſay, it muſt follow the ultimate dictate of the Underſtanding, but that is not by way of force, but choice; for the Will does every thing by choice.

IX. Of the Uniry of God.

Soc. But who can think of this diverſity of Perſons in God, without a breach of his Unity? It makes him as it were compounded of the three Perſons, whereas we know God to be a Being that is moſt ſimple and one in his Nature, and cannot be compounded or made up of any thing.

Chr. God is not compounded or made up of any thing; his Unity is the moſt perfect of all Unities. But in every Unity there is an Union of ſomething, and that muſt be divers things: For there is no Union of one.

1. The Unity of Bodies.

This Unity in Bodies is by way of compoſition: For every Body is compounded of other Bodies, which are parts of that Body, as a Brick is part of an Houſe, and my Finger is part of my Body, and there are ſeveral parts in my Finger, and parts of thoſe parts again, and ſo without end: And theſe parts may be divided the one from the other; and other parts may be added to them, and the Body made bigger: So that every Body is many Bodies, that are compounded and put together.

2. The Unity of Spirits.

But it is far otherwiſe in the Unity of a Spirit, for a Spirit is not compounded, or made up of parts, and therefore cannot be divided: It is not capable of addition or multiplication. We ſay not that our Soul is multiply'd or divided among its three Faculties; or that it is compounded of them: They cannot be taken from it as a part may be taken from a Body; therefore its Unity is more perfect than that of a Body: It conſiſts not of ſeveral parts, tho' it does of ſeveral Faculties: We call not the Faculties parts of the Soul, they are rather Powers of the Soul, eſſential Powers, by which it acts, and without which it cou'd not act at all, nor be a Soul.

3. Apply'd to God.

Theſe Powers of the Soul bear a nearer reſemblance to the Perſons of God, which are eſſential to the Godhead, without which it cou'd not act: It cou'd not have a reciprocal knowledge and love of itſelf, nor enjoy its own bleſſedneſs, nor communicate it fully, as has been ſaid, and conſequently muſt be ſtinted and limited in the greateſt of happineſs.

Yet

Yet theſe Perſons are not parts of God, nor is he compounded of them, or either multiply'd or divided among them: But the whole Deity flowing perpetually, in its full infinity, from one Perſon to another, is in the eternal enjoyment of its own beatitude, bleſſed for ever in itſelf; in ſo perfect an Unity as can be but faintly repreſented in the Unity of any Creature, even of a Soul.

X. Of the mutual communication of Spirits.

SOC. But is there not a mutual communication of Spirits? Does not one Spirit join with another and partake of it, as Bodies do?

CHR. Yes ſurely, and in much more intimate manner than Bodies. All the enjoyment and ſatisfaction in the Union of Bodies, is from the Union of their Souls: This is what we call love. Without this Bodies are inſenſible of their Union, and can take no pleaſure or ſatisfaction in it, as in the production of Trees, Plants, Flowers, *&c.*

1. Stronger than that of Bodies.

And the Union of Souls is ſtronger, the leſs of corporal is mixt with it; therefore friendſhip is the ſtrongeſt tye among Men. This is the chief cement of conjugal affection; where that is wanting, 'tis a yoke indeed, and upon the compariſon the preference is given to friendſhip, *Deut.* XIII. 6. *If the wife of thy boſom, or thy friend, which is as thine own Soul, entice thee*, &c. And 2 Sam. I. 26. *Thy love to me was wonderful* (ſaid *David* of *Jonathan*) *paſſing the love of women.*

But the compariſon of the Union there is in fleſh and that which is between Spirits is carried much higher by the Apoſtle, (1 *Cor.* VI. 16, 17.) *For two*, ſaith he, *ſhall be one fleſh, but he that is joined unto the Lord is one ſpirit:* To be one ſpirit with God; and that more nearly than Man and Wife are one fleſh; This ſeems to be one of thoſe unſpeakable things wich St. *Paul* ſays, *are not lawful* (or poſſible) *for a man to utter.* 2 Cor. XII. 4.

2. Alluſions to this in holy Scriptures.

But this muſt be the foundation of thoſe frequent alluſions in holy Scripture, where *Chriſt* is call'd the Bride-groom, and the Church his Spouſe; and Heaven is deſcrib'd as the eternal Marriage-Feaſt. And he having taken our Nature into the Deity in his own Perſon, what communications thence may be given even to our Bodies when glorify'd, by our participation of the ſame human Nature with *Chriſt*, is *what eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, nor can enter into the heart of man to conceive. That they all* (ſays *Chriſt*, Joh. XVII. 21, 22, 23.) *may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee; that they alſo may be one in us— And the glory which thou gaveſt me, I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one. I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that thou haſt ſent me, and haſt loved them, as thou haſt loved me.* Theſe are wonderful expreſſions, and lead our thoughts to what we cannot comprehend! But they plainly import, that by our Union with *Chriſt*, who has united himſelf to our Nature, we ſhall partake of an Union with God, even like to the Union of *Chriſt* with him, who partakes likewiſe of his divine Nature. As the Apoſtle ſpeaks, 2 *Pet.* I. 4. *Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promiſes, that you might be partakers of the divine nature.* An earneſt of which was given in the miraculous deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt at *Pentecoſt*, like that at our Saviour's Baptiſm; whereby we are (as it may be ſaid) put into poſſeſſion of the holy Spirit of God: As the ſame Apoſtle ſpeaks, 1 *Pet.* I. 12.— *With the holy Ghoſt ſent down from Heaven, which things the Angels deſire to look into*; or to prie narrowly into them, παρακύψαι, to ſtoop down and look earneſtly, as St. *John* into the Sepulchre, *John* XX. 5. παρακύψας, or elſe to bow themſelves, in adoration of ſo great a myſtery.

St. *Paul* ſpeaking how intimately we are united to *Chriſt*, ſays, *Eph.* V. 30. *We are members of his body, of his fleſh, and of his bones.* And he takes this from alluſion to the production of *Eve* out of *Adam*, whereupon

upon *Adam* ſaid, *Gen.* II. 23. *This is now bone of my bones, and fleſh of my fleſh.* And the inference is made in the next words, *Therefore ſhall a man leave his father and his mother, and ſhall cleave unto his wife, and they ſhall be one fleſh:* Which the Apoſtle repeats, *Eph.* v. 31. immediately after his words before quoted, *We are members of his* (Chriſt's) *Body, of his fleſh and of his bones. For this cauſe ſhall a man leave his father and mother, and ſhall be joined unto his wife, and they two ſhall be one fleſh: this is a great myſtery; but I ſpeak concerning* Chriſt *and the Church.* Here is the parallel cloſely carry'd on betwixt the Union there is in our Marriages, and that much more intimate Union in our Marriage with *Chriſt*, and in him, with the whole bleſſed Trinity; which the Apoſtle calls the great myſtery.

Therefore let none deſpiſe the uſe of parallels, which are ſo frequent in holy Scripture. By theſe we are led to the knowledge of God, and the great myſtery of our redemption, and future enjoyment of God: We ſee indeed by theſe but as in a glaſs, darkly; but without theſe we ſhou'd know much leſs, and not be able to frame to our ſelves any ideas of it at all, or any but what wou'd be much more erroneous. And ſince God in holy Scripture has us'd this method with us, no doubt it is moſt proper, and the beſt we can uſe: We muſt aſcend to God by the ſcale of his Creatures; we have no other way; for we cannot ſee him as he is. 3. Uſe of parallels.

Hence our partaking of the Nature of *Chriſt*, is made lively to us by what we know, that is, our partaking of the Nature of our Parents, and ſo up to *Adam*. Hence *Rom.* v. 14. *Adam* is call'd *The figure of him who was to come:* And the parallel betwixt him and *Chriſt* is carry'd on to the end of that Chapter. And 1 *Cor.* xv. 21. *As in* Adam *all die, even ſo in* Chriſt *ſhall all be made alive.* And ℣. 45. *The firſt man* Adam *was made a living ſoul, the laſt* Adam *was a quickning Spirit.* And ℣. 47. *The firſt man is of the earth, earthy: The ſecond man is the Lord from Heaven.* 4. *Adam* a type of *Chriſt.*

Tertullian inſiſts largely upon this parallel, (*de Reſur. Carn.* c. 6.) and goes through every particular and circumſtance of the formation of *Adam*, and ſhews how it all referr'd to *Chriſt*, He ſays, *Quodcunque enim limus exprimebatur, Chriſtus cogitabatur homo futurus—— ita limus ille jam tunc imaginem induens Chriſti futuri, non tantùm Dei opus erat, ſed & pignus.* i. e. *Whatever the earth of* Adam *was made,* Chriſt *was meant by it, who ſhou'd become Man—— ſo the earth then putting on the Image of* Chriſt *to come in the fleſh, was not only God's workmanſhip, but his pledge.* That is, that *Chriſt* ſhou'd come in the Fleſh.

And as *Adam* was a type of *Chriſt*, ſo was *Eve* of the Church, which ſhou'd bring forth Children unto God. And as the Church is builded upon *Chriſt* her Rock and Foundation; ſo was *Eve* made or builded (as our Margin, after the *Hebrew*, reads *Gen.* II. 22.) out of *Adam*. And as the Church has no life but what ſhe derives from *Chriſt*, ſo neither had *Eve* but what ſhe deriv'd from *Adam*; and the ſide of *Chriſt* was open'd after his death, whence iſſu'd Water and Blood; of which he has given us two ſalutary Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper: By the firſt we are born again of Water and the holy Spirit; and made Members of his Church, which is his Body: And by the ſecond we are perpetually nouriſh'd with his Blood into eternal life. Now theſe flowed not out of *Chriſt*'s ſide, till after he was dead; for till then he had not fully paid the price of our redemption, the *conſummatum eſt* was not pronounc'd but with his laſt breath upon the Croſs; for till his death all was not finiſh'd: Then came out the Water and the Blood, which are the life of his Church; and the Church, being then perfectly redeemed, may be ſaid to be born, and taken out of his dead Body. So it is ſaid *Gen.* II. 21. *The Lord God cauſed a deep ſleep* 5. And *Eve* of the Church, particularly in her formation.

to fall upon Adam, *and he ſlept.* And while he was in this neareſt image of death (and we muſt ſuppoſe it was more than an ordinary ſleep which the Lord caus'd to fall upon him) his ſide was open'd, and *Eve* was taken out of him.

And as it was ſaid of the firſt *Adam*, that there was no help meet for him found among all the inferior Creatures, therefore that God made an help meet for him, out of his own Fleſh and Blood: So was there no help meet for the ſecond *Adam* among Birds, Fiſh, or Fowl, but his delight was with the Children of Men; and out of them he purchaſed a Church with his own Blood, to be an holy Spouſe unto him, and an help meet for him, to bring forth Children unto glory.

It cannot eſcape any body's obſervation, that the male and female of Man were not created together, like thoſe of the Birds, Fiſh and Fowl; but that the Man was created alone, and afterwards his female was deduc'd out of him. And there is more circumſtance and particularities told of this deduction of *Eve* out of *Adam*, than even of the formation of *Adam* out of the Earth, or any other part of the Creation. And in that very ſhort Hiſtory in *Geneſis* of the times before the Flood, it cannot be imagin'd ſo much of it ſhou'd be taken up with this, if it were not a matter of the higheſt moment, and greatly to be regarded by us. And it appears the more to be ſo, by the frequent alluſions made to it in the New Teſtament, not only with relation to Man and Wife, but to *Chriſt* and his Church.

XI. By the word God in holy Scripture the whole bleſſed Trinity is meant.

SOC. Come, to have done with your alluſions: If each of the three Perſons in your ſuppos'd Trinity was God, then the word God wou'd not in Scripture be apply'd to one of them more than to another: But it is evident that generally through the Scripture by the word God is meant God the Father, and him only. As to thoſe particular texts wherein you alledge it is apply'd to the other two Perſons, we ſhall examine them by and by; but it wou'd be always apply'd to them, if each of them were God, as you ſay; why not always to them, as well as to the Father?

CHR. It is not always given to the Father, as I ſhall ſhew you. But firſt take my direct anſwer. That by the word God in holy Scripture the whole Trinity of God is meant; and it muſt be ſo: For if the three Perſons are of the Nature of the Godhead, which we have already diſcours'd, then the word God muſt imply them all; as when we ſay the Soul of Man, the three Faculties, and each of them is certainly meant.

Particular acts attributed to each.

SOC. But why then do you attribute Creation to the Father, Redemption to the Son, and Sanctification to the holy Ghoſt.

CHR. As we attribute one operation of the Soul to the Underſtanding, another to the Memory, and another to the Will; and yet they all three act in concert, and no one of them can act without the other; as has been plainly ſhew'd before: And that thus it is in the Perſons of the holy Trinity.

And to apply the parallel to your preſent objection; the Underſtanding, which is the father Faculty, has the name of Soul given to it more commonly than either of the other two Faculties. For example, when we deſcribe a Fool, a Man of no Underſtanding, it is common to ſay, ſuch an one has no Soul, or, as *Chryſippus* in *Tully* ſaid of the Soul of a Swine, that it ſerv'd only as Salt, to keep his Body from ſtinking. But we ſay not ſo of an obſtinate Man, or one of a perverſe Will, or of a Man that has a treacherous Memory: On the contrary, it is a ſaying, that the greateſt Wits have the ſhorteſt Memories.

Thus

Thus the word God may ſometimes be us'd to expreſs God the Father; but generally ſpeaking it means the Deity: And ſometimes it is us'd in diſtinction even from the Father, as *Col.* II. 2. ——*The Myſtery of God, and of the Father, and of* Chriſt. The word God ſometimes diſtinguiſh'd from the Father.

And the Godhead is ſometimes expreſs'd without the word God at all, only by the Perſons of the Godhead, as in the form of Baptiſm which *Chriſt* commanded, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* And the Deity expreſs'd by the Perſons only.

And ſometimes the term of Father is given to the Son, as *Iſa.* IX. 6. where *Chriſt* is called the *Everlaſting Father:* That was in relation to Creatures; *For by him were all things made,* Joh. I. 3. And the word Father given to the Son.

SOC. We will talk more of this when we come to examine theſe texts. But now, in the mean time, I muſt call upon you for what you promis'd, *Sect.* VIII. *of the Fecundity of God:* Where you ſaid, that even heathen Philoſophers have argued as you did; and had a notion of a Trinity of Perſons in God from the Fecundity of his Nature.

XII. That the Heathen had a notion of the Trinity as well as the *Jews.*

CHR. This notion of the Fecundity of God made them deſcribe God as Male and Female: Thus *Damaſcius* repeats what old *Orpheus* taught of the Deity, ἀρσενόθηλυν αὐτὴν ὑπεστήσατο, πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς πάντων γονιμικῆς οὐσίας. *He made it Male and Female to ſhew the generative power of all things,* which they deriv'd from it; or by which he made all things: And *Proclus* upon *Timæus,* p. 95. quotes this among other *Orphick* verſes,

Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἀμβροσίη ἔπλετο νύμφη.

Jupiter *is a Man,* Jupiter *is alſo an immortal Woman.*

It was very common among their *Myſtick* Writers to ſtyle God Ἀρρενόθηλυν, that is, Man and Woman: And *Syneſius* a learned and pious chriſtian Biſhop follows this form of expreſſion in ſome of his Hymns to God, as

Σὺ πατὴρ, Σὺ δ' ἔσσι μήτηρ,
Σὺ ἄρρην, Σὺ δ' θῆλυς.

Thou art Father, thou art Mother.
Thou art Man, thou art Woman.

SOC. This goes but to two Perſons; it ſeems they thought not of a third.

CHR. That does not follow: *Syneſius* a Biſhop did not think ſo, who uſes the ſame Expreſſion: And he liv'd in the fourth Century, when the doctrine of the Trinity was fully and every where eſtabliſh'd, by your own confeſſion: And he could not then have been a Biſhop without acknowledging of it. Owning two Perſons does not deny the third: And the heathen Philoſophers held three ſupreme and almighty Principles, which they call'd likewiſe Perſons or Hypoſtaſes (which is the *Greek* for Perſons) and that theſe act in conjunction, and made the World and all things.

SOC. I have heard indeed that there is a great deal of this in *Plato:* For the *Defence of the Brief Hiſtory of the* Unitarians, which we are now upon, p. 5. and p. 17. ſpeaks of three Principles of *Plato*; and accuſes the *ante-Nicene* Fathers for arguing ſo like *Platonick* Philoſophers, and ſays, that they followed the Ideas of *Plato* concerning the three Principles. And p. 17. he tells us likewiſe, that the *Jews* had this notion of the Trinity, and quotes *Philo* for it, one of the moſt learned *Jews.*

CHR. These are large conceſſions: He has given us up the *ante-Nicene* Fathers, the *Jews*, and the Heathens; but having ſtarted the objection, what anſwer does he give to it?

SOC. For the Heathens, he ſays, that the Fathers finding fault with *Plato*'s notion, brought into the world a new interpretation of the three Principles: And for the *Jews*, he ſays, *Muſt we believe* Philo Judæus *rather than St.* Paul? *Who plainly tells us, in direct oppoſition to* Philo, *that there is one God.*

CHR. And ſo ſaid *Philo:* For the *Jews* acknowledg'd but one God: And St. *Paul* (who was co-temporary with *Philo*) does not charge them with holding more than one God: So that in this there is no direct oppoſition, or any oppoſition at all betwixt St. *Paul* and *Philo*. You muſt ſhew then that St. *Paul* oppos'd him as to the three Hypoſtaſes or Perſons.

And as to the Heathen, we ſuppoſe not that they invented it, but learn'd it from the *Jews*. It is plain that *Plato* attain'd to the knowledge of the *Jewiſh* Religion in *Ægypt:* And ſeveral of the Fathers have obſerv'd the agreement of his doctrine, in many things, with the Old Teſtament: Whence *Numenius* the *Pythagorean* ſaid of him, *Quid enim aliud eſt* Plato, *quàm* Moſes *Atticiſſans?* That is, *that* Plato *was nothing elſe but* Moſes *ſpeaking at* Athens: And many of the Fathers, as *Juſtin Martyr*, *Clem. Alexandrinus*, *Euſebius*, &c. have ſaid, that *Plato* had penetrated into the myſtery of the Trinity.

But theſe Philoſophers having got poſſeſſion of the notion, did refine upon it by their Philoſophy, and fell into ſundry errors: As they did about the notion of a God, and ſeveral other things which they had receiv'd by tradition from the beginning but knew it not, as of Marriage, Sacrifice, Prieſthood, *&c.* inſtituted by God from the beginning of the world, and deſcended thro' the heathen as well as *Jewiſh* Poſterity of *Adam*: But the original of them was loſt among thoſe who had not the holy Scriptures to preſerve the tradition: Thus falſe Religions came in, and were nothing elſe but a corruption of the true, at firſt inſtituted by God.

But ſtill they retain'd ſo much of the ſtricture of it, as to ſhew from whence they came, and to be reducible into it again: And they ſtand in many points as witneſſes to it, and confirmations of it; particularly where Reaſon comes in, in aid of Religion, as in our preſent caſe. The Church having the revelation of the bleſſed Trinity, builds upon that; and is not oblig'd to go any farther. But the heathen Philoſophers had no other way of proving it but by Reaſon: And ſome of them went very far in that, as we have ſeen, and may be helpful even to Chriſtians in their contemplation of the divine Myſteries. St. *Auguſtin* owns this in the ſeventh Book of his Confeſſions, and profeſſeth that the Books of the Philoſophers were of great uſe to him to help him to underſtand more eaſily ſome orthodox Truths: And that he found in ſome of them almoſt all the beginning of the Goſpel of St. *John:* Which made *Amelius* an heathen Philoſopher ſay when he read it, that that *Barbarian* (as he call'd St. *John*) had ſtolen from their Philoſophers his notion of the Λόγος, or *Word* of *God*, being God, and one of the three firſt Principles. *Euſeb. Præpar. Evan.* p. 540. But we ſhall ſee more of this when we come to conſider that place in St. *John*; and likewiſe how the Philoſophers, but eſpecially the ancient Hereticks, (the predeceſſors of the *Socinians* and *Arians*) had corrupted the doctrine of the three firſt Principles with the multitude and confuſion of their *Æones*, &c.

Therefore the Apoſtles and Fathers had reaſon to give a new (which was nearer to the old) interpretation of the three firſt Principles.

SOC. Let me know a little what the old notion of theſe three Principles was, and when it began among the Heathen.

CHR. I told you before, that it came down to them by immemorial Tradition from the beginning, and therefore we cannot trace the beginning: But we can trace it ſo far, as to ſhew that it was no invention of the Chriſtians. For *Plato*, who has ſo much of it, was born about four hundred and twenty eight years before the Birth of *Chriſt*. But the Heathen did not aſcribe the beginning of it to *Plato*, as if it were an invention of his: They ſaid that *Orpheus* had it long before *Plato*; and the *Chaldæans* had it long before *Orpheus*: They look'd upon it as coming down to them by old and long tradition, whoſe beginning they knew not. *Plotinus* ſpeaking of theſe τρεῖς ἀρχικὰς ὑποστάσεις, *three chief Perſons*, which ſometimes they call Principles, ſays, Μὴ καινὰς μὴ ὢν νῦν ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν εἰρημένας. *That this was not new, or then invented, but a Tradition of old time.* And *Proclus* upon *Timæ. Plat.* calls this doctrine ἡ τῶν τριῶν Θεῶν παράδοσις. *The Tradition of three Gods.* And Θεοπαράδοτος Θεολογία. *The Doctrine* or *Theology* that was *deliver'd* or *reveal'd by God.* They call'd theſe *three*, ſometimes three *Principles*, ſometimes three Gods, ſometimes three *Natures*, ſometimes three *Perſons*, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, and τρεῖς φύσεις. And it is not ſtrange that that they ſhould fall into theſe varieties of expreſſions wanting the true revelation of this great myſtery, and conſequently not tied up to that ſtrictneſs of expreſſion as we are. But they explain'd themſelves ſo as to ſhew, that by theſe three they meant one only God: Therefore they call'd this Trinity of Gods the τὸ Θεῖον, the *Godhead*, or *Nature* of *God*: As ſays their ancient Oracle,

Παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριὰς, ἧς μονὰς ἄρχει.

In all the World there ſhines a Trinity, of which an Unity is the Head.

This is inſerted among the *Oracula Zoroaſtri in Platonicis Collecta*, p. 8. This Treatiſe of *Zoroaſter*'s is publiſh'd hy *Franc. Patricius*, at the end of his *Nova de Univerſis Philoſophia*. Fol. Edit. *Venet.* An. 1593.

The heathen Philoſophy is full of this doctrine: And they plac'd a gradual ſubordination of theſe three divine Hypoſtaſes or Perſons: And from thence they argu'd that there was a neceſſity for theſe three Hypoſtaſes to be in the Nature of God; and that they could be neither more nor leſs; and that they muſt proceed from one another. *Porphyry* is quoted to this purpoſe by St. *Cyril.* cont. *Jul.* 1. p. 34. Edit. *Pariſ.* 1638. in Fol. Πορφύριος γάρ φησι, Πλάτωνος ἐκπιθέμενος δόξαν ἄχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τῆς Θείας προελθεῖν οὐσίαν. That *the divine Nature does extend* or communicate *itſelf to the three Hypoſtaſes* or Perſons. And *Philo* the *Jew* calls theſe three Perſons, τὸ ὄν, δεσποτικὸν, τῆς ἱλεω δύναμιν. *de Agric. Noæ.* l. 2. the firſt, *being*; the ſecond, *governing* or preſerving; the third, *Love* or Beneficence; Which is the very order in which we have diſcours'd of the three Perſons. And *Euſeb.* in his *Præpar. Evangel.* p. 327. ſays, οἱ πάντες Ἑβραίων θεολόγοι μετὰ τὸν πάντων Θεὸν καὶ πρωτότοκον αὐτοῦ Σοφίαν, τρίτην καὶ ἁγίαν Δύναμιν ἅγιον πνεῦμα προσειπόντες, ἀποθειάζουσιν, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἐφωτίζοντο θεοφορούμενοι. That is, *all the* Jewiſh *Divines, after the God of all, and his firſt-born Wiſdom, do deify a third and holy Power, which they call the Holy Ghoſt, of whom the inſpired were enlighten'd.*

Grotius quotes ſome of their *Cabaliſts*, who call God three Lights, and by the names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.

And *Ainſworth* on *Gen.* 1. recites out of one of their *Rabbies*, that in the word *Elohim* there are three degrees, each diſtinct by itſelf, yet all one, join'd in one, yet not divided from one another.

But more of this as to both *Jews* and Heathens, when I come to ſhew you their notion of the Λόγος in explanation of *Joh.* 1. 1.

SOC. You have begun with clearing contradiction out of the way as to the Trinity, that there is none in the terms wherein you expreſs it, that is, of three Perſons in one Nature. *Secondly*, That we cannot infer con-

XIII. A ſhort Recapitulation.

 tradiction

tradiction from one Nature to another, unleſs we underſtand both: Which you have exemplify'd in the inſtance of a Man born blind, of the different manner of the preſence of Soul and Body, *&c.* *Thirdly*, You have drawn parallels as to thoſe particulars wherein we charge contradiction in your notion of the Trinity, chiefly from the three Faculties in the Soul of Man. *Fourthly*, You have endeavour'd to prove even by Reaſon, the diverſity of Perſons in God, from the neceſſity of infinite Power having an infinite ſcope wherein to exert itſelf: Whence you have inferr'd what you call the Fecundity of God: And ſupported it with ſeveral parallels which are made uſe of in Scripture. And *Laſtly*, To remove the prejudice of the Trinity being an invention of the Chriſtians, and likewiſe to reconcile it more to our Reaſon, you have produc'd teſtimonies from the Heathens as well as the *Jews*, to ſhew that the ſame notion had been with them all along, and deſcended to them from the firſt revelation given to *Adam*.

And all this I ſuppoſe you intended to facilitate my underſtanding the texts we are to diſcourſe of in your ſenſe, and the commonly receiv'd notion, and not to ſtrain them as you ſay we do from the plain and genuine meaning of the words; and which you ſay we wou'd not do, but from the neceſſity we think lies upon us to avoid contradiction: And now I ſuppoſe you think the way is open to enter upon the conſideration of the texts in Scripture, which muſt determine the point.

Parallel of two Natures in *Chriſt*.

But there is another point involv'd with that of the Trinity, wherein you and we as much differ; that is, what you call the Incarnation, that the divine and human Natures ſhould be both join'd in one Perſon: And among the texts we are to diſcuſs, ſeveral refer to this. Therefore before we begin with the texts, let me know if you have any parallel or illuſtration of this, to remove my prejudice (as you call it) from this ſenſe of theſe texts too: And then we have done with parallels.

CHR. I will give you that in the words of the Creed of St. *Athanaſius*, That *as the reaſonable Soul and Fleſh is one Man, ſo God and Man is one* Chriſt. Now there are no two things in the World ſo different as the Natures of Body and Soul: Hardly any thing, except that of Being, agrees to both. Yet how are they united, ſo as both to make but one Perſon? And the parting of them is the deſtruction of the Perſon: And even while they remain united, their Natures and Properties are no ways confounded or blended together, the Soul partakes nothing at all of the Nature of the Body, nor the Body of the Nature or Properties of the Soul; but both remain, tho' united, diſtinct and entire, each in its own Nature and Properties: Yet the Properties of either are attributed to the Perſon that is compos'd of both. Thus Man is ſaid to eat, drink, ſleep, *&c.* whereas theſe belong only to the Body. He is ſaid likewiſe to underſtand, remember, love or hate: And theſe belong only to the Soul: Thus when *Chriſt* ſuffer'd, *God* is ſaid to *ſuffer*, to *ſhed his Blood, to die for us*, *Acts* xx. 28. 1. *Joh.* III. 16. Tho' this could not belong to the divine Nature of *Chriſt*. He is likewiſe call'd *the mighty God*, *the everlaſting Father*, Iſa. IX. 6. And that *all things were created by him*, Col. I. 16. Which could not belong to his human Nature: But both and either are ſpoke of his Perſon, in which both Natures are united: And this ſhews him to be both God and Man, ſince the Properties of both Natures are attributed to him.

SOC. By what links and chains can God and Man be join'd together, ſo as to make one Perſon?

CHR. I cannot tell you: Nor how God does communicate of himſelf to Creatures: *In him we live and move and have our being*: The being of every creature is a communication of God.

SOC. But how can the ſame Perſon be finite and infinite? Does not this imply a contradiction?

CHR.

CHR. How can the ſame Perſon be mortal and immortal? Does not this imply a contradiction? But it is none, while it is not ſpoken of the ſame thing: It is ſpoken of the ſame Perſon, but not of the ſame Nature. Thus we ſay of the ſame Man, that he is mortal, and likewiſe that he is immortal; but the one is ſpoken in relation to his Soul, the other to his Body. And can any Man tell the links and chains by which mortal and immortal, by which ſpirit and fleſh are join'd together, ſo as to make but one and the ſame Perſon? Theſe things we cannot explain in our ſelves: And wou'd we explain them in God? Whoſe Power is infinite, and what is impoſſible with Men, is eaſy to God, for with him all things are poſſible.

SOC. But can the *Godhead* be converted into any thing elſe than what it is? That wou'd argue mutability in God: How then can the *Godhead* be converted into the *Manhood?*

CHR. The *Godhead* is not converted into the *Manhood*, as the Soul is not converted into the Body, in the Union of our Perſons. Therefore the *Creed* of St. *Athanaſius* ſays, That *God and Man are one in the Perſon of* Chriſt; *not by the converſion of the Godhead into Fleſh, but by taking the Manhood into God.*

SOC. I ſee that *Athanaſius* went upon parallels as well as you: But you urge parallels no farther than as illuſtrations, to remove our prejudice from taking the Scriptures in your Senſe; therefore the Scriptures muſt determine the Cauſe; and now let us come to them.

XIV. The current ſenſe of the Church the beſt interpreter of the holy Scriptures.

CHR. There is another preliminary neceſſary to be ſettled, in order to our right underſtanding of the holy Scriptures; and that is, in what ſenſe we ſhall take them: All words are equivocal, and capable of different meanings, either literal or figurative: And for us to ſet our fancies on work what this or that word may be ſcrew'd to, and to put our own inventions upon them, is endleſs, and of no certainty when we have done; who wou'd build his Faith upon the Criticiſm of a *Lexicon?* Tho' I deny not but there is uſe for this ſort of learning too, in its place; and many times it ſerves to illuſtrate and clear up things very much.

But the ground and foundation we have to go upon, in diſputed places of holy Scripture, is the ſenſe in which they to whom they were deliver'd did underſtand them: They who learn'd the Doctrines from the mouths of the Apoſtles, as well as from their writings. Theſe ſurely, muſt beſt know the meaning of theſe writings: And then again, they to whom theſe taught them; and ſo on thro' the ſeveral ages of the Church. And conſidering that the Goſpel was preached, before the Apoſtles left the World, in moſt Countries of the then known Earth, even as far as the *Eaſt Indies*, what was the common and receiv'd Doctrine in all theſe far diſtant Churches, muſt be what was at firſt deliver'd to them; and cou'd not be any concert or contrivance among them, who had no correſpondence with, or ſo much as knowledge of one another.

This is reducing our diſpute to matter of fact, to what was the Doctrine of the Church, and the univerſal and receiv'd Doctrine, eſpecially in the firſt and pureſt ages: This was the method taken with *Arius*, in the Council of *Alexandria*, they did not go with him upon his Logick, nor Criticiſm and Etymology of words, but *Quis unquam talia audivit? Who ever heard of this Doctrine before?* And there being Biſhops aſſembled from ſeveral Countries, each declar'd the Doctrine that had been receiv'd in his Country. All which concurring againſt the new notions ſtarted by *Arius*, they were rejected as Novelties, and Breaches upon the chriſtian Faith; as you may ſee in *Socrat. Hiſt.* l. 1. c. 5.

SOC.

SOC. We know the force of this argument, and therefore we contend that the current Doctrine of the Church was our way before the firſt Council of *Nice*, which we ſay corrupted the true chriſtian Faith.

CHR. You have none to quote on your ſide, but thoſe who were condemn'd by the Church, as Hereticks, for theſe and ſuch like Doctrines, contrary to the Faith eſtabliſh'd every where.

This is learnedly and elaborately ſet forth by Dr. *Bull*, in a Treatiſe wrote on purpoſe upon that ſubject, concerning the *Ante-Nicene* Faith; wherein he fully vindicates the Fathers of thoſe ages, from the aſperſions you wou'd caſt upon them, as any way favouring your hereſy.

And thus far will come in my way, that in examining the ſeveral texts of Scripture, I will endeavour to bring ſome of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers for the orthodox conſtruction, againſt that interpretation which you ſet up: And wherein their Faith concerning the Doctrine of the holy Trinity, and likewiſe as to the Divinity of our Lord *Chriſt*, will fully appear.

If I bring them not upon every text, or not many of them, it is not ſtrange, ſince the writers of thoſe ages were not many; and their works, that are come to our hands, are generally Epiſtles or Apologies, or upon particular Subjects, not comments upon the Scripture in order, as became more the uſe in the after ages: And therefore their ſenſe upon particular texts is to be found, as it were by chance, where they have occaſion to quote them upon other Subjects: And tho' it will take more pains, yet I hope I ſhall have ſufficient for what I have undertaken.

THE SECOND DIALOGUE.

CONCERNING

The Texts of Holy Scripture, which are brought for the proof of the Bleſſed Trinity, and Divinity of Chriſt.

SOCINIAN. YOU have promis'd fair, if you can perform equally: But before we begin with the texts in the order they are quoted in our *Brief Hiſtory*, I deſire you wou'd give me one of your maſterly texts, as you think, for the proof of your Doctrine, that we may conſider it more fully by itſelf, than the time will allow us in running over the many other texts quoted.

CHRISTIAN.

CHRISTIAN. With all my heart: And this will determine the cauſe in a manner, before it be determin'd; and beſides, will make my anſwer to your interpretation of the other texts both ſhorter and plainer, and ſave many repetitions. XV. *Joh.* i. 1. particularly conſider'd.

The text that I offer for this is, *John.* i. 1. *In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God.* In order to underſtand this more perfectly, it will be neceſſary to know upon what occaſion, and with reſpect to whom, the Apoſtle wrote this.

There was at that time one *Cerinthus*, an Arch-Heretick and Diſciple of *Simon Magus*, who affirm'd that *Jeſus* was the Son of *Joſeph* and *Mary*; that *Chriſt* or the Word came upon him, in the form of a Dove, at his Baptiſm, and inſpir'd him with the knowledge of God the Father, and with the power of working Miracles: That when *Jeſus* ſuffer'd, *Chriſt* left him, and flew up into Heaven without partaking any thing of his ſufferings. It was againſt this *Cerinthus* and his followers, that St. *John* wrote his Goſpel, when he was return'd to *Epheſus*, after the death of *Domitian*. See *Iren.* l. 1. c. 25. l. 3. c. 11. *Epiphan. Her.* 22, &c.

Theſe Hereticks being bewildred in their imaginations, and given up to the deluſions of *Satan*, fancy'd to themſelves ſeveral *Æones* or Ages, which they ſaid God produc'd after one another. Of theſe St. *Irenæus* gives us a large account: One of theſe they call'd Σιγὴ *Silence*, from whence they ſaid the Λόγος or Word did proceed. Whence St. *Ignatius*, in oppoſition to them, calls *Chriſt* the Λόγος ἀΐδιος οὐκ ἀπὸ Σιγῆς προελθών, that is, *The Eternal Word, not proceeding from ſilence*, Epiſt. ad Magneſ.

This was in purſuance to what his Maſter St. *John* (whoſe Diſciple he was) had wrote againſt theſe ſame Hereticks, beginning his Goſpel in the words of this text, aſſerting the Word of God, not to have been any of theſe fancied *Æones*, produc'd in time, but to have been *in the beginning* with God, and to be God. And *Grotius* upon this text ſays, that *in the beginning was a common* Hebrew *Phraſe, whereby to expreſs eternity. Sicut mos eſt Hebræis Æternitatem populariter deſcribere.* And his Authority is the more conſiderable to you, becauſe your *Brief Hiſtory* ſays, p. 31. That *H. Grotius is a* Socinian *all over.*

There were others concern'd beſides theſe Hereticks in what St. *John* wrote concerning the Λόγος, thoſe were, the *Jews* and the Heathens: And it will be neceſſary alſo to know what their notion was of the *Logos*, that we may ſee how the Apoſtle adapted what he ſaid to all of them. And this I will ſhew you preſently, when I come to anſwer what your *Brief Hiſtory of the Unitarians*, ſays to this text, from which I will no longer detain you.

SOC. He ſays, p. 83. That by the Word is only meant God's Power and Wiſdom, which is not ſomething different from God, but being his Wiſdom and Power, is God.

He ſays likewiſe, p. 84. That the appellation of God is given to Angels and Men; as *Moſes* was call'd a God to *Pharaoh. Exod.* VII. 1.

CHR. Theſe two anſwers which the *Hiſtory of Unitar.* gives to this text, do contradict one another; the firſt ſuppoſes the word to be real God; the ſecond to be but Man, and call'd God in a borrow'd ſenſe, as there are Gods by office or deputation from God. The firſt anſwer makes the Word not to be any thing different from God; the ſecond ſays that it is Man and not God,

SOC. Theſe two anſwers I confeſs cannot well ſtand together, they cannot both be true; but let us ſee if either of them will hold; therefore pray ſatisfy me as to the firſt anſwer; that is, that by the Word of God any

more is meant than the Power or Wiſdom of God, as we ſay the Power or Wiſdom of a Man, by which nothing is meant different from the Man.

CHR. You remember what we have diſcours'd, that Properties in Body, and Faculties in Soul, are Perſons in God; and the reaſons why it muſt be ſo; and therefore the Wiſdom of a Man is not a diſtinct Perſon in Man; but it is otherwiſe in God, whoſe Wiſdom is a diſtinct *Hypoſtaſis*, that is, a Subſiſtence, or Perſon in his Nature.

SOC. I remember this very well, and what has been ſaid upon it; but we are now upon the point of Scripture, and therefore I deſire that you wou'd ſhew me from Scripture, that the Word is a diſtinct Perſon from God.

CHR. You have not remembred exactly, for we do not ſay, That any of the Perſons of God are diſtinct from God; but they are diſtinct in God. God is as it were a *Species* to all the Perſons; tho' it be ſometimes more particularly apply'd to the firſt Perſon, as has been ſhewn. The Nature of God is one, and the three Perſons are all in it; and there is an example of this among Men: We do not ſay that *John* is a diſtinct Perſon from human Nature; but he is a diſtinct Perſon in human Nature: That is, he is a diſtinct Perſon from other Perſons who partake equally of the ſame Nature. *John* is a diſtinct Perſon from *Peter*, and *Peter* from *John*; but neither of them is diſtinct from that Nature of which he partakes, and which conſequently is his own Nature: That wou'd be, to be diſtinct from himſelf. The diſtinction is not in the Nature, for a diſtinction cannot be 'twixt one; but the diſtinction is 'twixt ſeveral Perſons who are united in the ſame Nature: Thus the Son is a diſtinct Perſon from the Father, but not from God, unleſs where God is taken for the Father.

SOC. I ſee my miſtake in this: Therefore, pray, go on and ſhew, that the Word is a diſtinct Perſon in God, or from the Father.

I. The Son a diſtinct Perſon from the Father.

CHR. I prove it, becauſe perſonal actions are attributed to him: And becauſe he is ſet up as the object of our adoration; which you do not deny, for you worſhip him. *i. e. Chriſt*, whom St. *John* calls the Word. And I think you will not diſpute that any thing but a Perſon can be an object of worſhip: Therefore, if *Chriſt* be a Perſon, which you confeſs, the Word muſt be a Perſon, becauſe you cannot deny that in the firſt of St. *John*, he is call'd the Word.

I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew you hereafter, that the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe, and the *Jewiſh Targums* do all along, in the Old Teſtament, make the Word of *Jehovah* ſynonymous with *Jehovah* himſelf, and yet a diſtinct Perſon, from him; and do attribute to the Word the ſame perſonal actions, as to *Jehovah*; and to be equally adorable as *Jehovah*. As, the *Word of* Jehovah *raining down fire from* Jehovah *upon* Sodom. *Gen.* XIX. 24. The *Word of* Jehovah *ſhall be my God*. Gen. XXVIII. 21. *Abraham* worſhipped and called upon the name of the *Word of* Jehovah, and ſaid, *Thou art* Jehovah, *&c.* more of this I ſhall ſhew you, when I come to explain what notion the *Jews* had of the *Logos*, or *Word of God*, how they eſteem'd him to be both God, and a diſtinct Perſon. But now, as to the Scripture, in the plain words of the text, *Pſal.* CX. 1. *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, ſit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footſtool.* That the ſecond Lord here ſpoken of, was *Chriſt*, is plain from *Matt.* XXII. 44. and that the *Jews* ſo underſtood it; whence the *Targum* of *Jonathan* renders it thus, *The Lord ſaid to his Word*; in the language of St. *John*, who calls *Chriſt* the *Word of God*. And there cannot be a greater diſtinction of Perſons, than one to ſpeak to the other, one to ſit on the other's right hand, one to ſubdue the other's enemies, *&c.*

And

And therefore where it is ſaid, *the Word is God*, by the *Word* a Perſon muſt be meant, and not only a Property or Attribute of God: *Which*, as your Author ſays, *is not ſomething different from God, but is God*; and yet in the very ſame anſwer he ſays*, *that it is ſo God, that it is not all that God is.* This is as unintelligible to me as the Trinity can be to him: *To be God*, and to be *nothing different from God*, and yet to be *ſo God* as not to be *all that God is!* This is paſt all human Underſtanding, for if you be not *all that God is*, you cannot be God, but a piece of God, and if you be not ſomething *different from God*, then you muſt be *all that God is.*

SOC. The *Defence of the Hiſtory*, p. 44. means no more by, *the Word was God*, than that the *Word* was *in ſome manner like God.*

CHR. He does not deſerve an anſwer: Let his Hiſtorian anſwer him, or let him anſwer the Hiſtorian, for in this he diſputes againſt him inſtead of defending him: Nay, let this Defender anſwer himſelf, he ſays, p. 53. that the Knowledge which *Chriſt* had was by the divine Word abiding on him, which agrees with the Hiſtorian, p. 120. who likewiſe tells of the divine Word being communicated to Angels and Men, p. 83. and 84. and that the *Word was made fleſh* means no more than the Word's abiding on or inhabiting an human Perſon, the Perſon of *Jeſus*, p. 87. So that here the Word is kept as a diſtinct thing from *Jeſus*, and according to this the Word was not a Man, was not *Jeſus*, but only did inſpire *Jeſus*; and yet the Defender, p. 46. ſays expreſſly, and gives it as his paraphraſe upon that text, *the Word was made Fleſh*, that the *Word* did not only *inhabit* and *inſpire Jeſus*, but was *that Man* Jeſus; theſe are the words of his Paraphraſe. *The Word* (Jeſus) *was a Man like unto us in all things, ſin only excepted*; and to fortify this, he quotes Mr. *Limborck*, ſpeaking theſe words. *The true ſenſe of this place, is, that the Word was Fleſh, that is, a true fleſhly Subſtance, ſubject to all the infirmities that attend our Fleſh, that is to ſay, he was mortal, vile, and contemptible, which appear'd more eſpecially in the days of his Paſſion and of his Death, which are call'd*, Heb. v. 7. *the days of his Fleſh, that is, the Fleſh, Death, Paſſion*, &c. *of the Word of God.* And yet in the ſame place he ſays, *now is it not more agreeable to Reaſon and Scripture to interpret theſe words thus——than to ſay, the Word was incarnate, which is a language unknown to Scripture?* &c.

Is not this aſtoniſhing! Pray, what is the difference betwixt *the Word was made Fleſh*, and *the Word was incarnate*, but that *made Fleſh* is the *Engliſh* for *incarnate?* Do theſe Men ſpeak againſt myſteries!

There are multitudes of more quotations out of Scripture may be given to prove the Word to be a Perſon: *John* I. 14. *The Word was made Fleſh.* You will not ſay it was the Bible that was made Fleſh? Or any outward Speech or Declaration of God's? Was it not a Perſon that was made Fleſh?

SOC. By God's Word there, is meant God himſelf, and not any thing diſtinct from God, as I told you juſt now.

CHR. Was it God himſelf then that was made Fleſh?

SOC. *The Word was made Fleſh*, that is, †*Did abide on, and inhabit an human Perſon*; *and ſo was in appearance made Fleſh or Man*; or the Word became *incarnate, that is, abode on the Perſon of* Jeſus Chriſt.

CHR. I muſt ſtill ask, what was it that was made Fleſh or Man? If by the Word of God you mean God himſelf, then God was made Man, which you will not allow.

If you mean only ſome outward Speech or Declaration of his, as the Book of the Scriptures, or the like, then that Book was made Man or incarnate.

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* Hiſt. p. 83, 84. † Hiſt. *Unitar.* p. 87.

SOC.

SOC. You do not obſerve that he ſays, the Word *was in appearance made Man*.

CHR. I did obſerve it, and ſee the utmoſt pains taken to eſcape the force of this text: But this, like all other fallacious ſubterfuges, will involve you in greater difficulties: For was there nothing really made Fleſh in this text, thoſe hereticks would be beholding to you, who ſay that *Chriſt* aſſum'd only a Body of Air, and ſuffer'd only in appearance and ſhew, but had no real Fleſh or Blood.

But theſe your Hiſtory calls falſe Prophets and Teachers, p. 151.

But pray how did the Word appear to be Fleſh? Or how was it incarnate?

SOC. Becauſe it did inſpire or abode on the Perſon of *Jeſus*.

CHR. Does that make it Fleſh? Or appear to be Fleſh?

SOC. I dare not ſay that, for it did inſpire the Prophets and Patriarchs; and the Spirit of God inſpires every holy Perſon: But it was in *Chriſt* in a more eminent manner.

CHR. Does that make it Fleſh? Does the Spirit of God contract the Nature of Fleſh, when it inſpires a Perſon who has Fleſh? It inſpir'd *Moſes* more than other Prophets, and the Prophets more than Men: Is it therefore more Fleſh in a Prophet than in another Saint? Or can you ſay that it is Fleſh at all, by any inſpiration it gives to Men? Does it contract Corruption and become Fleſh by its inſpiration of Man? Can it be tainted by touching our Nature? Is the Spirit incarnate when it abides upon any Man?

SOC. All theſe you ſpeak of did partake of God's Spirit or Inſpiration in their ſeveral degrees; but it is ſaid of *Chriſt*, that God giveth not the Spirit *by meaſure* unto *him*; what alteration this will make is to be conſider'd.

CHR. It is indeed; and by the argument you have already heard, it will prove *Chriſt* to be God; for as we ſaid before, nothing can hold infinite but infinite: And therefore nothing can hold the Spirit of God, *without meaſure*, that is, the *whole Spirit of God*, but what is it ſelf as infinite and without meaſure as that Spirit.

Irenæus (*Adverſ. Her.* l. 3. c. 17.) diſputes againſt thoſe who ſaid that *Jeſus* was the Receptacle of *Chriſt*, upon whom *Chriſt* deſcended like a Dove: So you ſee this is no new ſhift of our Author's to avoid this text.

Origen (in *John*, p. 416. 2 Tom.) ſays, that the Son is the Brightneſs of all God's Glory, as it is deliver'd by *Paul*, *Heb.* 1. 3. *who being the Brightneſs of his Glory*. But there are particular Brightneſſes which come from this Brightneſs of all the Glory. But none can partake of the whole brightneſs of all God's Glory, ἢ τὸν υἱόν, *except his Son:* And, ſays he, *if you add his Spirit too, you will think and ſpeak moſt truly and perfectly of God:* Theſe are the words of *Origen*.

SOC. I muſt not now be diverted, I have had my ſaying to that argument already: Therefore I deſire to know if you have any more to prove the diverſity of Perſons in God, or, which is the ſame, that either of the two, the Word or the Spirit, are Perſons.

2. The Holy Ghoſt a Perſon.

CHR. *John* XVI. 13, 14. *Chriſt* ſays of the Spirit—— *He ſhall not ſpeak of himſelf, he ſhall receive of mine, and ſhew it to you*; and in anſwer to this, the *Hiſt. of Unitar.* p. 99. ſays, that *of thoſe who are* Unitarians, *all the* Arians, *and very many* Socinians *do acknowledge that the Holy Spirit is a Perſon*.

SOC. But in the ſame place they deny him to be God; and make him only *chief of the heavenly Spirits, and prime Miniſter of God and* of Chriſt.

CHR. Then you make him not only to be a Creature, but to be a Subject or Miniſter to another Creature, which is *Chriſt*

SOC. I cannot help that.

CHR. But what ſay you of the Word of God? Is that a Creature too?

SOC. The divine Wiſdom and Power is call'd the Word, as ſaid before.

CHR. Does the Wiſdom or Power of God differ from the Spirit of God?

SOC. No ſure, for what is the Wiſdom or Power of a Man, but the Spirit of a Man? They are but different expreſſions of the ſame thing.

CHR. Then the Word of God and the Spirit of God are the ſame thing.

SOC. Yes: At moſt but a different expreſſion of the ſame thing: And we uſe theſe words promiſcuouſly: *The Word or Power of God abiding on* Chriſt, *and the Holy Ghoſt or Spirit is merely the Power of God*; ſays the *Hiſt. of the Unitar.* p. 4. 75. 125.

CHR. And in what you have quoted before, upon the text *John* I. 1. *The Word was God*, the *Hiſt. of the Unitar.* ſays that *the Word (or divine Wiſdom and Power) is not ſomething different from God; but being his Wiſdom and Power is God.*

But, pag. 99. you ſay, that the Holy Spirit is not God, or a God.

SOC. That was but the opinion of ſome of the *Unitarians.*

CHR. Your *Hiſtory* ſays it was the opinion of *all the* Arians, *and very many* Socinians.

SOC. Well! That is but ſome of the *Unitarians* ſtill.

CHR. It is the major part by much of your Congregation, and the moſt ancient part.

SOC. I believe we muſt give off the *Arians.*

CHR. Nay, we will have very many of the *Socinians* too by the confeſſion of your own *Hiſtory.*

SOC. I confeſs we *Unitarians* are divided.

CHR. And worſe than that, you loſe all your pretence to antiquity: For you muſt not derive your ſelves from the *Arians*, no nor from *Socinians* neither, for very many of his diſciples are againſt you.

SOC. I care not for antiquity, nor univerſality, truth is not carried by votes: Let us come to the argument; *Chriſt* ſays, that *the Spirit ſhall not ſpeak of himſelf——He ſhall receive of mine, and ſhew it unto you.* To this objection you have repeated one anſwer of all the *Arians*, and very many *Socinians*; and I muſt own, upon our Principles, that you have confuted it. John xvi. 13, 14.

But there is a ſecond anſwer there given, p. 99. which is that I ſtick too, and that is, *That actions proper to Perſons are, by a figure apply'd to things, and even to qualities of things.* As God's commands are call'd *Counſellours*; Wiſdom is ſaid to *lift up her voice*, *build her houſe*, *and hew out her ſeven pillars*, &c. And this is the anſwer my Author gives to *John* I. 3. *All things were made by him*, (the Word;) for here, ſays he*, the Word begins to be ſpoken of as a Perſon, by the ſame figure of ſpeech that *Solomon* ſaith, *Wiſdom hath builded her Houſe*, &c.

But farther, the *Defence of the Hiſtory*, p. 40. ſays, that the Creation of the World cannot be prov'd from this text, that *all things were made* by the *Word*; becauſe he ſays, that the words Heaven, Earth, or Sea, are never omitted in the deſcriptions we have in Scripture of the firſt and true Creation: For you muſt know that this Defender of our Hiſtorian underſtands all this paſſage in *John* I. not of the Creation, but only of the firſt propagation of the Goſpel.

CHR. Then he thinks that Heaven, Earth, or Sea, are not included in *all things that were made.* But he is very poſitive that the Creation is never mention'd in Scripture without mentioning Heaven, Earth, or Sea: And

* Hiſt. p. 84.

conſequently that where it mentions the Creation of Heaven, Earth, or Sea, it is never attributed to *Chriſt*.

This is a very bold aſſertion, but it is neceſſary to his cauſe to avoid the plain texts which ſpeak of the World being made by *Chriſt*. Let us ſee therefore if we can pleaſe him in his own method, tho' it be no ways neceſſary; for none of common ſenſe can deny, but the Creation may be ſpoke of in general words, which include all particulars, without mentioning the particulars, or any of them.

But to take away all his excuſe, theſe words are expreſſly apply'd to *Chriſt*, *Heb.* I. 10. *Thou Lord in the beginning haſt laid the foundation of the Earth, and the Heavens are the work of thine Hands.* We ſhall have occaſion to clear this farther by and by. ℣. 2. it is ſaid *by whom* (Chriſt) *he (God) made the World.* But your Author will not let this mean the Creation, becauſe the words Heaven or Earth or Sea are not there; for the ſame reaſon he will except againſt ℣. 3. of chap. II. *The Worlds were framed by the Word of God, ſo that things which are ſeen, were not made of things that do appear.* Theſe things which are ſeen muſt be Heaven, Earth, or Sea: But it is no matter, if they be not nam'd it ſhall not do. Beſides the Apoſtle is here making a regular deduction down all along from the Creation, which he begins ℣. 3. in the words I have repeated, then ℣. 4. he comes to *Abel*, ℣. 5. to *Enoch*, ℣. 7. to *Noah*, ℣. 8. to *Abraham*, and ſo on. But all this is nothing, that muſt not be the Creation whence this narration begins, but it ſhall be what came to paſs, ſome thouſand years after, and which has no relation to the narrative the Apoſtle has in hand. But that the Creation may be meant without the mention of Heaven, Earth, or Sea, appears from *Acts* XVII. 24. there it is ſaid, *God that made the World and all things therein.* That this was ſpoken of the Creation no *Socinian* dare deny: It is St. *Paul*'s argument to the heathen Idolaters, who knew nothing of the Goſpel being call'd the Creation of the World: Indeed Heaven and Earth are mention'd afterward, where it is ſaid that God is *Lord of Heaven and Earth*, but there is no mention of Heaven or Earth where it ſpeaks of the Creation, and ſo ſpoilt our Author's obſervation: Tho' if it were granted him, it could do him no ſervice, becauſe the Creation is attributed to *Chriſt*, with expreſs mention of Heaven and Earth, as before is ſhewn, *Heb.* I. 10. Again, *Col.* I. 16. *By him* (Chriſt) *were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth:* And there are ſeveral other texts to the ſame purpoſe.

But there is nothing better to confute a *Socinian* than plainly to ſet down his Paraphraſe, and ſhew how it fills the words of the text: Thus then the *Defence of the Hiſtory* paraphraſes this verſe, *John* I. 3. *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.* Paraphraſe. *All things neceſſary to the propagation of the Goſpel were perform'd by him, and without his direction there was not any thing perform'd that was perform'd.*

A little of this art would turn the whole chapter of *Geneſis* from meaning the Creation, or any thing elſe: I am weary of purſuing ſuch extravagance.

But let Creation mean only the preaching of the Goſpel, or what you pleaſe, yet is not that itſelf a perſonal action? How come you then to deny the Word to be a Perſon? You dare not truſt your cauſe, and all your defence is becauſe Wiſdom is ſaid to live, *&c.*

I have told you already, that the ſecond Perſon of the Trinity is deſcrib'd by the name of Wiſdom, in the *Proverbs* particularly, and in many other Scriptures: But I need not this now, for I will freely acknowledge, that

actions

actions proper to Perſons are ſometimes, by a figure, apply'd to things, and even Qualities.

But at the ſame time you will allow me, that there is a way to diſtinguiſh betwixt figures and plain ſpeaking; and that a figure will not do in every place; and that notwithſtanding of figures, we may diſtinguiſh Perſons from Qualities: And no where more plainly than in the preſent caſe. How could you diſtinguiſh one Perſon not to be another Perſon, or that the thing you ſpeak of is not a naked Quality, more than to ſay, *He ſhall not ſpeak of himſelf*——*He ſhall receive it of mine, and ſhew it to you?*

Do Men uſe to ſay, that a Quality ſhall not ſpeak of itſelf, which certainly cannot ſpeak at all? Wou'd you make *Chriſt* guilty of ſuch a figure of Speech as this? Do Men ſay that a Quality ſhall receive of one, and give it to another? If theſe be not marks by which to diſtinguiſh Perſons, I wou'd deſire to know any others that are more certain.

All actions are perſonal actions: And when they are aſcrib'd to Qualities, it means, that it was by ſuch Qualities that the Perſon perform'd ſuch an action, otherwiſe it was not proper to aſcribe perſonal actions to Qualities.

You will ſay, it was great Wiſdom built ſuch a Fabrick, erected ſuch a Monarchy, or the like effects of Wiſdom: But you do not ſay, that Wiſdom walks in the Garden, or rides ſuch a Horſe, or calls ſuch a Man by his name, or grants him a commiſſion to go to ſuch a place, to do ſuch things, which otherwiſe he had not authority to do, let him have never no much Wiſdom as to command a troop of Horſe, to be Governor of ſuch a Town, to grant a Pardon or the like: Theſe are a little too perſonal to aſcribe to naked Qualities, and no Man wou'd underſtand you; if you ſpeak at ſuch a rate, you might as well give a Quality power to raiſe money, declare war againſt *France*, and name every Embaſſador, and ſay Lord *B*——ſhall not go, but Lord *D*——ſhall go.

Soc. This indeed wou'd be out of all roads of ſpeaking; but can you find that the Holy Ghoſt ever ſpoke ſo particularly as this, and name Perſons of himſelf to do this or that, without acting by Miniſters, that is inſpiring Prophets to name Men, and the like.

CHR. Yes, as poſitively as ever was ſaid of any Perſon, and in actions as perſonal and particular.

The Holy Ghoſt ſaid ſeparate me Barnabas *and* Saul, *for the work whereunto I have called them.* Acts xiii. 2.

The Spirit ſaid unto Philip, *go near and join thy ſelf to this chariot.* Acts viii. 29. And again, *The Spirit of the Lord caught away* Philip. Was not this a perſonal action? Cou'd a naked Quality catch a Man up into the Air, and carry him from one place to another? *The Spirit ſaid unto* Peter, *behold three men ſeek thee.* Acts x. 19. *Peter* cou'd not tell by his own Wiſdom, that there were three Men ſeeking him; therefore this cannot be made parallel to the expreſſion of *Wiſdom building a Houſe*, or the like effects of Wiſdom in a Man; for this was no effect of any Wiſdom in *Peter*, but a revelation to him from the Spirit; which therefore muſt be a Perſon. ỳ. 29.

It is not call'd a Revelation ſuch as I find out by any Wiſdom God has given me.

Chriſt ſays, *I will ſend the Comforter to you from the Father.* John xv. 26. Do Men ſend Qualities of errands? Is not the ſender a different Perſon from him that is ſent? Or does a Man ſend himſelf from himſelf? Beſides *Chriſt* was conceiv'd by the Holy Ghoſt in the womb of the Virgin, which ſure is a perſonal action; naked Qualities do not uſe to beget or generate.

Soc. This muſt be conſider'd of: But go on.

CHR.

CHR. I wou'd desire you to tell me what Spirit it was which *Christ* speaks of, *John* XVI. 13, 14. where he says, That the *Spirit shall not speak of himself*, &c.

SOC. That is told you in the second answer which we are now upon, Page 100. of *Brief History*. That it was the holy Spirit, or Power of God.

CHR. Is the Spirit or Power any thing different from God?

SOC. No, that has been told you already from Page 83. where it is said in plain and expres terms, That *the divine Wisdom and Power is not something different from God, but is God*; and that *'tis the common maxim of Divines, that the Attributes and Properties of God, are God.*

CHR. Then it was God, who was not to speak of himself; but to receive of *Christ*; *Christ* was to dictate, and God to repeat.

SOC. Page 101. it is said, That he was *not to speak of himself, but to speak what he cou'd hear from God.*

CHR. Then it was God who was to hear from God: And God was not to speak of himself; but only what God should tell him.

SOC. All this nonsense cannot be charg'd upon my Author, because he supposes this Spirit to be a Creature, and not to be God.

CHR. That is the first answer, which you have rejected: And you have prov'd p. 83. and elsewhere, That the Spirit is not any thing different from God, but is God: And even in this very second answer which you mention p. 100. (that you may not be charg'd with forgetfulness) you call this Spirit by the name of the Holy Spirit, or Power of God.

SOC. We do so, and we keep constant to this now, tho' we part with all the *Arians*, and very many of the *Socinians* in so doing.

CHR. Then the nonsense, which you said just now cou'd not be charg'd upon your Author, must be laid to his account again, *viz.* To make the Spirit or Power of God, which is God, not to speak of himself, but to receive from God, and speak what God did dictate to God, &c.

SOC. I must take time to consider of this.

CHR. But besides, I'm afraid the constancy which you brag you have to this opinion now, *viz. That the Spirit is not any thing different from God, but that it is God*, does not hold very well with you, but that you are forc'd to part with it sometimes, when it is for your conveniency.

SOC. If you can shew me any such thing, I will trust no more to any thing our *Unitarians* say.

CHR. Look into the History, p. 125. and there, in answer to that crabbed text, 2 *Cor.* XIII. 14. he replys in these words, *This text demonstrates, that neither the Lord* Christ, *nor the holy Spirit are God, for it plainly distinguishes them from God.*

Here the holy Spirit is plainly distinguish'd from God, and is not God. And before, as you have said, *It is not any thing different from God, but it is God.*

SOC. It is time to go to the second Answer which the *Hist. Unitar.* gives to that text *John* I. 1. *The word was God.* For there is enough said as to the first Answer, *viz.* That by the Word here is only meant God's Power and Wisdom, which is not any thing different from God, but is God. The second Answer is, That the Word God is given sometimes to Creatures, to Angels, and even to Men: And therefore that text may not mean that the Word was the supreme God, but only a God as Kings are call'd Gods, &c.

CHR. To reduce the ſtate of the caſe as ſhort and clear as poſſible, it is thus. The diſtinction is 'twixt a God by Nature, and a God by Office, or Deputation: By Nature we all agree, there can be but one God; but by Office *there be Gods many, and Lords many, whether in Heaven or in Earth.* 1 Cor. viii. 5.

Now in which of theſe ſenſes the word is call'd God is the queſtion.

SOC. That indeed is the queſtion, and if you can make it clear, this cauſe, for ought I can ſee, will remain decided for ever.

CHR. If I can make appear what St. *John*'s meaning was, who wrote theſe words, I ſuppoſe that will ſatisfy you.

SOC. Yes ſure, what he meant by it is the whole matter.

CHR. I have told you before the notions of the *Jews* and Heathens as to the Trinity; that they did believe three *Hypoſtaſes* or Perſons in the divine Nature; and conſequently each of theſe Perſons muſt be God by Nature. The ſecond of theſe Perſons they did call the Λόγος, the *Word.* 3. The Heathens notion of the *Logos.*

This is ſo notoriouſly known that I might ſpare any proof of it, therefore I will give you but a few authorities, that I might not ſeem to ſpeak wholly precariouſly. *Plotinus*, Ennead. 5. l. 5. c. 3. ſpeaking of the *Logos* calls him God by Nature, Θεὸς, αὕτη ἡ φύσις, *his very Nature is God:* And to ſhew that he meant not the firſt Perſon of the Godhead, in the very next words he calls him δεύτερος Θεὸς, *a ſecond God:* By which, as I told you before, they meant only the ſecond Perſon in the divine Nature, and ſo have fully explain'd themſelves. They meant the ſame thing we do, but (as St. *Auguſtin* obſerves by way of an excuſe for them) not being ty'd up to ſtrict forms of words, as the Chriſtians have been, occaſion'd by the many hereſies that have ariſen, they took their own latitude of expreſſion, which yet made their meaning plain enough; as the ſame *Plotinus* does in another place of the ſame Book, *Ennead.* 5. l. 1. c. 6. where he affirms the *Logos* to be *next to the moſt High*, of neceſſity together with him, and nothing between them, and that he differs from him only in that he is another, or in his Perſonality: Theſe are his words, ἀ χωρισθεὶς, ἀλλ' ὅτι μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ μεταξὺ οὐδέν—— ἐξ' ἀνάγκης σωίεσιν αὐτῷ, ὡς τῇ ἑτερότητι μόνον κεχωρίσθαι. And *Ennead.* 5. l. 8. c. 5. he calls this *Logos* υἱὸν Θεοῦ, *the Son of God. Orpheus* the eldeſt of all the *Greek* Philoſophers (as he is cited *Clem. Strom.* l. 5. p. 254. Edit. *Florent.* Fol. *An.* 1550.) calls the *Logos* the *divine Word*, and the *immortal King*, in theſe Verſes,

Εἰς ἓν Λόγον θεῖον βλέψας, τοῦτῳ προσέδρευε
Εὐθύνων, καρδίης νοερὸν κύτος, ἀϊδίαινε
Ἀτρεμπιτοῦ, μῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα
Ἀθάνατον——

Porphyry (quoted by St. *Cyril* cont. *Jul.* l. 1. p. 32. Edit. *Pariſ.* Fol. *An.* 1638.) calls the *Logos* ἄχρονος ὢν ἀεὶ καὶ μόνος αἰώνιος, *without time, always, and alone eternal: Tertullian (Apolog. adv. Gentes*, c. 21.) ſays, that *Zeno* call'd this *Logos the Maker of the World, who formed all things in order, and that he was called Fate, and God, and the Soul of* Jupiter, *and the Neceſſity of all things. Hunc enim* Zenon *determinat factitatorem, qui cuncta in diſpoſitione formaverit, eundem & Fatum vocari, & Deum, & animum* Jovis, *& Neceſſitatem omnium rerum.*

And as the Heathen, ſo the *Jews* underſtood the *Logos* in the ſame ſenſe: *Philo (Quæſt & Solut.)* calls the *Logos* in the ſame words of *Plotinus* above quoted, δεύτερον Θεὸν, *a ſecond God*, next to the Πατέρα τῶν ὅλων, to the *Father of all*; and in his *Legis Allegor.* l. 2. p. 93. Edit. *Paris.* Fol. *An.* 1640. he ſpeaks thus of the *Logos*, Καὶ ὁ Λόγος οὗ ἕνεκα ὑπερέκεινα πάντες 4. The *Jews* notion of it.

ἐστι βέλτιστος, καὶ πρεσβύτατος καὶ γενικώτατος τῶν ὅσα γέγονε. *That the Word of God is ſuperior to the whole World, and elder and more general than all the things whatſoever which are produc'd.* τῶν νοητῶν, he adds, *(de Profug.) elder than all Intelligibles*, than all things in the intellectual World, as well as in the ſenſitive, than all Spirits, as well as Bodies, that is, than all created Beings.

And to ſhew that he meant this of another Perſon than of God the Father, he calls this *Logos* the *High-prieſt of God*, that is, governing next under him, or having the adminiſtration of God's Kingdom in all the World, which he calls the *Temple of God*; Ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πρωτόγονος αὐτῷ θεῖος Λόγος, *in which, his* (God's) *firſt born divine Word is High prieſt*; *de Somn.* Agreeable to this, the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe makes the *Logos*, and *God* or *Jehovah*, ſynonimous, and inſtead of *Jehovah*, often uſes the *Logos*, or *Word of God*, as *Exod* xx. 1. *Deut.* xxxiii. 7, &c.

But does plainly diſtinguiſh them from being the ſame Perſon, as *Gen.* xvii. 7. *I will eſtabliſh my covenant between my Word and thee.* Where God ſpeaks of his Word as of another Perſon.

The *Jeruſalem Targum* is yet more expreſs upon *Gen.* iii. 22. thus. *The Word of the Lord ſaid, behold* Adam, *whom I created, is the only begotten upon Earth, as I am the only begotten in Heaven.* And *Philo (de Agricult.* l. 2.) introduces the *Logos* ſpeaking thus of himſelf, Καὶ γὰρ οὔτε ἀγέννητος ὡς θεὸς ὢν, οὔτε γεννητὸς ὡς ὑμεῖς; *I am neither unbegotten as God, nor begotten after the ſame manner that you are.*

Here the begotten Word is diſtinguiſh'd from the unbegotten Father of the Word, and the creation of *Adam* is attributed, in expreſs terms, to the Word; and the text ſays he was created by God, which makes God and the Word to be ſynonimous; and *Onkelos* Paraphraſe of *Gen.* xxviii. 21. thus renders it, *If the Word of the Lord will help me—— the Word of the Lord ſhall be my God.*

Let me add to this, at leaſt to ſhew the *Jewiſh* notion in this matter, the ſtyle in which the *Apocrypha* expreſſes it: Thus we find it——

SOC. But my buſineſs now is not what the *Jews* or Heathens meant by their *Logos*, or *Word of God*, but what St. *John* meant by the *Logos* he mentions in that text you have quoted.

CHR. Where do you imagine that St. *John* got this term of *Logos*, or the *Word of God?*

SOC. I have often reflected upon that, and really it appear'd very ſtrange to me; the beginning of his Goſpel ſeem'd to me to be out of all the common road of ſpeaking; and therefore I put it upon the account of ſome extraordinary impulſe of the Spirit of God, and that he ſpoke words which never Man had ſpoken before: And therefore I thought you to blame to draw arguments from ſuch uncouth phraſes, whoſe meaning ſeem'd as hidden as the *Revelations*.

CHR. But I hope you are of another opinion now, and believe that thoſe terms were not of St. *John*'s inventing, but were us'd before he was born, and were known common terms in the World.

SOC. I muſt not deny plain matter of fact.

CHR. Why then ſhould St. *John* uſe common terms in a different ſenſe from the whole World?

SOC. I can give no reaſon why he ſhould.

CHR. He muſt not intend to be underſtood if he did, and ſo could not be a ſincere Writer: He muſt intend either to confirm the World in the opinion they had of the *Logos*, or to diſprove it. Now you find plainly that he did not abſolutely deny or reject the *Logos*, but he reforms ſome errors concerning it, and teaches the truth of it: For, as was ſaid before, the hea-

then Philoſophers had corrupted the Tradition of the Trinity which had come to them; and conſequently of the *Logos*, which was one of the three firſt Principles, whom they acknowledged.

SOC. What corruption did St. *John* intend to correct in his Treatiſe of the *Logos?*

CHR. The *Cerinthian* Hereticks denied the *Logos* to be *in the beginning*; but made many ages diſtance between the eternal Being of the Father, and the Emanation of the *Logos*, wherein they fancy'd the Father, *in ſilentio & quiete multâ fuiſſe in immenſis Æonibus*, as *Irenæus* expreſſes it, *adverſ. Hereſ.* l. 1. c. 1. *to have been in ſilence and deep quiet for immenſe ages*: And they ſuppos'd that the *Logos* was at laſt produc'd by the Father ἀπὸ Σιγῆς, *out of this Silence*; which they made one of his Emanations: As I have ſaid before; and I deſire to repeat to you again, that you may remember it, what I before quoted out of St. *Ignatius* his *Epiſtle* to the *Magneſians*, where he calls *Chriſt* the Λόγον ἀπὸ Σιγῆς ἀ προελθὼν, *the eternal Word who did not proceed from ſilence.*

And you will believe *Ignatius* to be the beſt interpreter of St. *John*'s meaning, who was his own Scholar, and learn'd the Goſpel from his mouth. *Irenæus adverſ. Hær.* l. ii. p. 257. ſays expreſſly that St. *John* wrote on purpoſe againſt *Cerinthus*, to vindicate the *Logos*, being prior and ſuperior to all fancied *Æones* or Emanations; and to that very end wrote the words of this text, *John* 1. 1. *In the beginning was the Word*, &c.

I have here given you two of the ancient Fathers, long before the Council of *Nice*, for our expoſition of this text, in direct oppoſition to yours; and aſſerting the ſame doctrine concerning God and his Word which we believe and teach at this day. But I can give you more. And firſt more of St. *Ignatius*, who ſays of himſelf, Ἐγὼ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα. i. e. *I ſaw him* (Chriſt) *in the Fleſh after his Reſurrection.* Epiſt. *ad* Smyrnenſ. Edit. *Uſſer.* p. 112.

This *Ignatius* (Epiſt. *ad Epheſ.* p. 33. of Edit. *Uſſer.*) ſpeaks of *Chriſt* in theſe words, Ἔχομεν ἰατρὸν, καὶ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων υἱὸν μονογενῆ καὶ Λόγον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου· ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ὁ ἀσώματος ἐν σώματι, ὁ ἀπαθὴς ἐν παθητῷ σώματι, ὁ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ σώματι, ἡ ζωὴ ἐν φθορᾷ. i. e. *We have likewiſe a Phyſician, our Lord God Jeſus, the Chriſt, who was before ages, the only begotten Son and Word, but afterward made Man of the Virgin* Mary; *for the Word was made* Joh. 1. 1. *Fleſh-incorporeal in Body, impaſſible in a paſſible Body, immortal in a mortal Body, Life in Corruption*, &c.

Ep. *ad Magneſ.* p. 56. of Edit. *Uſſer. Ignatius* ſpeaks yet more categorically in this point; he ſays of *Chriſt*, ὃς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ Λόγος, οὐ ῥητὸς, ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης. i. e. [*Chriſt*] *who is his* [God's] *Word, not of his Speech, but of his Subſtance*

And Ep. *ad Polycarp.* p. 138. of Edit. *Uſſer.* he ſays of *Chriſt* ὃν ἀπαθῆ ὡς Θεὸν, δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ παθητὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπον. i. e. *Who was impaſſible as God, but for us was paſſible as Man.* He calls him there ἄχρονον ἐν χρόνῳ, ἀόρατον τῇ φύσει, ὁρατὸν ἐν σαρκὶ, &c. i. e. *Without time in time, inviſible in his nature, viſible in the fleſh.* And more to the ſame purpoſe.

Clemen. Alexandrin. Admonit. ad Gent. p. 5. ſays, *that the Word was Chriſt*, Ὁ μόνος ἄμφω, Θεός τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος; *who only was both God and Man.* And in his *Pædagogus* l. 1. c. 8. p. 113. he ſays, that *God hates nothing, neither the Word; for both*, ſays he, *are one, that is, God; for he ſaid, In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*

Juſt. Martyr. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 284, 285. ſays, that God, before all Creatures, begot out of himſelf δύναμιν λογικὴν *a rational power*, which is

call'd

call'd by the Holy Ghoſt, *The Glory of the Lord*, and alſo the *Son*, and ſometimes *Wiſdom*, (as by *Solomon* in the *Proverbs*, &c.) and ſometimes God, and ſometimes Lord, and that it was he who appear'd in the form of a Man to *Joſhua*, as Captain of the Hoſt of the Lord: And that theſe appellations belong to him as being begotten by the voluntary generation of of the Father; and that the like generation may be ſeen in ſome ſort in our ſelves, for when we bring forth a word, we do in a manner beget that word; not by cutting or parting it, as if it were made leſs in us who beget it; but as in fire, another is kindled by it, without any diminution of that fire whence the the other is kindled. And that this Word or Progeny of God was with God, before all Creatures, and that *all things were made by him*, and *nothing made without him*, and that it was to him God ſpake, *Let us make Man*, as you have heard.

Irenæus is full and large upon this text, *Adverſ. Hæreſ* l. 3. c. 11. l. 5. c. 18. l. 1. c. 19. l. 2. c. 2. l. 3. c. 8, 11, 31.

Tertull. Apologet. c. 2. 1. ſhews what opinion the heathen Philoſophers had of the *Logos*, whom they own'd as the maker of the World, and call'd him, Fate, and God, and the Soul of *Jupiter*. Him (ſays *Turtullian*) *ex Deo prolatum dicimus, & prolatione generatum, & idcirco Filium Dei, & Deum dictum ex unitate Subſtantiæ—— De Spiritu Spiritus, & de Deo Deus, ut Lumen de Lumine accenſum. We ſay that the* Logos *is deduc'd from God, and in that deduction is begot, and therefore is call'd the Son of God, and God from the unity of Subſtance—— that he is Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, as Light is kindled of Light.* And (*De Præſcrip.* l. 13.) this Word, or Son of God, appear'd variouſly to the Patriarchs in the name of God, was always heard in the Prophets, and at laſt by the Spirit, was made fleſh in the womb of the Virgin *Mary*, &c. But *Tertullian* is ſo full and in ſo many places, that I ſuppoſe our Adverſaries will not contend for him. Read his 7th *Sect. adverſ. Prax.* p. 503, and 504 and ſee how expreſſly he diſputes againſt our Author's notion of the Word being nothing different from God, as we ſay of the Word which a Man ſpeaks, it is not a diſtinct Subſtance from him. *Quid eſt enim? dices—— for you will ſay, What is a Word but the Voice or Sound of the Mouth——* a ſort of an incorporeal empty thing? But I ſay that nothing void or empty could proceed from God—— nor could want that ſubſtance which comes forth from ſo great a ſubſtance, and which made ſo great ſubſtances—— How can he be nothing, without whom nothing was made? —— Can that Word of God be a void and empty thing, who is called the Son, who is nam'd God himſelf? and *the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*—— This certainly is he, *who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God.* Therefore whatever the ſubſtance of the Word is, *Perſonam dico*; *I call it a Perſon, and vindicate to it the name of* the Son: Thus *Tertullian.*

* *Origen* upon this text p. 17. means by the Word ſomething diſtinct from God. *In the beginning was the Word, by the Word here, he underſtands the Son, who is ſaid to be in the beginning, becauſe he was in the Father.*

You would not make God to be in and with himſelf, to beget himſelf, to be his own Son, *&c.* And without ſaying this, you cannot reconcile the ſenſe of theſe Fathers upon this text, to that ſenſe your Hiſtorian puts upon it. *viz.* That the Word in this text is not ſomething different from God.

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* Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, Λόγον νοῶν τὸν υἱὸν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τὸ εἶναι ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, λεγόμενον εἶναι ἐν ἀρχῇ.

SOC. Our *Brief Hiſtory* ſays, p. 80. *The Trinitarian Expoſition of this Chapter is abſurd and contradictory.*

CHR. This is his civil way of treating us! Theſe are the patterns for genteel diſputing, without paſſion or heat! But what Reaſon does he give for this hard cenſure?

SOC. He ſays, *'Tis this*, that *In the beginning* ſhou'd be meant *from all Eternity*. For, ſays he, *from all Eternity, is before the beginning.*

CHR. What before the beginning of Eternity?

SOC. Eternity has no beginning.

CHR. Then there is no ſuch thing as *from Eternity*. The word *from* implies a *beginning*. Does any body ſay *from no beginning?* Or can any body think it?

SOC. We cannot ſpeak properly of Eternity: We cannot ſpeak of it but by words of time; for we have none other.

CHR. Then take your own anſwer; And what word of time is before the beginning? But all Phraſes of Speech muſt be taken in the common acceptation. And I have ſhew'd you from your beloved *Grotius*, that *in the beginning* was a common *Hebraiſm* for Eternity; and that it was ſo us'd in this text. Do we not ſay, that God was *in the beginning* before all things? And *Origen* has juſt now told you the meaning of the Word being ſaid to be *in the beginning*, that is, That *the Word was always in God*, and therefore muſt be *in the beginning* with God: And I have ſhew'd you that the *Cerinthians* deny'd the Word to have been *in the beginning* with God, but produc'd many Ages, or *Æones* after. Therefore the Apoſtle aſſerts, that he was *in the beginning* with God. And St. *Ignatius* calls him Λόγον Ἀϊδιον, the *Eternal Word*. And *from the beginning* is a Scripture Phraſe whereby to expreſs Eternity, as the ſame *Logos* or Word ſpeaks of himſelf by the name of Wiſdom, (whereby he is commonly expreſs'd in holy Scripture) *Prov.* VIII. 23. *I was ſet up from everlaſting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.* God the Father wou'd not ſay, That he was *ſet up*: Did any other *ſet* him *up?* Yet he that was *ſet up* is ſaid to be *from everlaſting:* And *from the beginning* is made ſynonymous with *from everlaſting.*

SOC. But my *Hiſtorian* ſays p. 80. That *In the beginning muſt refer to ſome time and thing, it muſt be in the beginning of the World, or of the Goſpel, or of the Word.* He ſays, *it muſt be ſo*; but gives no other proof: Therefore I go on to the next.

CHR. To which of theſe times does the beginning of Wiſdom refer? And And the Wiſdom of God is call'd his Word; as your *Hiſtorian* confeſſes, p. 82. Was not Wiſdom then *in the beginning* with God? Or was there any time when God had not Wiſdom? Now go on to your next.

SOC. He ſays, p. 81. *The Word was with God.* That is, ſays he, *The Son was with the Father: But was not the Son alſo with the Holy Ghoſt? And is not he too (according to the Trinitarians) God, or a God? If he is, why does St.* John *ſay, the Son was with the Father? And how comes the Father to engroſs here the title of God, to the excluſion of the Holy Ghoſt?* Then he goes on and ſays in the next words, *The Word was God.* Upon which he argues in the ſame way, and ſays, *What ſhall we do here? Was the Word the Father? For ſo they interpreted God in the foregoing clauſe.*

CHR. That the word God includes the Father is true. But who told him it was to the excluſion of the Holy Ghoſt? Your Hiſtorian knows well enough that is not the Doctrine of the Trinitarians: Why then did he object it? I have told you before, that the word God does generally mean the Godhead, which includes all the three Perſons. And ſometimes it means

the Father, as the fountain of the other Perſons: And that ſometimes the Godhead is expreſs'd without the word God at all, where the three Perſons are enumerated, as in the form of our Baptiſm.

I illuſtrated this to you, by way of parallel, that the Underſtanding, being the Father or Fountain Faculty, is often us'd to expreſs the Soul; but that this was not to the excluſion of the other two Faculties. It is ſaid *Luk.* XXIV. 45. That Chriſt *open'd their underſtanding, that they might underſtand the Scriptures.* Your Hiſtorian might come in here as well, and ſay, *what ſhall we do now?* Was this to the excluſion of the Memory, and of the Will?

It is not ſaid in the text we are upon, that the word was the Father, but that the *Word was God*; that is, did partake of the divine Nature; which is not to the excluſion of either of the other Perſons. But it does demonſtrate the Word was one of theſe Perſons, as partaking of the ſame Nature with them. Let us hear if your Hiſtorian has any more to ſay.

SOC. Upon theſe words, *The ſame was in the beginning with God*, he ſays, p. 82. *How comes this to be again repeated? For* John *had ſaid once before, that the Word was with God. They care not, 'tis ſaid, and that's enough.*

CHR. He gives a pretty account of our anſwers: Does he name any Trinitarian that gave that blunt anſwer?

SOC. No, but he goes on and ſays, *The truth is, according to their ſenſe of this context, no account can be given of this repetition, and they muſt allow it to be a mere Tautology.*

CHR. What is the *Socinian* ſenſe he puts upon it?

SOC. He ſays, That *in the beginning* (that is, the beginning of the Creation of Heaven and Earth) *was the Word*; and that *by the Word the Power and Wiſdom of God is meant.*

CHR. Well: But how does this ſolve the Tautology? For St. *John* had ſaid once before, that *the Word was with God*; and whatever is meant by the Word, the Tautology is the ſame: Thus then the text goes, in his ſenſe, *in the beginning*, that is, of the Creation, *was the Word*, that is, the Power and Wiſdom of God. And the Power and Wiſdom was with God: And the Power and Wiſdom was God: And the ſame Power and Wiſdom was *in the beginning with God.* Let him now ſolve the Tautology he objects, even in his own ſenſe. Men are very willing to make objections, when they cannot ſee how eaſily they are retorted.

But this will bring us to a better underſtanding of this text: For in the *Socinian* ſenſe, it is not only a Tautology, but the whole is to no purpoſe. For who deny'd that God had Power and Wiſdom, *from the beginning*, not only of the Creation, but from all Eternity? Againſt whom did St. *John* diſpute, in this ſenſe? But I have ſhew'd you againſt whom he did diſpute, that is, the *Cerinthians*, who deny'd this Wiſdom of God, call'd the Word, to be a Perſon; or if a Perſon, not to have been *from the beginning*, but created by God many Ages or *Æones* afterwards, and ſo not to have been *in the beginning with God:* Againſt theſe the Apoſtle's words are full and cogent; but in the *Socinian* ſenſe they are nothing but what all the World knew and allow'd; and ſo were meant againſt no body, to prove nothing, or to diſ-prove nothing.

5. Of the word by Nature and by Creation.

Theſe Hereticks made two Words of God: One by Nature, which is the eſſential Wiſdom inherent in God by his Nature, and this muſt have been always in God, and ever inſeparable from him. This muſt have been *in the beginning with God*, and muſt be God. And by this *God made all things*, and *without this was not any thing made, that was made.* But they deny'd *Chriſt* to be this Word: They ſaid he was metaphorically call'd the

the Word and the Wiſdom of God, from the great Wiſdom beſtow'd upon him: And that he was created by the true and natural Word of God. Thus the *Arians* (after the *Cerinthians*) held as you may ſee in the *Synodical Epiſtle* of *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, upon the Condemnation of *Arius*, *Socrat. Hiſt.* l. 1. c. 5.

Now ſee how direct and pungent the words of St. *John* are againſt theſe Hereſies, where he ſets about to prove that *Chriſt* was the Word of God; not a made or created Word which was not *from the beginning*, but the very Word which was *in the beginning*, and which was God; by whom *God made all things*, and *without whom nothing was made that was made*, that is, he was the eſſential Wiſdom of God, and therefore always in God: Which is the reaſon *Origen* gives, as I have before quoted him, why *Chriſt* is ſaid to be *in the beginning*, becauſe he was always in the Father. And it was this ſame Word, St. *John* tells us, that was *made fleſh*.

SOC. But you have forgot to ſolve the Tautology objected by your Hiſtorian: You have indeed retorted it upon him: But you have not anſwer'd it as to your ſelf.

CHR. Every repetition is not a Tautology; but to enforce what you ſay the more: And your Hiſtorian is ſenſible of this, for he ſays, p. 87. upon the 11th verſe of this Chapter, *His own received him not. 'Tis again repeated* (ſays your Hiſtorian) *to brand the ingratitude and ſtupidity of the* Jews. And, p. 91. upon *John* III. 13. he ſays, *It is repeated*, majoris aſſeverationis cauſâ, *for its greater Confirmation.* Thus the ſame Apoſtle having aſſerted the Word to have been *in the beginning*, and to have been *with God*, now joins both together, and ſays, *He was in the beginning with God:* To ſhew what *beginning* he meant, *viz.* the ſame *beginning with God*, ſince we muſt ſo ſpeak. And it was likewiſe for the ſtronger Confirmation of this moſt important truth.

But ſays your Author to the next words that follow ℣. 3. *All things were made by him: And without him was not any thing made; that was made.*

SOC. He ſays, p. 84. *That the Word begins here to be ſpoken of as a Perſon, by the ſame figure of ſpeech that* Solomon *ſaith, Wiſdom hath builded her Houſe*, &c. This is the ſame as I told you before, that by the Word he means the eternal Power and Wiſdom of God.

CHR. What does he ſay to the next words immediately following? *In him was life*, &c.

SOC. He ſays, p. 85. *In him*, i. e. *In him when he was in the World, and was made fleſh.*

CHR. But had the eternal Power and Wiſdom of God no life, till *Jeſus* was born? Indeed a Quality or Attribute has no life in it: Therefore if the Word have life, it muſt be a Perſon: For which reaſon, you will not let it be a Perſon, till it inſpir'd or dwelt in *Jeſus*. But all that will not make it a Perſon, more than it was a Perſon in all the holy Men it has inſpir'd. Nothing leſs than Incarnation can do that, whereby the Natures united become one Perſon, and cannot be ſeparated again, without the death of the Perſon.

But ſee how you are caught in your own ſnare: In anſwer to ℣. 3. you make the Word the eternal Power and Wiſdom of God, and to be God. But in anſwer to ℣. 4. you make the ſame Word to be a Creature, and to have had no life, till the birth of *Jeſus*. Nay you make it no more than the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, which *here* (ſays your Author) *is call'd light, as before it was call'd life.* So that here was no life, but in a metaphorical ſenſe, as contributing to give life to others, which a dead thing may do, as the Book of the Scriptures when read.

6. Inſpiration muſt come from a Perſon.

But how does the Word or Wiſdom of God inſpire, if it have no life in it? Or does it borrow life from the Perſon whom it inſpires? As your Author ſeems to ſay, that the Word had no life, till it was *made Fleſh*: For then he ſuppoſes, and conſequently not till then, that text verify'd, *In him was life*: But if life was in him before, then he was a Perſon before, and conſequently from all Eternity, he being the eternal Wiſdom of God, as your Author has aſſerted. And he having life in himſelf, might give life to another, or inſpire another: For a Quality does not inſpire, but is that which is inſpired. But your Author ſays, that he (the Word) was *made Fleſh*. This is ſomething more than inſpiring.

7. What the *Socinians* mean by Incarnation.

SOC. We can uſe the term of being *made fleſh*, and of incarnation too, and yet mean no more by it than bare inſpiration. Thus our Hiſtorian p. 86. ſays, *The Word became incarnate, that is, abode on the Perſon of* Jeſus Chriſt. *For God communicated to him an effuſion of his Power and Wiſdom.* And p. 87. in anſwer to ℣. 14. *The Word was made Fleſh*, that is, ſays my Author, *did abide on and inhabit an human Perſon, the Perſon of* Jeſus Chriſt, *and ſo was, in appearance, made fleſh or Man.*

CHR. The text ſays, *was made fleſh.* That was only *in appearance*, ſay you. This is a pretty latitude in interpreting of texts! And looks like a downright denyal of the text; for if it was only in appearance, then it was not *made fleſh*: This is adding to the text, not interpreting: And let me have the like privilege of adding only theſe two words, in appearance to what text I think fit, I wou'd fain know if you cou'd prove any one thing upon me out of the whole Bible.

But where was the appearance? If God endows a Man with extraordinary Gifts and Graces, and Power of working Miracles, is this any appearance of God's being *made fleſh*? Then there was an appearance of it in *Moſes*, and many of the Prophets and Apoſtles. *Chriſt* ſaid to them, *John* XIV. 12. *Verily, Verily I ſay unto you, he that believeth in me, the works that I do, ſhall he do alſo, and greater works than theſe ſhall he do, becauſe I go unto the Father.* Was God therefore incarnate? Or will he be incarnate in any who have, or may hereafter do theſe greater works? Or will there be any appearance of his being *made fleſh*, in any of theſe his Saints? Where then was the appearance of Gods being *made fleſh* in *Chriſt*, becauſe of the mighty works which he did? For that was all which cou'd appear to our view.

XIV. The other texts in holy Scripture inquir'd into.

SOC. We have dwelt a long time upon this firſt of St. *John*; as if it were the only text in all the Bible you had to depend upon.

CHR. You ſhall ſee the whole current of the holy Scriptures run all in the ſame ſtrain: But there being ſeveral things needful to be known, in order to the explaining of ſeveral texts, I have choſe to ſet them down in this place, to avoid repetition; therefore it will ſhorten our work in what remains. And now I am ready to look over with you the anſwers which your Hiſtorian gives to the texts of Scripture in the order he has rang'd them.

SOC. He begins upon this in his *Second Letter*, p. 42. And the firſt text he names is *Gen.* I. 26. *Let us make Man in our Image.* Whence you draw arguments from the manner of the Phraſe of God being ſpoken of in the plural Number.

I. CHR. He ſhou'd have begun at the firſt Verſe, *In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth.* Where the word *Elohim* which we tranſlate God, is in the plural Number, and *Bara, did create*, is in the ſingular Number, which literally render'd is thus, *Dii creavit*, that is, *He the Gods did create.* And there are three Perſons here viſibly ſpoke of; firſt he that ſpoke, *Let there be light, let there be a firmament*, &c.

ſecond, The Word ſpoken by him; of which we have diſcours'd largely before: Third, The Spirit of God, which (℣. 2.) is ſaid to have *moved upon the face of the waters*: And theſe Gods are here ſaid to be the God that did create. And we know how exact the *Hebrew* is as to every letter of a word, and the import they draw from thence: As in that little alteration which God made in the names of *Abram* and *Sarai*, into *Abraham* and *Sarah*. *Gen.* XVII. 5, 15. Upon which God there laid great ſtreſs, and gave it as a token of his Covenant then made with them. I will not trouble you with the niceties and improvements which the *Cabaliſts*, or myſtical Writers of the *Jews*, make upon every word and letter, and manner of expreſſion in the ſacred text: Tho' it ſhews their meaning, and how they underſtood things. But ſince your Author has ſlipt this text, let us go on with him to that which you have named.

2. SOC. To that text, *Gen.* I. 26. *Let us make Man in our Image*, he ſays, p. 42. that Us there ſpoke of was God and Angels; that God ſpoke this to the Angels; that Man was made in the Image of God and Angels: But that God ſpoke to the Angels not as adjutants, but as ſpectators of his work. He ſays ſome *Rabbies* do thus underſtand it: He ſays he has ſpoke to this text in his *firſt Letter*.

CHR. I can find nothing of it there: So this was a put-off. But here he takes part with the *Jews* againſt us: The *Jews* ſince *Chriſt* have obſcur'd what they can the doctrine of the Trinity, becauſe it leads ſo directly to the Divinity of *Chriſt*: But they have not been able to do it ſo as not to leave full proof of it out of their writings, as I have ſhewed you. And much more might be produc'd to the ſame purpoſe.

However in anſwer to the *Socinians*, and theſe ſome *Rabbies*, (your Author does not name nor quote) I ſay that this anſwer is wholly precarious: And they produce no authority whatever for it. Beſides, it is not certain that the Angels were then created. St. *Barnabas* thinks that this text was ſpoke before the foundation of the World: Which I will ſhew you preſently. Beſides that the expreſſion *Let us make* is not applicable to bare ſpectators, but to fellow-workers. Come ſee me work, would be an invitation to ſpectators: As *Jehu* ſaid to *Jehonadab*, 2 *Kings* x. 16. *Come with me, and ſee my zeal for the Lord.*

SOC. My Author quotes *Job* XXXVIII. 4, 7. to prove that the Angels were then created. The 4th verſe is, *Where waſt thou when I laid the foundation of the Earth? Declare if thou haſt Underſtanding.* But I ſee no proof in this. Therefore it muſt be ℣. 7. which is, *The morning Stars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for joy*: By theſe *Sons of God* I ſuppoſe he means the Angels, and becauſe they ſhouted.

CHR. That is a ſtrange proof out of the ſame verſe where Stars are ſaid to ſing! This is ſuch an expreſſion as *Pſal.* XCVIII. 8. *Let the floods clap their hands, let the hills be joyful*, &c. And *Pſal.* LXV. 13. *The vallies are covered with corn, they ſhout for Joy, they alſo ſing.* And by the like figure all the Hoſt of Heaven might be call'd the *Sons of God.*

But to leave theſe forc'd and foreign proofs, I will now, according to my promiſe, give you ſome of the *ante-Nicene* Fathers interpretation of this text.

St. *Barnabas** in his *Catholick Epiſtle*, c. 5. p. 21. ſpeaking of the Lord *Chriſt*, ſays, *To whom God ſpoke in the day before the foundation of the World, let us make Man in our Image, after our likeneſs.*

And again†, c. 6. p. 31. *For the Scripture ſaith of us, as he* (the Father) *ſaid to the Son, Let us make Man after our Image.*

Juſtin Martyr in his *Dialogue* with *Trypho*, p. 265. calls it a hereſy to

* Πρὸς ὃν κ᾽ εἶπεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸ καταβολῆς αἰῶνος, ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ᾽ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν, κ᾽ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν. † Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ ὡς ἡμῶν, ὡς λέγει τῷ υἱῷ, ποιήσωμεν κατ᾽ εἰκόνα, κ᾽ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

ſay that this was ſpoken to the Angels, or that the Body of Man was the workmanſhip of Angels. But he ſays the Father here ſpeaks to his Son, who came from the Father before all creatures. He confutes thoſe *Rabbies* who, depraving the Scripture, ſays he, pretend that God ſpoke to himſelf when he ſaid, *Let us make Man*, or to the Elements, or the Earth, or any the like. He ſays that expreſſion ſhews there was a number, at leaſt two, that were together, and thoſe he makes to be the Father and the Son: And that without all doubt, ſays he, the Father there ſpeaks to one numerically different from himſelf, and to an intelligent Perſon.

Irenæus ſays*, God ſpoke theſe words to the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, and he calls them metaphorically, the Hands of God by which he made Man. And he ſays that the Son, who from the beginning made *Adam*, and with whom the Father ſpoke, ſaying, *Let us make Man*, did *manifeſt himſelf to Men in the latter days.*

Your Hiſtorian ſays, that our Image in the text, is the Image of God and Angels. But *Irenæus* ſays, l. 4. c. 37. the Angels did not make us, and that they could not make the Image of God. nor any other but the Word of God. *Tertullian (adverſ. Praxeam. §. 11, 12.)* ſays†, that God, in this text, did not ſpeak to the Angels as the *Jews* interpret, who do not acknowledge the Son, but that he ſpoke to the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, and from hence he proves the Trinity in Unity, in expreſs words, and as poſitive as *Athanaſius* himſelf: He ſays, *Scripturæ omnes & demonſtrationem, & diſtinctionem Trinitatis oſtendunt:* That is, *All the Scriptures ſhew both a demonſtration and diſtinction of the Trinity.*

After he quotes ſeveral texts where the Father ſpeaks of and to the Son, and the Son of and to the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, as a third Perſon, of the Father, and of the Son: As, *The Lord ſaid to my Lord*, &c. And thence he proves the diſtinction of Perſons in the Trinity.

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* Homo ſecundùm ſimilitudinem Dei formatus eſt, & per manus ejus plaſmatus eſt, hoc eſt, per Filium & Spiritum; quibus & dixit, *Faciamus hominem.* Iren. adverſ. Hæreſ. Præfat. in lib. 4.

Idem ipſe qui ab initio plaſmavit Adam, cum quo & loquebatur Pater, *Faciamus hominem ſecundùm imaginem & ſimilitudinem noſtram*, in noviſſimis temporibus ſe ipſum manifeſtans hominibus. —16. l. 5. c. 15.

† His itaque paucis, tamen manifeſtè, diſtinctio Trinitatis exponitur; eſt enim ipſe qui pronunciat, Spiritus, & Pater ad quem pronunciat, & Filius de quo pronunciat. Sic & cætera quæ nunc ad Patrem de Filio, vel ad Filium, nunc ad Filium de Patre, vel ad Patrem, nunc ad Spiritum pronunciantur, unamquamque Perſonam in ſuâ proprietate conſtituunt. Si te adhuc numerus ſcandalizat Trinitatis, quaſi non connexæ in unitate ſimplici, interrogo quommodò unicus & ſingularis pluraliter loquitur, *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem noſtram?* cùm debuerit dixiſſe, *Faciam* hominem ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem *meam*; utpote *unicus* & *ſingularis:* Sed & in ſequentibus, *Ecce Adam factus eſt tanquam unus* ex Nobis. Fallit, aut ludit, ut cùm unus & ſolus eſſet, numerâſſe loqueretur: Aut numquid Angelis loquebatur, ut *Judæi* interpretantur, quia nec ipſi Filium agnoſcunt; an quia ipſe erat Pater, Filius, Spiritus, ideo pluralem ſe præſtans, pluraliter ſibi loquebatur? Immo quia jam adhærebat illi Filius, ſecunda Perſona, Sermo ipſius; & tertia, Spiritus in Sermone, ideo *pluraliter* pronunciavit, *Faciamus* & *noſtram* & *nobis:* Cum quibus enim faciebat hominem, & quibus faciebat ſimilem? Cum Filio quidem, qui erat induturus hominem; Spiritu verò, qui erat ſanctificaturus hominem, quaſi cum miniſtris & arbitris, ex unitate Trinitatis loquebatur. Denique ſequens Scriptura diſtinguit inter Perſonas; *Et fecit Deus hominem, ad imaginem Dei fecit illum.* Cur non *ſuam*, ſi *unus* qui faciebat, & non erat ad cujus faciebat? Erat autem ad cujus imaginem faciebat; ad Filii ſcilicet, qui homo futurus certior & verior, imaginem ſuam fecerat dici hominem qui tunc de limo formari habebat, imago veri & ſimilitudo. Sed & in antecedentibus operibus mundi quomodo ſcriptum eſt? Primum quidem, nondum Filio apparente, *Et dixit Deus, fiat lux & facta eſt:* ipſe ſtatim Sermo lux vera, qui illuminat hominem venientem in hunc mundum, & per illum mundialis quoque lux. Exinde autem in Sermone *Chriſto* adſiſtente & adminiſtrante Deus voluerit fieri, & Deus fecit. *Et dixit Deus fiat Firmamentum, & fecit Deus Firmamentum; & dixit Deus fiant Luminaria, & fecit Deus luminare majus & minus;* ſed & cætera utique idem fecit qui & priora, id eſt, *Sermo Dei, per quem omnia facta ſunt, & ſine quo factum eſt nihil.* Qui ſi ipſe Deus eſt ſecundùm Johannem, *Deus erat Sermo*, habes duos, alium dicentem ut fiat, alium facientem. Alium autem quomodo accipere debeas, jam profeſſus ſuum; Perſonæ, non Subſtantiæ nomine, ad diſtinctionem, non ad diviſionem. Cæterùm, etſi ubique teneo unam Subſtantiam in tribus cohærentibus, tamen alium dicam oportet ex neceſſitate ſenſûs, eum qui jubet, & eum qui facit: Nam nec juberet, ſi ipſe faceret, dum juberet fieri per eum; tamen jubebat, haud ſibi juſſurus, ſi unus eſſet; aut ſine juſſu facturus, quia non expectâſſet ut ſibi juberet.

Origen

Origen (in *Mat.* p. 266.) ſays, none could raiſe the dead but he who had heard from the Father, *Let us make Man in our Image*; and none could command the Wind and Seas but he by whom they and all things elſe were made.

SOC. My Author notes that the *Socinian* tranſlation agrees with the ſtyle uſed all along in this chapter, ℣. 5. *Let there be light* ℣. 6. *Let there be a Firmament*, &c.

CHR. He muſt note again, for I cannot find in thoſe words one ſyllable of invitation to the Angels, or to any elſe, either to aſſiſt him or be ſpectators: But rather on the contrary, it is a ſole command from an abſolute authority.

3. SOC. The next text he quotes is, *Gen.* III. 22. God ſaid, *the Man is become as one of us, to know good and evil.* To which he gives two anſwers. 1. That God ſpoke this to the Angels. 2. That others tranſlate the *Hebrew* words thus, *the Man is become one of himſelf, knowing good and evil.* And he ſays, that it is thus expreſs'd in the *Chaldee* tranſlation by *Onkelos*.

CHR. To his firſt anſwer about the Angels we have ſpoke already: As to the tranſlation of *Onkelos*, it is thus,

Behold Adam *is only or alone in the age from himſelf.* (*Ecce* Adam *unicus eſt in ſæculo ex ſe.*) The ſenſe of which I confeſs is difficult; but your Author prefers an obſcure Paraphraſe before the literal reading of the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and *Latin*, which are all *verbatim*, according to our *Engliſh* tranſlation, and indeed which only can make ſenſe of the words. For pray tell me, what is that to be *one of himſelf?* What purchaſe was this? What crime? That God baniſh'd him Paradiſe for this? Doubtleſs it was the clearneſs and fulneſs of this interpretation which perſuaded your Author from the common and familiar reading of this text.

4. I will not trouble you with his expoſition upon *Gen.* XI. 6, 7. *The Lord ſaid, let us go down and there confound their language.* It is the like as to theſe before. But I would ſee his anſwer to *Gen.* XIX. 24.

SOC. He repeats it thus, p. 44. *the Lord* (Heb. Jehovah) *rained Fire from the Lord* (Heb. Jehovah) *out of Heaven.* And ſays that the meaning is, *Jehovah* rain'd Fire *from himſelf:* And refers to what he is to ſay on *Zech.* III. 2.

CHR. And I will expect him at that place. In the mean time I will give you the ſenſe of ſome of the *ante-Nicene* Fathers upon this text.

Juſt. Mart. (*Dial. cum Tryph. Jud.* p. 277, 279, 357.) interprets this of the Son, as a different Perſon from the Father. *Irenæus* (*adverſ. Hereſ.* l. 3. c. 6.) ſays the ſame, and proves *Chriſt* to be *definitive & abſolute Deum.* And that he is *verùs Deus & ex ſua Perſona*; *True God abſolutely, and in his own Perſon*; and that *the Lord rained Fire from the Lord*, was meant of him. *Tertullian* (*adverſ. Prax.* §. 13.) ſays the ſame, and proves the Trinity and Unity. *Deos duos non proferrimus, We do not profeſs two Gods*; and then he explains himſelf——*Non quaſi non & Pater Deus, & Filius Deus, & Spiritus Sanctus Deus, & Deus unuſquiſque*; *Not that the Father is not God, and the Son God, and the Holy Ghoſt God, and each of them God*, &c.

Cyprian likewiſe (*Teſtimon.* l. 3. c. 33.) underſtands this text, *The Lord rained fire from the Lord*, to be meant of *Chriſt*.

But I go on, from p. 45. to 51. and again from p. 53. your Hiſtory names ſeveral texts which are ſpoke of God in the Old Teſtament, and in the ſame words are apply'd to *Chriſt* in the New Teſtament.

5. Let us examine ſome of them. It is ſaid, *Pſal.* XLV. 6. *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever.* This is apply'd to *Chriſt* Heb. i. 8.

SOC. *In the *Hebrew* and in the *Greek* it is, *God is thy Throne* (i. e. thy Seat, Reſting-place, or Eſtabliſhment) for ever.

CHR. This I do deny; and if the words could be both ways in the original, that is, to bear the conſtruction of *God is thy Throne for ever*, or *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever*; (becauſe the nominative and vocative are the ſame in the word *Theos*) then the queſtion will be which of the ways we ought to take it? And I ſay the latter, for theſe reaſons. *Firſt*, *Heb.* I. 8. is a compariſon betwixt *Chriſt* and the Angels. And this text, in your ſenſe, gives him no preference, becauſe God is the Eſtabliſhment of the Angels, and ſo this text may belong to an Angel as well as unto *Chriſt*. *Secondly*, The ſubſequent part of the verſe will not bear your interpretation, *viz. The Scepter of thy Kingdom*. This is certainly *Chriſt*'s Scepter and Kingdom that is ſpoke of: And it is abſolutely incongruous that the Throne ſhould not go along with the Scepter and Kingdom, for they always belong to the ſame Perſon: Therefore the Throne in this text is *Chriſt*'s as well as the Kingdom. *Laſtly*, Theſe Fathers who wrote before the Council of *Nice*, read this text as we do, and apply it to *Chriſt* as a proof of his Godhead. *Cyprian adverſ. Jud.* l. 2. c. 6. *Tertul. adverſ. Jud. c.* 14. *Tert. adverſ. Prax. c.* 13. *Iren. adverſ. Hæreſ.* l. 3. c. 6. *Origen* in *John*, p. 29. and upon this Pſalm, in *Catena Corderii*, he ſays that *Chriſt is manifeſtly God*.

SOC. The *Defence of the Hiſtory*, c. 7. p. 33. ſays this text may be apply'd to *Solomon*.

CHR. The Apoſtle has apply'd it to *Chriſt*, and the primitive Fathers, even before *Nice*, underſtood it, as we have ſeen, in a ſenſe which cannot be applicable to *Solomon:* In what other ſenſe that Author would apply it to *Solomon*, let him ſee to it.

SOC. He ſays that he who is call'd God in this place is ſaid to have a God by whom he is anointed, which cannot belong to the ſupreme God.

CHR. This is ſpoke of God's exalting the human Nature of *Chriſt*, in reſpect of which (as well as of his eternal Generation) *Chriſt* calls God his Father and his God: Againſt this your Author offers nothing. But to proceed.

6. In that moſt elegant and wondrous rapture in the exaltation of God, *Pſal.* LXVIII. Chriſt *our Lord* was meant: As is evident from ℣. 18. *Thou haſt aſcended on high, thou haſt led captivity captive, thou haſt received gifts for men.* Which St. *Paul* does expreſſly interpret and apply to *Chriſt*. *Eph.* IV. 8.

SOC. Our Author ſays to this†, That this was *literally meant of God*; *and of* Chriſt *only by way of Prophecy, or rather of Emblem, or Accommodation.*

CHR. But ſtill here is the ſame ſtyle, and appellations which are given to none but to God and *Chriſt*. And God foreſeeing that *Chriſt* wou'd be taken for real God by theſe appellations, it is unaccountable that the Scripture ſhou'd every where aſſert this ſtyle, ſpeaking of God and *Chriſt* ſo promiſcuouſly, as that what is ſaid of the one belongs to the other, and to none elſe. Whereby if we are not forc'd to acknowledge them to be one, yet it is ſuch a colour and tentation as cannot poſſibly be ſuppos'd God wou'd lay before us, without a deſign in him to lead us into ſo groſs and capital an error: Which it wou'd be the higheſt blaſphemy but to imagine.

But ſuppoſe this text to be no otherwiſe true of God, or not ſo literally, but as God is *Chriſt*; and ſo was a Prophecy of God in *Chriſt*.

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* Hiſt. *Unitar.* p. 46. † p. 47.

SOC. That indeed wou'd end the buſineſs, and come the length of a demonſtration.

CHR. St. *Paul* ſays, that he who aſcended, in this text, *deſcended firſt into the lower parts of the earth*— And *is the ſame alſo that aſcended up far above all heavens.* He inferrs this text as a conſequence from the gift of *Chriſt* to us, *To us is given grace according to the meaſure of the gift of* Chriſt. *Wherefore*, he ſaith, *when he aſcended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.— And he gave ſome Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, and ſome Evangeliſts*, &c. Theſe were the gifts given, and this gift of *Chriſt* was the *wherefore*, why *David* wrote that text. And no otherwiſe can God be ſaid to have *deſcended into the lower parts of the earth, and thence to aſcend up again on high.* Which St. *Paul* tells us is the true meaning of that text, and infers it from the text.

SOC. That *Pſalm* was ſung upon the removing of the Ark.

CHR. That *Pſalm* indeed begins with that form which you find *Num.* x. 35. But it goes on from thence to many other exaltations and triumphs of God, among which, to that of *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion in the 18th verſe of which the lifting up of the Ark was but a type. And tho' there is an alluſion between them, and they may be compos'd in many things, yet the full import of this text cannot be fill'd but in *Chriſt*, as I have already ſhewn from St. *Paul.* And I might have given more inſtances, but that theſe were ſufficient. For example, it is ſaid in the text, that *he receiv'd gifts for men*; From whom did God receive gifts to give to Men?

SOC. St. *Paul* renders it—— *Gave gifts to men.*

CHR. Therefore both are true. *Chriſt* received from the Father, and gave unto Men. And this cannot be verified in any other manner.

Again it is ſaid in the ſame verſe, that he received theſe gifts for Men, *yea, for the rebellious alſo, that the Lord God might dwell among them.*

Now ſee what ſenſe this will be, if it be not intended of *Chriſt*: That God ſhou'd receive gifts from ſome other, which would imply ſome other to be greater than God. And then the end of God's receiving theſe gifts, *that God might dwell among men.*

God purchas'd or procur'd from another, That himſelf *might dwell among men*, or *be gracious to men.*

But take notice of the *Hebrew* reading of this verſe, as it is mark'd in the Margent of our *Engliſh* Bibles; where what we render [*for Men*] is according to the letter of the *Hebrew* [*in the Man*] and then the verſe goes thus. *Thou* (Chriſt) *haſt received gifts in the man.* i. e. in thy Manhood or human Nature; for it was in this reſpect, that he cou'd be ſaid to receive theſe gifts which he beſtow'd. And this cannot belong to God any otherwiſe than as *Chriſt* is God*.

SOC. Theſe gifts not being given till about a thouſand years after *David*'s time, *Paul* cou'd not poſſibly intend a literal interpretation of *David*'s words, but only to accommodate them to *Chriſt*, becauſe *Chriſt* alſo did aſcend on high, and gave gifts to Men. To this effect *Grotius*, Dr. *Patrick*, and other famous interpreters on this text.

CHR. Dr. *Patrick* ſays no ſuch thing upon this *Pſalm*, nor *Grotius* either upon this *Pſalm*, or the parallel place, *Eph.* IV. He ſpeaks nothing of this bare way of accommodating only, which it may be to a hundred things, that is, I may apply or fanſy ſeveral things, like it. On the contrary, he ſays, this text was fulfill'd in *Chriſt*, and that more eminently, than in God's deſcent upon Mount *Sinai*, and aſcending thence again. *Quanto autem hæc eminentiùs per Chriſtum ſunt*

* Hiſt. Unitar. p. 84.

impleta nemo non videt. Thus *Grotius* in his notes upon *Pſal.* LXVIII. 18. and upon *Eph.* IV. 8. The difference he makes 'twixt theſe two texts, is, that the one was ſpoken to God, the other of God. So that he makes *Chriſt* apparently to be God, becauſe the Apoſtle certainly ſpeaks this text of *Chriſt.* Then he takes notice of St. *Paul*'s putting the word *give*, for *receive, viz.* that *Chriſt* gave gifts, inſtead of, received gifts, as it is in the *Pſalm*, and he ſays, this is excellently apply'd to *Chriſt* who received gifts from his Father, that he might give to Men. Dr. *Patrick* ſays, that this is far more magnificently fulfill'd in *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion, than in God's Aſcenſion from *Sinai.* And you may ſuppoſe he deals with his other famous interpreters, whom he does not name, as he has done with *Grotius* and Dr. *Patrick.*

And for *David*'s ſpeaking this a thouſand years before it came to paſs, I ſuppoſe you will make no greater difficulty of it, than of *Pſal.* II. Where it is propheſied of *Chriſt* in the preſent Tenſe: *This day I have begotten thee*, which your Author interprets of this reſurrection. All the ancient, even *Anti-Nicene* Fathers, ſpeaking of this text, *Pſal.* LXVIII. 18. with one conſent do apply it to *Chriſt*; and not only by way of accommodation, as your Hiſtorian ſpeaks, but that it was an expreſs Prophecy of *Chriſt*, and fulfilled in him, which you may ſee in *Juſt. Mart.* Dial. con. *Tryph.* p. 258. 315. *Iren.* adverſ. Hæreſ. l. 2. c. 36. l. 4. c. 39. l. 5. c. 31. *Tertullian* adverſ. *Marcion.* l. 5. c. 8. de Anima c. 55. And *Juſt. Mart.* in the aboveſaid Dialogue. p. 255, to 258. applies to *Chriſt*, *Pſal.* XXIV. *The earth is the Lords,——He hath founded it*, &c. And that of *Pſal.* XLVII. *God is gone up with a ſhout, the Lord with the ſound of a trumpet,——God is the King of all the earth——The princes of the People are join'd to the God of* Ahraham, &c. And *Pſal.* XCIX. *The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble——Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worſhip at his footſtool*——Moſes *and* Aaron *among his prieſts*, &c. And *Pſal.* XLV. *Thy throne O God is for ever and ever*, &c.

SOC. But the *Def. of the Hiſtory.* c. 7. p. 34. finds out that ſeveral places of the Old Teſtament are accommodated to other things in the New Teſtament as theſe words, *Their ſound went out into all the earth, and their words into the ends of the world. By which the Heavens are meant* Pſal. XIX. 4. *and other works of God, which* (as it were) *preach his wiſdom, and power and goodneſs to all nations.* And *Rom.* x. 18. The Apoſtle applies this *to the preaching of the Goſpel all over the World.*

CHR. What wou'd your Author inferr from hence?

SOC. That there is no harm in accommodating that to *Chriſt* in the New Teſtament what was ſpoken of God in the Old Teſtament, and he ſays ſuch is the place in queſtion.

CHR. That is to ſay, becauſe one Creature may be compar'd, or accommodated to another, therefore it is lawful to accommodate to a Creature the incommunicable attributes of God; and to apply to *Chriſt* (ſuppoſing him but a Man) whatever we find written of God in the Old Teſtament.

But beſides, I have ſhewn, that this place in queſtion is not only accommodated, but fulfilled in *Chriſt*, and conſequently was originally meant of him, nay more eminently than of God, or as God otherwiſe than as he is in *Chriſt.* And this from your beloved *Grotius*, whom you wou'd have to be be a *Socinian*, and whom you quote upon this very place. But let us go on.

7. * *Pſal.* XCVII. The Majeſty of God is glorioufly ſet forth, in which the 7th Verſe is remarkable, which obviates the objection of inferior Gods, who are there call'd Idols, that is, when Men pay divine honour to them;

* Hiſt. pag. 489.

for

for that it is which makes any Creature to become an Idol: And tho' God communicates his name to Creatures, and calls ſome of them Gods, yet he will not ſhare his worſhip nor give his honour to another: Of this he expreſſes himſelf to be jealous, we muſt not come near it; And whoever arrogate it to themſelves are Idols and Falſe-Gods, and thoſe that pay it to them are Idolaters, and ſtyl'd the generation of thoſe who hate God. God reckons this a hating or forſaking of him, and calls it *the abominable thing that he hates*. And in deteſtation of theſe Idols, and to ſhew how far they were from having worſhip paid to them, they are here commanded themſelves to worſhip God. *Confounded be all they that delight in vain Gods*, (as our Common-Prayer-Book tranſlates it) or *that boaſt themſelves of Idols* (as the Bible tranſlation;) *Worſhip him all ye Gods*, or Angels, as St. *Paul* renders it. For Angels are Gods more than Men, they are the greateſt Gods of the Creation: But when they claim worſhip to themſelves, they become Devils; and if we worſhip them, we make them Idols to us; for no created excellency can advance any being ſo far, as not ſtill to be at an infinite diſtance from God; and therefore no Creature can partake of his worſhip: And therefore either the Son muſt not be adorable, or he muſt not be a Creature.

Exod. xx. 5. Jer. xliv. 4. Mat. iv. 9,10.

And now what Invention cou'd contrive a more poſitive and uncontroverſible manner of calling the Son, God; than to ſay, *Let all the Angels of God, or let all other Gods worſhip him.* What is this but to to call him the Supreme God? And manifeſtly to make the diſtinction 'twixt God by Nature, and by Office: All theſe Gods by Office are to worſhip the God by Nature. *Worſhip him all ye Gods*, and this the Apoſtle applies to *Chriſt*, and ſays, that *it was ſpoke of him*; and how to call him God more directly and palpably, cannot be ſuppos'd.

Heb. i. 6.

SOC. My Author ſays, that *Heb.* 1. 6. is not rendred right in our *Engliſh* tranſlation, which ſays, *Again when he bringeth the firſt-begotten into the world he ſaith, and let all the Angels of God worſhip him.*

But my Author ſays*, that in the *Greek* 'tis, *when he bringeth again the firſt begotten into the World*, that is, when he raiſed *Chriſt* from the dead.

CHR. He miſtakes; for the *Greek* is not as he quotes it; indeed the *Greek* puts *when*, before *again*, ὅταν δὲ πάλιν, and literally runs thus, *when again he bringeth*, but it is not *when he bringeth again*, as your Author ſlily inſinuates, that he might get it apply'd to *Chriſt*'s reſurrection. But what the meaning of *again* is in that verſe is put paſt any doubt, by repeating the words immediately preceding; for the Apoſtle is giving ſeveral inſtances, and ſo repeats the words again and again, which is a moſt common and familiar way of ſpeaking, and I believe never miſunderſtood but in this place. Read the 5th verſe, *Unto which of the Angels ſaid he, Thou art my Son? And again, I will be to him a Father— and again, when he bringeth the firſt begotten into the World*— what ordinary wit could have found out a new meaning for the laſt *again*, different from thoſe going before it?

SOC. But why did not the *Engliſh* tranſlation keep the very order of the words, as it is in the *Greek*, and as you have now laſt repeated it?

CHR. Becauſe it is not ſo good *Engliſh*; *when again*, is not the *Engliſh* ſtyle ſo much as, *again when*, tho' they both mean the ſame thing: And this rule was never obſerv'd in any tranſlation; for the placing of the words is different in moſt languages, and in this very text the *Greek* words are in this order; *when but again he bringeth*, ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ, which is

* Hiſt. p. 49.

not

not ſo good *Engliſh*, as, *but again when he bringeth:* And I ſuppoſe you will ſay is not a worſe tranſlation.

But, as I ſaid before, all this art is loſt, for unleſs the word *again* come after the word *bringeth*, it will not ſerve his turn, and in the *Greek* it is put before the word *bringeth*, which quite ſpoils his Criticiſm. But he is reſolved this ſhall not ſpoil it; and therefore he ventures boldly, and ſays, that in the *Greek* 'tis *when he bringeth again.*

SOC. But he has another anſwer; he ſays*, *'Tis uncertain whether St.* Paul *had any reſpect to the* Pſalm.

CHR. But he tells no ground he had for that uncertainty: All the difference 'twixt theſe texts is this, the *Pſalm* ſays *Gods (worſhip him all ye Gods)* which St. *Paul* renders Angels *(let all the Angels of God worſhip him)* which he knew to be included in the meaning and import of the word, *Gods*; and the reaſon of his doing it is becauſe he is there making a compariſon 'twixt *Chriſt* and the Angels: So that the putting in the word *Angels* for *Gods* is only applying the text of the *Pſalm* to his preſent ſubject. Then the one ſays, *worſhip him*, the other, *let them worſhip him.* Which is no alteration at all, unleſs you would inſiſt, that the texts ought to be quoted ſyllabically; which is not obſerv'd, nor ought to be in any tranſlation, becauſe of the different idioms of tongues, which muſt be obſerv'd to tranſlate it into ſenſe. But the inſpired Pen-men of the New Teſtament take greater latitude, and in their quotations of the Old Teſtament ſtick only to the ſenſe, and often vary the expreſſion, of which there are many examples. *Exod.* XXII. 28. it is written, *thou ſhalt not revile the Gods, nor curſe the ruler of thy people:* St. *Paul* repeating this text, quotes it thus, Acts xxiii. 5. *thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the ruler of thy people*; By the word Gods here was meant the Judges and Governours of the Land, and therefore St. *Paul* applying it to them, puts in the word Ruler, as in the former caſe, the word Angels inſtead of the word Gods. This I grant we have not authority to do, we are bound up to the words: But St. *Paul* ſpeaking by the ſame inſpiration that did dictate the text he quotes, his quotation is at the ſame time, a moſt authentick expoſition of the text.

Many more examples may be given of the like liberty taken in the New Teſtament in their quotation, out of the Old; which ſhall be produced if it be deny'd; for now I would be as brief as poſſible.

But now it is no ways material whether St. *Paul* quoted this from this *Pſalm*, or from the *Septuagint* tranſlation of *Deut.* XXXII. 42. as *Origen* thinks, ϖϵὶ Ἐυχῆς. For ſtill it was God ſpoke theſe words, and they were ſpoke of *Chriſt.*

SOC. He does not inſiſt much upon this, it was but to divert you, he has another anſwer: He ſays†, *That if St.* Paul *had reſpect to this* Pſalm, *yet he does not quote the words of the* Pſalmiſt, *as if they were ſpoken of* Chriſt; *but only declareth the decree of God (known to him by the Spirit) for ſubjecting the Angels to* Chriſt, *in the ſame words that the* Pſalmiſt *had uſed on another occaſion, becauſe they are words moſt proper to expreſs that decree; for the Writers of the New Teſtament generally affect to ſpeak in Scripture Language.*

CHR. You allow that by the words *firſt begotten* in the text *Heb.* I. 6. *Chriſt* is meant.

SOC. Yes certainly. Our Author acknowledges it in this ſame place.

CHR. And St. *Paul* ſays poſitively, that this was ſaid of the *firſt begotten*, for after ſeveral other texts which St. *Paul* quotes as ſpoken of him, he brings in this as one. *He* (God) *ſaid thou art my Son*——and again; *I*

* Page 49. † Ibid.

will be to him a Father—— and again, *when he bringeth the firſt begotten into the World, he ſaith and let all the Angels of God worſhip him.* All this was viſibly ſpoken of the ſame Perſon, and altogether, yet your Author ſays, theſe laſt words were not ſpoken of *Chriſt*: To ſay that one of theſe texts was not ſpoken of him, tho' the reſt were, and to give no reaſon, nor ſo much as a preſumption for this, but to think to put it upon his *ipſe dixit*, this is beyond example: It ſhews a reſolved Man ſtruggling even to death under the weight of truth.

SOC. He ſays this was only a Prophecy of *Chriſt*.

CHR. *Ergo* it was true, and *Ergo* it was ſpoken of *Chriſt*, which your Author denies, and yet cannot deny it.

SOC. He ſays theſe were the fitteſt words to expreſs it.

CHR. They were indeed: But what is the reaſon?

SOC. Becauſe the writers of the New Teſtament affect to ſpeak in Scripture Language.

CHR. But do they affect to aſcribe to Creatures, the glorious Attributes of God? Is it lawful to apply to a Man whatever I find ſaid of God, becauſe I affect to ſpeak in Scripture Language; and becauſe I find all the Angels of God, commanded to worſhip God, muſt I therefore bid them worſhip one who is not God? And notwithſtanding that in the ſame place I find all them curs'd and confounded who worſhip any other but God.

If our ſide ſhould produce ſuch a reaſon as this, what mercy would you have on us? It wou'd require more implicit Faith to ſwallow ſuch reaſoning, than even the notion of the Trinity.

But this I muſt confeſs, that there never was a cauſe more obſtinately defended; he fights to the laſt Man, and leaves nothing unſaid, whether it be true or falſe, whatever may amuſe, or put off——

But this, with conſidering Men, plucks up his cauſe by the very roots, and tho' they may admire the variety of his ſhifts and turnings, it is but to ſee with how much pains and skill he quits his hold.

SOC. The *Def. of the Hiſtory*, Chap. the 7th p. 35. ſays, that *this Anſwer of the Hiſtorian is a very ſound and judicious Anſwer.*

CHR. This is the beſt argument he brings to prove it, and yet he wonders People will not be ſatisfied with it.

SOC. He has found out out a text *Deut.* XXXII. 43. where inſtead of *Rejoice ye nations, with his people*; which is the *Engliſh* tranſlation, he ſays, the Seventy renders it thus, εὐφροσύνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ, i. e. *Let all Angels of God worſhip him.* And he would rather have the Apoſtles quotation to be from this place, becauſe he ſays, theſe words in *Deut.* are not ſpoken of God, but of God's People the *Iſraelites*, and if this can be ſaid of God's People, he hopes it may be ſaid of *Chriſt* too, without concluding from thence, that he is the ſupreme God.

CHR. Theſe words in the *Engliſh* are indeed ſpoken of God's People: *Rejoice with his people.* But the *Greek* reading he quotes, cannot be meant of the People, but of God; and yet their meaning is the ſame; they are both a reſult from the conſideration of God's vengeance upon his Enemies, and mercy to his People. The one invites the Nations to rejoice for this with his People, the other for this introduces the Angels adoration, not of the People (that is an abſurd thought) but of God; for his mercy to his People, which is plain from the very words. Thus then according to the *Greek: Let the Angels of God worſhip him, for he will avenge the blood of his Servants*, &c. But your Author would have it; *Let the Angels of God worſhip the people, becauſe God will avenge*, &c.

Is not the *him* there *(Worſhip him)* the ſame *him*, with *he* who *will avenge*, &c? But you would have the firſt *him*, mean the People *(Wor-*

ſhip him) and the ſecond to mean God *(he will avenge)* to call the People *him* in this place, is a ſort of *Welch*, or *Highland Engliſh*. But this is done by that authority and ſtrength of reaſon which interpreted the *(And)* and the *(Thou) Heb.* 1. 10. which you ſhall ſee preſently, and is a maſterpiece of the *Socinian* ſubtilty and integrity. In the mean time we muſt loſe our pretty conceipt from the *Greek* verſion of *Deut.* XXXII. 43. and the idolatrous inference we would have brought from it, of commanding Angels to worſhip Men. If Mens worſhipping Angels be idolatry, for Angels to worſhip Men muſt be a prepoſterous and monſtrous idolatry, and makes Angels more fooliſh than Men: Beſides, I ſuppoſe that your Author believes that it was the good Angels were here ſpoke of, and he makes them idolaters too: No matter! Any thing to avoid the Divinity of *Chriſt*.

But after all it is moſt probable that by Angels in this text no more is meant than the Nations mention'd in the *Engliſh* tranſlation; and ſo there will not be that diſcrepancy betwixt the *Greek* and *Engliſh* tranſlations which we imagine. We know the *Jews* reckon'd all the *Gentile* Nations to be ſeventy, and that every of theſe Nations had a preſident Angel to govern it: But that God took the government of *Iſrael* to himſelf. And theſe preſident Angels are often put for the Nations whom they govern'd: Thus it is in the 8th verſe of this chapter: Where *Moſes* is repeating God's great regard to *Iſrael*, even in the days of old, before they were a People; in that, after the Flood, when he divided the World into Nations he did it with reſpect to the ſeventy Sons of *Iſrael (Ex.* 1. 5.) for he divided it juſt into ſeventy Nations, which are all particularly nam'd in the 10th of *Geneſis:* The ſons of the three ſons of *Noah* there reckoned being juſt ſeventy. The ſeventy Nations, ſay the *Jews*, God committed to the care of ſeventy Angels, but he reſerved *Iſrael* for his own government. Here was the theocracy, and indeed there is a leading to this, or great part of it, in the words of the text. *Remember the days of old*, ſays *Moſes*, *Deut.* XXXII. 7. *Conſider the years of many generations,——When the moſt High divided to the Nations their inheritance: When he ſeparated the ſons of* Adam *he ſet the bounds of the People, according to the number of the Children of* Iſrael (the ſeventy read it) *according to the number of the Angels*, which is the ſame number according to the *Jewiſh* computation, (i. e. ſeventy) *For*, or but *the Lord's portion is his People:* Jacob *is the Lot*, (or Cord. *i. e.* the extent) *of his inheritance*, of his theocratical government, leaving to his Angels the immediate government of the ſeventy Nations of the *Gentiles*.

Here then Angels being put for the Nations by the ſeventy interpreters in the 8th verſe, why may we not reaſonably conclude that it is taken in the ſame ſenſe in the 43d verſe of the ſame chapter, where the ſeventy Nations are call'd upon to praiſe God with his People *Iſrael?*

But whether it be ſo, or be not ſo, it can never make your Author's ſenſe to have the Angels worſhip the People.

SOC. But my Defender has another ſalvo for this text, *Heb.* 1. 6. *When he bringeth the firſt Begotten into the World he ſaith and let all the Angels of God worſhip him.* My Author ſays that was the heavenly World; *i. e.* when God brought *Chriſt* into Heaven after his Reſurrection, it was then the Angels were to worſhip him.

CHR. Why? Were they not to worſhip him before? But does that Defence-maker name any authority, any various reading of the text, or the interpretation of any Father, or any ſort of reaſon for his addition to the text, and putting the word *heavenly* to *World*.

SOC. No: Only ſays, it is, as if the Apoſtle ſhould have ſaid ſo and ſo.

CHR. For the future I deſire you would adviſe him to let the Apoſtle ſpeak his own words, and not to run the hazard *Revel.* XXII. 18. of having all the plagues written in the Book added to him, for adding to any part of the word of God; or to think to impoſe upon unwary readers, by corrupting inſtead of explaining the texts of Holy Scripture: But we have been too long with this, let us go on to the next.

8. Pſal. CII. 25. " *Of old haſt thou laid the foundation of the Earth,* " *and the Heavens are the Works of thy Hands. They ſhall periſh, but* " *thou ſhalt endure, yea all of them ſhall wax old like a garment, as a* " *veſture ſhalt thou change them and they ſhall be changed, but thou art* " *the ſame, and thy years ſhall have no end.*" This is apply'd to *Chriſt*, *Heb.* I. 10.

SOC. My Author will not have this ſpoke of *Chriſt* in that place of *Heb.* but of God only *.

CHR. Does he tell to what end theſe words are brought there by the Apoſtle?

SOC. No, but he endeavours to make out the coherence thus. *And thou Lord haſt laid the foundation of the Earth——But to which of the Angels ſaid he, ſit thou on my right hand? As he ſaith to Chriſt*, Pſal. CX. I.

CHR. This is ſuch a way of ſhewing a coherence! Even imagination cannot find any thing like a coherence in it.

SOC. It was the founder of the Earth ſaid, *Sit on my right hand.*

CHR. And did the Apoſtle repeat over ſo diſtinctly three whole verſes out of the Pſalm CII. to ſhew that it was the *Founder of the Earth*, that is, God, who ſaid, *Sit on my right hand* in Pſalm CX? Which no body even doubted; and is ſufficiently declar'd in the words themſelves, *Pſal.* CX. I. *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord*, and is not at all proved by theſe words Pſalm CII. where the Pſalmiſt is treating of another ſubject.

But pray tell me, to what purpoſe was the word *And*, *Heb.* I. 10? *And Thou Lord in the beginning*—— From the 3d verſe there is a compariſon carried on betwixt *Chriſt* and the *Angels*, and ſeveral particulars are reckoned wherein he had the preheminence above the *Angels*, all join'd together with the copulative *And*, viz. *Chriſt* had the preheminence in this, *And* this, *And* this—— *unto which of the Angels ſaid he, thou art my Son. And* again, *I will be to him a Father*—— *And* again, *to the Son he ſaith, let all the Angels of God worſhip him*—— *And, Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever*—— *And, Thou Lord in the beginning haſt laid the foundation of the Earth*—— Now our Hiſtorian excepts this laſt *And*, and ſays it muſt not belong to the ſame Perſon to whom all the reſt do belong that go before it, and that follow it thro' the whole chapter: And gives no other reaſon for it than for the ſake of that fine coherence you have ſeen above; that is indeed, to deſtroy the whole coherence of that chapter, and make it not only nonſenſe, but a downright fallacy and prevarication in the Apoſtle. To ſlip in a text which belonged only to God, among thoſe texts which were meant of *Chriſt*, and to reckon it as one of the number by the copulative *And*; whereas it ſhould have been expreſſly excepted with a *But*. This was ſaid of *Chriſt*, *And* this, *And* this, *But* this was ſaid of *God* only. Thus it muſt have been expreſſed in the Hiſtorian's ſenſe: In which there is no reaſon in the world for bringing in theſe texts of *Pſalm* CII. there is no connexion between them and the reſt, they diſturb and confound the whole meaning and drift of the place, and cannot be reconciled to fair meaning nor honeſty in the writer.

* Hiſt. p. 50.

SOC.

SOC. The *Defence of the Hiſtory* ſays, c. 7. p. 34. that the 10th verſe of *Heb.* 1. viz. *Thou Lord in the beginning haſt laid the foundation of the Earth*—is not cited by the Apoſtle as ſpoken of *Chriſt*, or with intention to accommodate it to him; but becauſe it was neceſſary for explaining the word *They*, [*they ſhall periſh*] in the following words, which he had occaſion to uſe for expreſſing the duration of *Chriſt*'s Kingdom.

To make you underſtand this, you muſt know, that my Author applies expreſſly to *Chriſt* the 11th and 12th verſes of *Heb.* 1. viz. *They* (the Heavens and the Earth) *ſhall periſh, but thou remaineſt; and they all ſhall wax old as doth a garment, and as a veſture ſhall thou fold them up, and they ſhall be changed; but thou art the ſame, and thy years fail not.*

Theſe words, he ſaith, are a deſcription of the duration of *Chriſt*'s Kingdom, which is immutable, and will laſt for ever, and are a confirmation of what went before, *Pſal.* XLV. *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever.* Theſe two Scriptures, *Pſal.* XLV. 6, 7. and *Pſal.* CII. 25, 26, 27. he ſays the Apoſtle quotes for the ſame purpoſe, *viz.* to ſhew the duration of *Chriſt*'s Kingdom, which are ſeparated from one another only by the word *And.*

CHR. I thought *And* had been a copulative, that did not ſeparate, but join things together: And ſo I ſuppoſe your Author will allow it in all places that ever were read, except the firſt *And* in the 10th verſe of the 1ſt to the *Hebrews*, which is the *And* he here ſpeaks of: For if *And* be *And* there, then theſe words, *And Thou Lord in the beginning has laid the foundation of the Earth*, &c. muſt belong to *Chriſt*, as well as all the other *Ands* which are mentioned in the ſame place.

But here is another piece of arbitrary interpretation, which exceeds making copulatives, disjunctives, or any thing elſe that ever I read, except in your Author: It will not need a confutation, ſhewing it to you will be ſufficient.

Read theſe words, *Heb.* 1. 10, 11, 12. *Thou Lord in the beginning haſt laid the foundation of the Earth; and the Heavens are the works of thine hands, they ſhall periſh, but thou remaineſt; and they all ſhall wax old as doth a garment, and as a veſture ſhalt thou fold them up, and they ſhall be changed, but thou art the ſame, and thy years ſhall not fail.*

Now who would imagine but all this was ſpoken of the ſame Perſon?

I ſuppoſe it will not be deny'd, but the Prophet meant them all of the ſame Perſon, when he firſt wrote them, *Pſal.* CII. And how the Apoſtle came to alter it in the quotation is ſomewhat difficult to apprehend.

Thou didſt this, and *Thou* didſt this, and *Thou* didſt this, ſays the Apoſtle, of *Chriſt*, repeating the words which the Prophet had ſpoken of God.

Says our new Author the firſt *Thou* ſhall not belong to *Chriſt*, nor ſo much as be accommodated to him; but all the reſt of the *Thou's* ſhall belong to him, and to no body elſe. This is to ſolve the difficulty of the *Ands* which we have ſpoke of before.

But what was the firſt *Thou* brought in for, if it was not intended to mean the ſame Perſon with all the reſt of the *Thou's* which did follow? Or why was it not told us that one *Thou* was meant of one Perſon, and another of another, to prevent miſtakes, eſpecially in ſo material a point as that of miſtaking a Creature for God? And when the expreſſion was ſo neceſſary to be miſtaken, that there was no poſſibility of avoiding it, without taking words and expreſſions in ſuch a ſenſe as there is not one precedent for in any language, or any writing that ever was upon the face of the Earth: Nor would any Man in the world be underſtood that ſpoke or wrote in that manner.

And then to give it as a reaſon for all this, that it was neceſſary to underſtand the firſt *Thou*, ℣. 20. of a different Perſon from all the others, for

explaining the following words; whereas it is that which confounds them, and puts them out of all rules of ſpeaking intelligibly among Mankind: And then to exult in this and cry out, *And now I appeal to any Reader, whether this be an abſurd ſenſe? Is not this explication clear? But is not the ſenſe which the* Trinitarians *would put upon this place both abſurd and inconſiſtent?* This was modeſt! But have you any more upon this text?

SOC. He proves that ſuppoſe *Chriſt* had indeed created the World, yet the Creation cannot be aſcrib'd to him in this place, *Heb.* I. 10.

CHR. *That will make ſome amends for his *Thou's* and his *And's*. Pray let us hear his proof.

SOC. Becauſe the Apoſtle in this chapter does not ſpeak of what is natural or eſſential to *Chriſt*, but of what he has received from God.

CHR. How does he prove this?

SOC. He ſays this appears by ℣. 4. the words are theſe, *being made ſo much better than the Angels.* Therefore the Apoſtle's ſcope is to ſhew the excellency that *Chriſt* obtain'd, not by nature, or of himſelf, but that which he had by donation.

CHR. Why might not the Apoſtle ſhew it both ways? Both from the excellency *Chriſt* had by nature, and by donation?

SOC. My Author does not meddle with that: But he is very angry at the word *inheritance*, ℣. 4. *viz.* That *Chriſt* ſhou'd have *by inheritance a more excellent name* than Angels. He ſays the words *by inheritance* are falſe; for the name *Chriſt* has obtain'd, came to him by free donation, and not by inheritance.

CHR. To ask my former queſtion, why may it not be both? Both by donation and inheritance? It is ſaid ℣. 2. That *God appointed* Chriſt *heir of all things. I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance*, Pſ. II. 8. So that your Author ſhew'd too much rage, *per* inadvertence, at the word *inheritance*, to ſay that it was falſe, and that *Chriſt* had it not by *inheritance.*

SOC. *Having thus ſhewn*, ſays my Author, *that* Chriſt *is not ſaid to have created the World*——

CHR. Ay! Having ſhewn it indeed, as he has ſhewn all the reſt. By ſuch arbitrary ſuppoſes and conſequences, which ſometimes are paſt all human Underſtanding, of which we have had a taſte: But we muſt have more.

SOC. I paſs here ſeveral texts nam'd in this Hiſtory, becauſe I would come to the moſt material; and not to ſwell this to too great a bulk. And now I come to the Prophets.

9. CHR. Your Hiſtorian † names *Iſai.* VI. 1, 8, 9. *I ſaw the Lord ſitting upon a throne*—— *I heard the voice of the Lord*——*Go tell this People, hear ye indeed, but underſtand not*——*Shut their eyes*, &c. This appearance of God is aſcrib'd to *Chriſt*, John XII. 41. *Theſe things ſaid* Iſaias *when he ſaw his glory.*

SOC. *The words in St.* John *are to be underſtood not of* Chriſt, *but of God; for God only is intended in the foregoing verſe, as all confeſs.*

CHR. I wonder he did not light upon this anſwer before.

SOC. How cou'd that be, till he came to this text?

CHR. Yes, it will ſerve all the texts which the New Teſtament brings out of the Old. We argue, that what is ſaid of God in the Old Teſtament, is apply'd to *Chriſt* in the New; and that therefore *Chriſt* muſt be God. He anſwers, ſuch a text was ſpoken of God, *Ergo*, ſays he, not of *Chriſt.* Which is not only begging the queſtion, but if it were not ſpoke of God,

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* Def. Hiſt. p. 34. † Hiſt. p. 53, 54.

it would be no argument in this cauſe: But he cunningly ſlips in the word *only*; that God only is intended in the foregoing verſe: That God is intended, we ſay; but that it is to the excluſion of *Chriſt*, he muſt prove.

All the queſtion will be, who is meant by the [*his*] in the text; *Theſe things ſaid* Iſaias *when he ſaw his glory.* The next words are material, which our Author has left out in his quotation, and which make out the remainder of that ſhort verſe: *Theſe things ſaid* Iſaias, *when he ſaw his glory, and ſpake of him.*

SOC. How then ſhall we know who is this [*him?*]

CHR. Read before and after, and you will plainly ſee, whom the Apoſtle is there ſpeaking of. *Theſe things ſpake* Jeſus, *and hid himſelf. But tho' he had done ſo many miracles——yet they believed not on him. That the ſaying af* Iſaias *might be fulfilled——Theſe things ſaid* Iſaias, *when he ſaw his glory, and ſpake of him. Nevertheleſs among the chief rulers many alſo believed on him——but they did not confeſs him.*

John xii. 36, 37, 38, 41, 42.

Now to ſay that every one of theſe *his* and *him*, muſt refer to the *Jeſus* who is there mention'd, except one *his* in the middle, and that muſt be meant of another, is a confounding the ſenſe and all propriety of ſpeaking; it is like the *and's* and *thou's* before mentioned.

But it is wrote, that *Iſaias ſaid theſe things when he ſaw his glory, and ſpake*, or propheſied *of him*: As *Abraham rejoiced to ſee his day*; ſo ſays *Grotius* (in Loc.) Iſaias *ſaw the glory of* Chriſt.

Was it God that *Iſaias* propheſied of, or *Chriſt?*

But theſe words, *go unto this people*, in the aboveſaid text of *Iſaiah*, are aſcrib'd to the holy Ghoſt *Acts* XXVIII. 25, 26. *Well ſpake the Holy Ghoſt by* Iſaias, *ſaying, go unto this people*, &c.

SOC. Our Author anſwers*, That was *becauſe the Viſion and all the words there mentioned were a ſcene wrought in the Prophet's mind (not exhibited to his outward ſenſes) by the Spirit or Power of God.*

CHR. Do you apprehend the meaning of this anſwer?

SOC. It is ſomewhat difficult.

CHR. I confeſs, it exceeds my Underſtanding: I cannot ſee the conſequence of it. *Becauſe the Viſion was a ſcene wrought in the Prophets mind:* Therefore, what? Therefore that which the Prophet aſcribes to God, the Apoſtle does not aſcribe to the Holy Ghoſt: Will this follow? Nay the Holy Ghoſt ſpeaks here as a Perſon, *that I ſhould heal them.*

℣. 27.

SOC. Our Author ſays nothing of that.

But in Mr. *Bidle's Expoſition of* Iſ. VI. 9, 10. publiſh'd (with other of our tracts) *An.* 1691. call'd [*The Faith of one God*, &c.] p. 12. diſputing againſt this topick of yours, of drawing arguments from texts of the Old Teſtament ſpoken of God, which ſeem to be apply'd to *Chriſt* in the New, gives one inſtance for all, to confound you for ever; for he proves that, by this method, *Iſaias* as well as *Chriſt* muſt be God; becauſe that text *Iſ.* LXV. 1. [*I am ſought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that ſought me not, I ſaid, behold me, behold me unto a nation that was not call'd by my name*] is, in the 10th of the *Rom.* ℣. 20. *aſcribed to* Iſaiah. [But Iſaias *is very bold, and ſaith, I was found of them that ſought me not*, &c.] therefore (ſays Mr. *Bidle)* Iſaiah *is the Lord.* And thus he ridicules the arguments drawn from this head.

CHR. I thank you very kindly for this, whereby to expoſe that pragmatical Heretick and ignorant Pedant School-Maſter *John Bidle*, your great and admir'd Apoſtle. I cannot think he had a Boy of ten years of age in his School, who reading that text *Rom.* X. 20. cou'd underſtand it as if

* Page 54.

Iſaiah had ſpoke thoſe words *Iſ.* LXV. 1. of himſelf, or that the Apoſtle cou'd ſo poſſibly miſunderſtand him; and not rather that he quoted this out of *Iſaiah*, as what *Iſaiah* repeated from the mouth of God, and ſpoke in the name of God, and not of *Iſaiah*: The whole context ſhews it. Whoever will believe *Bidle* to have had Senſe or Reaſon, after this, has a pitch of Reaſon fit to be a *Socinian*. But let's go on.

10. Iſa. VII. 14. *A Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a Son, and ſhall call his name* Immanuel. * 'Tis added, *Mat.* I. 23. *which being interpreted is, God with us.*

SOC. St. *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*, and therefore did not interpret the *Hebrew* name.

CHR. But if he wrote in *Hebrew*, for the ſake of the *Jews*, as ſome think, 'tis generally believ'd that he wrote the ſame Goſpel in *Greek* too; or tranſlated his own *Hebrew* into *Greek*, or ſome other of the inſpir'd Pen-Men of the Scripture, and therefore the *Greek* of St. *Matthew's* Goſpel, is acknowledg'd for Scripture by all the chriſtian Church.

SOC. But our Author ſays, *That we are not bound to ſubmit to the interpretation of the* Greek *tranſlator, being an unknown and obſcure Perſon.*

CHR. Does he offer any proof for this?

SOC. No, he ſays no more of this.

CHR. Then he makes good his Character, that he never wants ſomething to ſay, be it true or falſe. But we go on,

11 *Iſ.* VIII. 14. *He ſhall be a ſtone of ſtumbling*, &c. † This is ſpoken of God in the Prophet, and apply'd to *Chriſt*, Rom. IX. 33. 1 Pet. II. 8.

SOC. This is only as *Chriſt* was alſo a ſtone of ſtumbling, not that he was the ſame ſtumbling-ſtone which the Prophet ſpoke of.

CHR. But the Apoſtle calls him that ſame ſtumbling-ſtone. *They ſtumbled at that ſtumbling-ſtone; as is written, Behold I lay in* Sion *a ſtumbling-ſtone*, &c. Rom. ix. 32.

The next is a great text, *Iſa.* IX. 6, 7. *Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given, he ſhall be call'd wonderful Councellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the encreaſe of his Government and Peace there ſhall be no end, upon the throne of* David, *to order and eſtabliſh it with judgment and juſtice from henceforth and for ever. The zeal of the Lord of Hoſts ſhall perform this.*

SOC. *This cannot be a Prophecy of* Chriſt, *becauſe it ſpeaks of a Prince actually born at that time, unto us a Child is born* ‡.

CHR. It is the language of Prophecy to ſpeak of things to come, as preſent: Nay ſometimes as of things done and paſt; *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord,* which your Author acknowledges to be a Prophecy of *Chriſt*. *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee,* which your Author ſays is meant of *Chriſt's* Reſurrection. *Thou art a Prieſt for ever, after the order of* Melchiſedec: Spoken of *Chriſt* ſo long before. But this is too obvious to be inſiſted on, your Author himſelf acknowledges it, tho' now he has a bad memory; he inſiſts upon it, and proves it p. 104. and gives ſeveral inſtances. Pſal. cx. 1. ii. 7.

SOC. Then there is no way to eſcape the force of this Text, but what our Author has taken, which is to deny the tranſlation. He ſays in the *Hebrew* it is thus, *Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given—— the wonderful Councellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father ſhall name him the peaceable Prince, his Government ſhall be multiply'd* (i. e. *He ſhall reign long, even twenty nine years) and he ſhall have very great*

* Hiſt. p. 55. † Ibid. ‡ p. 57.

Peace

Peace——from henceforth to the end of his life. The zeal of the Lord of Hoſts ſhall perform this. i. e. God's love to his choſen People ſhall make good this Prophecy. For, he ſays, all this was ſpoken of *Hezekiah*, becauſe he reign'd twenty nine years, and in that time there was only one expedition againſt him, and that alſo unſucceſsful.

CHR. It belong'd more literally to Queen *Elizabeth*, who reign'd almoſt twice as long, and in great Peace, except the one expedition of the *Spaniſh Armado*, and that alſo unſucceſsful.

It is a great degree of obſtinacy to interpret ſuch wonderful, lofty, and myſterious words, each of which commands admiration, only to mean that a King reign'd twenty nine years. Can that go down with any Man of common ſenſe?

But this it ſelf muſt not do, for his reading of the text is wholly out of his own head.

SOC. He ſays it is ſo in the *Hebrew*.

CHR. He ſays ſo, but he does not offer to prove it. And becauſe this is ſo mighty and unanſwerable an authority proving the Divinity of *Chriſt*, and that our Author is driven to his laſt ſhifts upon it, I will take pains to ſet down out of the *Polyglot* Bible the ſeveral tranſlations of this text. And I will not alter the words, tho' it will make them bad *Engliſh*, that you may ſee what ground our Author had for his bold alteration of this text.

The *Hebrew* then is thus, *A Child is born to us, a Son is given to us, and the principality ſhall be upon his Shoulder, and his name ſhall be called admirable Councellor, God, Strong, Father of Eternity, Prince of Peace, to multiply principality, and to Peace no end.*

The *Chaldee* Paraphraſe, *A Man Child is born to us, a Son is given to us, and he ſhall take the Law upon him, that he may keep it, and his name ſhall be call'd from the face of the admirable Council, God, a Man enduring to Eternity,* Chriſt, *whoſe Peace ſhall be multiply'd upon us in his days.*

Syriac. *A Man Child is born to us, a Son is given to us, and his Empire is made upon his Shoulder, and his name is called Admiration, and Councellor, the moſt mighty God of Ages, the Prince of Peace, of whoſe principality to Plenty and Peace, there ſhall be no bound.*

Arabic. *A Man Child is born to us, a Son is given to us, whoſe Dominion is upon his Shoulders, and his name ſhall be called, the Angel of great Council, the admirable Councellor, the ſtrong God, the Emperor, the Lord of Peace, the Father of the age to come: For I am to bring Peace to Princes, Peace and ſafety to themſelves. His Dominion ſhall be moſt great, and of his Peace there ſhall be no end.*

Greek. *A young Child is born to us, and a Son is given to us, whoſe Government is upon his Shoulder, and his name ſhall be called the Angel of great Council, wonderful Councellor, mighty Lord, Prince of Peace, Father of the age to come. For I will bring Peace to Princes, and Health to him.* MS. A. *I will bring Peace and Health. His principality is great, and of his Peace there is no bound.*

Add to this, that theſe Epithets which your Author would not in this text have apply'd to *Chriſt*, but turns the words, that they may belong only to God, as *wonderful Councellor*, or *Angel of Council*, the *mighty God*, &c. are even by the *Anti-Nicene* Fathers apply'd to *Chriſt*, *Juſt. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. Jud.* p. 301, 355. *Iren. adverſ. Hær.* l. 4. c. 66. *Tertull. De Carne Chriſti* c. 14. Origen *in* Joh. p. 32, 42. Cyprian *adverſ. Jud.* c. 21. Clement. Alexandr. Pædagog. l. 1. c. 5.

Iſa. XLIV. 6. *Thus ſaith the Lord, I am the firſt and the laſt.* This is apply'd to *Chriſt*, Rev. 1. 8, 17. and XXI. 6, *&c.*

SOC.

SOC. My Author ſays*, That *Chriſt* was *the firſt* (that is, the moſt honourable) *and laſt*, (that is, the moſt deſpiſed of Men) the firſt with good Men, and the laſt with evil Men.

CHR. That is, ſomething may be ſaid of every thing: But the *firſt* and the *laſt* are in this ſame Chapter of the *Rev.* ſynonymous with *Alpha* and *Omega*, the beginning and the ending. And God is deſcrib'd ℣. 4. thus, *He, who is, and was, and is to come.* Tertullian (*adverſ. Prax.* c. 17, 18. p. 510.) proves the Attributes of God to belong to *Chriſt*. *Omnia inquit Patris mei ſunt, cur non et nomina? All that the Father hath are mine,* ſays *Chriſt, and why not his names too? Sed et nomina Patris*——The Attributes of the Father, as, *God omnipotent, moſt High, the God of Hoſts, the King of* Iſrael, and *Who is, Hæc dicimus et in Filium competiſſe*—— *Theſe belong likewiſe to the Son, who is, Suo Jure Deus omnipotens, quà ſermo Dei omnipotentis*—— i. e. *God Almighty in his own Right, as being the Word of the Almighty God.* And he proves this text we are upon *Rev.* 1. 8. to belong to *Chriſt*. I am the Lord, *who is, and was, and is to come, the Almighty. Cùm et Filius Omnipotentis tam Omnipotens ſit quàm Deus Dei Filius.* i. e. *Seeing the Son of the Almighty is Almighty, as the Son of God is God.* ℣. 8. 11. 17.

Origen (in *Joh.* p. 54 of 2. *Tom.*) obſerves that none of the *Evangeliſts* did ſo manifeſtly declare the Divinity of *Chriſt*, αὐτὸ τ Θεότητα, as *John* did. And among other texts of St. *John* which he there reckons up, as proving the Divinity of *Chriſt*, he quotes *Rev.* 1. 8. and XXII. 13. *I am* Alpha, *and* Omega; *the beginning, and the ending; the firſt and the laſt.*

And St. *Cyprian* does the ſame, *adverſ. Jud.* c. 1. p. 32, and c. 6. p. 35. I will not pretend but you may interpret this too; for there are ſeveral beginnings, and ſeveral endings: And I am to day, was yeſterday, and will be to morrow: And I may take to my ſelf God's name, *I am*, and many other things ſaid of God, I may accommodate to my ſelf: But this appellation is peculiar to God: You will not find in all the Scripture any Creature call'd in this ſtyle; which is the argument inſiſted on, *viz.* That the moſt peculiar appellations of God are given to *Chriſt*. But we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of this upon another text by and by.

14. † Iſa. XLVIII. 16. *I have not ſpoken in ſecret from the beginning, from the time that it was, there am I. And now the Lord God hath ſent me, and his Spirit hath ſent me.*

SOC. The *I*, in this text, is not *Chriſt*, but the Prophet; for *Chriſt* was not ſent at that time.

CHR. This has been anſwer'd already, *viz.* That the ſtyle of the Prophets is to ſpeak of things to come, as preſent, or even as paſt. Nay our Author pleads guilty, and ſays ‡, notwithſtanding his objection, that this was ſpoke of a *great Prince to come.*

Origen in *Joh. Tom.* 2. p. 57. ſays, this text was meant of *Chriſt*; and thence proves that he was ſent both by the Father and the Holy Ghoſt. And (in *Matt.* p. 323.) that both were ſent by the Father for the Salvation of Man.

SOC. *There am I*, that is, I declare it as clearly as if I were preſent on the place.

CHR. Can you find in any language one example of this way of ſpeaking? Suppoſe I were to tell you that ſuch a Child was born, and that I was there, and I ſhould ſay to you, *from the time that it was, there am I:* Wou'd you underſtand me? Wou'd you not bid me ſpeak ſome other ſort of language?

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* Hiſt. p. 59. † p. 60. ‡ p. 61.

Obſerve I pray you, this whole Chapter *Iſaiah* XLVIII. is ſpoken in the Perſon of God, and not of the Prophet. There God calls upon them, *Hearken unto me, O* Jacob, *I am he, I am the firſt and the laſt, mine hand hath laid the foundation of the earth*, &c.——*I, even I have ſpoken*——*I have called him, I have brought him, come ye near unto me, I have not ſpoken in ſecret from the beginning*, &c. as in this text. It was not *Iſaiah* who ſpoke *from the beginning*. There is not an *I* in all this Chapter, either before or after this verſe, but what is expreſly meant of God, and incommunicable to any Creature. But this ſingle *I* muſt be excepted, as before the *and's* and the *thou's*, tho' it is ſet down continuedly, and undiſtinguiſhed from any of the reſt. Nor could this one *I* in the 16th verſe be a tranſition to another Perſon from all the other *I's* thro' the whole Chapter, without a deſign to deceive the Reader, there being not the leaſt hint, or intimation, or poſſibility of it, by any rule or uſage of language in the whole World: Nor can *v.* 16. be explain'd of any other Perſon but of *Chriſt*, whom the Lord God, and his Spirit ſent.

SOC. But this is a proof, ſays my Author, That *Chriſt* was not God, becauſe he was ſent by God.

CHR. Do not we ſay, that *Chriſt* was ſent by God?

SOC. Yes.

CHR. Why then do you bring that as an objection againſt our opinion, which is in the very words wherein we expreſs our opinion? Does not the the Apoſtles Creed ſay, that *Chriſt* was conceived of the Holy Ghoſt? Much more may he be ſent by him.

But obſerve that in this text it is ſaid of *Chriſt*, that the Lord ſent him. Here is a plain diſtinction put betwixt God and his Spirit: God ſent, and his Spirit ſent; which if they be both the ſame Perſon, bears this ſenſe. I ſent, and I ſent; that is, it expreſſes the difference betwixt I and my ſelf; Therefore you muſt allow God and his Spirit to be Perſons; and that *Chriſt* being *made fleſh*, was ſent into the World by them both.

15. There is a moſt plain text which he quotes next to this *Jer.* XXIII. 5, 6. *I will raiſe unto* David *a righteous branch, in his days* Judah *ſhall be ſaved, and* Iſrael *ſhall dwell ſafely: And this is the name whereby he ſhall be called, the Lord* (Heb. Jehovah) *our righteouſneſs**.

SOC. In the *Hebrew* it is, *This is the name which they ſhall call the Lord our Juſtifier*; that is, in the happy days of the Branch, the Nation ſhall call God their *Juſtifier* or *Deliverer* †.

CHR. The very reading the context ſhews the abſurdity of this tranſlation; for it is God who is ſpeaking, and ſpeaking only of the *righteous Branch*, deſcribing him, and telling how he ſhall be called, *The day is come ſaith the Lord, that I will raiſe unto* David *a righteous Branch, and a King ſhall reign*——*In his days* Judah *ſhall be ſaved*——*And this is his name, whereby he ſhall be called, the Lord*, Jehovah, *our righteouſneſs.*

Hebrew: *And this is his name which they ſhall call him, the Lord our righteouſneſs.*

Paraph. Chald. *This is his name by which they ſhall call him. Righteouſneſs ſhall be to us from the face of the Lord in his days.*

Syriac: *And this is his name by which they ſhall call him, the Lord our righteouſneſs.*

Arabic: *And this is his name, by which they ſhall call him, the Lord* Joſedec, *which ſignifies the juſt Lord, or the juſtice of the Lord.*

Greek: *This is the name which the Lord ſhall call him,* Joſedec.

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* Hiſt. p. 61. † p. 62.

Here you ſee it is the Lord who calls the Branch by this name, inſtead of the Lord's being call'd ſo by others.

16. CHR. *Mich.* v. 2. *Thou* Bethlehem, *out of thee ſhall come unto me that is to be ruler in* Iſrael: *whoſe goings forth have been of old, from everlaſting*, or as it is in the margin, *from the days of Eternity.*

SOC. By *goings forth* is meant only pedigree; that is, whoſe pedigree was ancient.

CHR. This is pretty arbitrary, and your Author gives no reaſon for it; but I ſuppoſe that this is the firſt time that *going forth* has been taken for a Man's pedigree, and I believe he will not do it again. But how do you get over the words *from everlaſting?*

SOC. In the *Hebrew* it is *from antient days*, viz. that *Chriſt* deſcended from the ancient ſtock of *David.*

CHR. The *Hebrew* phraſe is, *from the days of the age*, which, in their idiom, ſignifies Eternity, as alſo in the *Greek*, εἰς τὸς αἰῶνας, *to ages*, is *Engliſh'd for ever and ever* at the end of the *Lord's Prayer*; and you find no fault with it: For it is the idiom of the language: And it is in the *Latin*, *in Secula Seculorum.* The *Chaldee* Paraphraſe has both expreſſions together: *Whoſe Name was ſaid from Eternity, from the days of the age. The* Syriac, *whoſe going forth is from the beginning, from the eternal days. The* Arabic, *whoſe out-goings in* Iſrael, *are from everlaſting days.*

And in the *Engliſh* it is plainly told what is there meant by *ancient days*, or *of old*, as our tranſlation is; not *yeſterday*, or ſince *David*, but *from everlaſting: Whoſe goings forth have been of old, from everlaſting.*

Here I might retort upon our Author, for his interpretation of *Iſa.* IX. 6. *Unto us a Child is born.* That, ſays our Author, is ſpoke of in the preſent tenſe; therefore it could not be *Chriſt*, who was not then born. By the ſame rule, *Chriſt* did exiſt, before the Prophet *Micah* wrote; for he ſpeaks of *Chriſt* here in the preterperfect tenſe: *Whoſe goings forth have been of old—*

17. *Zech.* II. 8, 9. *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts—Ye ſhall know that the Lord of Hoſts hath ſent me.*

SOC. *Theſe words, *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts*, are not the words of the Lord of Hoſts himſelf, but of the ſecond *Angel*, who at ℣. 3. and 4. ſpoke to the firſt Angel, and to *Zechariah.*

CHR. Indeed the Angel does declare the word of the Lord, and what the Lord ſpoke, but therefore *it was the Lord* who ſpoke it: And this is plain from ℣. 5. *I, ſaith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire——flee from the North, ſaith the Lord, for I have ſpread them abroad as the four winds——Thus ſaith the Lord——I will ſhake my hand upon them——and ye ſhall know that the Lord of Hoſts hath ſent me.*

But ℣. 10. and 11. makes this plain paſt contradiction. *Lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midſt of thee, ſaith the Lord: And many nations ſhall be joined to the Lord in that day, and ſhall be my People: And I will dwell in the midſt of thee; and thou ſhalt know that the Lord of Hoſts hath ſent me unto thee.*

This cannot be apply'd to the Angel: It was the Angel indeed who told us this, who told us that God ſaid all this, but you cannot apply it to the Angel, any more than you can ſay that all that is ſpoken in the Prophets was meant of the Prophets.

SOC. Our Author has ſaid nothing of this laſt text.

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* Hiſt. p. 63.

18. CHR. It was not for his purpoſe: The next *text he quotes out of *Zechariah* is chap. III. 2. *The Lord* (Heb. Jehovah) *ſaid unto* Satan, *the Lord* (Heb. Jehovah) *rebuke thee.*

SOC. Our Author ſays, that the Lord in the firſt clauſe is the Angel of the Lord, as appears by ℣. 1. for there *Satan* ſtands before the Angel.

CHR. How do you prove the conſequence? That becauſe *Satan* ſtood before the Angels; therefore the Lord in the firſt clauſe is the Angel?

SOC. I confeſs the conſequence is not very plain: But he proves it was the Angel, becauſe he prays to another Perſon to rebuke.

CHR. Do not we ſay that *Chriſt* is another Perſon from the Father? And that he pray'd to the Father? And we bring this text as a proof; which you ſay is no proof, becauſe there is one Perſon praying to another: Whereas, if it were not ſo, it could be no proof for us. But your Author confeſſes, that by *the Lord* in the firſt clauſe, *Jehovah* is meant according to the *Hebrew*, which, he ſays, does ſo read it as well as in the ſecond clauſe.

SOC The name *Jehovah* is given to Angels, as *Exod.* III. 2, 4, 6. *The Angel of the Lord appeared——And when the Lord* (Heb. Jehovah) *ſaw that he turned aſide—— God called to him—— and ſaid, I am the God of thy Father——*

CHR. We ſay that *Chriſt* oft appear'd before his Incarnation, as Angels do, who put on Bodies as Men do Clothes, without aſſuming them into their nature: And when he ſo appear'd, he took to himſelf the ſtyle of God, which we deny that ever any Angel did. We ſay that he was one of the three which appear'd to *Abraham*, *Gen.* XVIII. who ſtay'd behind, when the other two went on to *Sodom*, who is called there by the Name of *the Lord.* * *Conſtantine* built a Church at *Mamre*, where the Lord did thus appear to *Abraham*, in commemoration of *Chriſt* appearing there, who is called, *the Lord*, and manifeſted his Divinity there, accompanied with two Angels. And we ſay it was he who appeared like an Angel in the Buſh, and therefore is rightly there call'd by the Name *Jehovah*, and he ſaid *I am the God.* Thus that text is plain and eaſy in our ſenſe, but in yours it is intricate and crabbed, and you know not which way to turn it.

19. But I come to the laſt ‡ quotation out of *Zech.* XII. 10. *They ſhall look upon me whom they have pierced.* The ſame thing is of *Chriſt*, *Rev.* I. 7. *and John* XIX. 37.

SOC. As the *Jews* in the times of the Prophets did (as it were) pierce God with their ſins of ſeveral kinds; ſo they pierced him again when they put to death the Lord *Chriſt.*

CHR. Both theſe texts in St. *John* refer plainly to *Chriſt*; and ſay, that it was he who was pierced; you ſay it was not he, but God that was pierced. This is point blank denying theſe texts, inſtead of anſwering them. Again, conſider the manner of their mourning for him, *as one that mourneth for his only Son*, as the text ſpeaks; *They ſhall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they ſhall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only Son, and ſhall be in bitterneſs for him, as one is in bitterneſs for his Firſt-born.*

This is a ſorrow for one that is dead, and loſt from us. This is literally fulfilled in the death of *Chriſt*, and his ſide pierced with the ſpear. This ſorrow has pity and compaſſion in it, and trouble and grief for another, which cannot be ſaid of our repenting towards God, wherein we are not griev'd for God, but for our ſelves. Can we be ſaid to mourn for God as for an only Son?

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* Hiſt. p. 64. † *Euſeb.* de vit. *Conſt.* b 3. c. 15. 3. ‡ Hiſt. p. 65.

SOC. But the words in the Prophet are not by St. *John* interpreted of *Chriſt*, but accommodated to *Chriſt* and his Sufferings.

CHR. This is the old diſtinction of accommodated, by which I ſuppoſe you mean, that the text was not ſpoke of *Chriſt*, but only that *Chriſt*'s caſe was like that caſe which the text ſpeaks of: And ſo one of theſe caſes is only compar'd or accommodated to the other.

SOC. Yes; that is the meaning of it.

CHR. But what if both theſe texts mean the ſame caſe?

SOC. If you can make that appear, you have done the Buſineſs.

CHR. What is the meaning of any ſaying being fulfilled?

SOC. That is, when that is come to paſs which was meant or intended in ſuch a ſaying.

CHR. Is the ſaying itſelf, and the meaning of that ſaying, two different things?

SOC. No ſure. For what is a ſaying but the meaning of it? But what do you mean by all theſe queſtions?

CHR. If this text of *Zech.* was fulfilled in *Chriſt*, then it was meant of *Chriſt*; and they are not two caſes whereof one may be accommodated to the other; but all is one and the ſelf ſame caſe. Fulfilling is a compleating of a thing, carrying it to its utmoſt meaning and perfection. That which is foretold is not fulfilled, if it be not the ſame thing which was foretold: One thing is not compleated by the fulfilling of another thing.

SOC. This is ſelf-evident. What do you infer?

CHR. St. *John* ſays the Scripture in *Zech.* was fulfilled in the Paſſion of *Chriſt*; therefore it is more than accommodated, compar'd, or made like to it: The Prophet and Evangeliſt both ſpoke of the ſame thing.

Theſe things were done, ſays St. *John*, *that the Scripture might be fulfilled*—— *They ſhall look on him whom they pierced.* And you having ſaid in your firſt anſwer to this text, that the [*Me*] in *Zech.* (*They ſhall look upon Me*) was meant of God, it follows from St. *John*'s interpreting this as fulfilled (and not only accommodated) in *Chriſt*, that *Chriſt* was that *Me* which is in *Zech.* and conſequently is God. Pray read *v.* 36. of the 19th chap. of St. *John*, *Theſe things were done* (*viz.* piercing *Chriſt* with the ſpear, and not breaking of his Legs, as was done to the others who were crucify'd with him) *that the Scripture ſhould be fulfilled, a bone of him ſhall not be broken.* And again, another Scripture ſays, *They ſhall look on him whom they pierced.* Here are two Prophecies quoted by the Apoſtle of this piercing of *Chriſt*. One of them I believe this Author will not ſay was only accommodated to *Chriſt*, *viz.* the not breaking of his Legs; unleſs he thinks they could break God's Legs; and then you may contrive an accommodated ſenſe even in this too: For grieving of God may be call'd breaking of his Bones, as well as piercing him: And you muſt either accommodate both, or none of theſe texts; the Apoſtle puts them together, and accommodates them both alike: And therefore *Zech.* XII. 10. muſt belong as much to *Chriſt*, as *Exod.* XII. 46. *Numb.* IX. 12. or *Pſal.* XXXIV. 20. And it was underſtood all along in this ſenſe, even before the Council of *Nice*.

John xix. 36.

St. *Barnabas*, in his * *Cath. Epiſt.* c. 7. p. 43. ſpeaking of *Chriſt*'s coming to Judgment, ſays, that when the *Jews* ſhall ſee him, they will ſay, *Is not this he whom we heretofore did crucify?*

Now tho' St. *Barnabas* does not here quote this text of *Zech.* XII. 10. yet it is plain that he refers to it; and means, the *looking upon him whom they pierced*, to be underſtood of *Chriſt*.

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* Καὶ ἐρῦσιν, οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν;

Irenæus quotes this ſame text of *Zech.* XII. 10. as ſpoke of *Chriſt*, (*adverſ. Hereſ.* l. 4. c. 66.) and *Cyprian* (*adverſ. Jud.* l. 2. c. 20.) *Tertullian* (*adverſ. Jud.* c. 14. *de Reſurrect.* Carnis c. 22. and *adverſ. Marcion.* l. 3. c. 7.) and generally all the Fathers.

SOC. The more learned and judicious *Trinitarians* confeſs that the * Trinity, and Divinity of *Chriſt*, and of the Holy Spirit, are not indeed taught in the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament; but are a Revelation made to us in the New: So ſaith *Tertullian*, *adverſ. prax.* c. 3.

CHR. *Tertullian* ſays not a word like it in that place. It is but ſeldom this Hiſtorian quotes book or chapter of any Author: And you may ſee here a good reaſon for it. But it was an unlucky or rather happy *Erratum* of the Author or Printer, (if you make the right uſe of it) to lead the Reader to this place of *Tertullian*, for he diſcourſes there of the Trinity ſo very learnedly as might have inſtructed your Author and cur'd him of his miſtakes about the Trinity, if he had minded it.

Teſtimony of *Tertullian* that the Trinity is collected out of the Unity.

Tertullian is there diſputing againſt theſe Hereticks who think that the † *Number and Diſpoſition of the Trinity is a Diviſion of its Unity; when the Unity deriving the Trinity out of itſelf, is not deſtroyed by it, but is ſupported. Therefore they bragg that we preach two or three, but that they worſhip one God. As if the Unity, being unreaſonably collected, did not make Hereſy; and the Trinity being rationally weigh'd did not eſtabliſh the truth.*

Theſe are the words of *Tertullian*, and I would deſire you to conſider two things in them. *Firſt*, That he ſays the Unity does deduce the Trinity out of itſelf. This ſhews the Trinity to be even natural to the Unity; and therefore that there could not be an Unity unleſs there were a Trinity. And to explain this, he ſays after, that the Unity is to be collected: *Unitas collecta.* This is a great confirmation to what we have already diſcours'd of the natural Unity of the Perſons of God. That in every Unity there muſt be ſeveral things to be united: Thus the Unity of a Body is an union of parts; the union of a Soul is the Union of faculties; and the union of God is the Union of Perſons. The very word Union implies diverſity; for a thing cannot be united to its ſelf: Even in ſelf-reflexion, the ſame Soul muſt be conſidered as agent and patient, as when I love my ſelf: And what is but a ſhadow, a diverſity of Faculties in Man, (without which there could be no ſelf-reflexion) muſt be perſonal in God, (without which God could not know or love himſelf; and ſo could not be God:) Therefore, as *Tertullian* ſays, the Unity not being reaſonably collected, makes an Hereſy in the chriſtian Faith. Indeed your Unity is not collected at all, or put together; it is made up of nothing, or (which is the ſame) it is the Union of a thing with itſelf, a Unity without any Union, or an Union where nothing is united: On the contrary, our doctrine of the Trinity being rationally weigh'd and conſider'd, does eſtabliſh the truth, that is, gives the only true and rational account of the Unity of God: And it will follow from hence, that we deſerve the name of *Unitarians* much more truly than you do. Your Unity is a Hereſy, according to *Tertullian*, ours is the truth.

SOC. I fancy our Author muſt have miſquoted that place of *Tertullian.*

CHR. Yet it has not been wholly improper to our ſubject as you have ſeen.

SOC I am ſure, that is not what he intended. But what ſay you to two or three other Authors he quotes in the ſame place?

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* Hiſt. p. 67. † Numerum & Diſpoſitionem Trinitatis, Diviſionem præſumunt Unitatis; quando Unitas ex ipſamet derivans Trinitatem, non deſtruatur ab illa, ſed adminiſtretur. Itaque duos & tres jam jactitant à nobis prædicari, ſe vero unius Dei cultores præſumunt. Quaſi non & Unitas irrationabiliter collecta, Hereſin faciat; & Trinitas, rationaliter expenſa, veritatem conſtituat.

CHR.

CHR. I have them not at hand: And I think it not worth the while to ſearch for them; becauſe if *Tertullian* and twenty others ſaid what he alledges, it would make nothing for his cauſe. And, *Secondly*, you may reaſonably ſuppoſe that he deals with the others as he has done with *Tertullian* in this quotation.

SOC. Why do you ſay it would make nothing for his cauſe, if *Tertullian* or others ſaid what he alledges?

An anſwer to the objection why the Trinity is not more clearly reveal'd in the Old Teſtament.

CHR. Becauſe I will allow, in one ſenſe, that the Trinity and Divinity of *Chriſt* are not taught in the Old Teſtament; that is ſo clearly, as that, if the New Teſtament had not apply'd to *Chriſt* the texts which the Old Teſtament makes incommunicable to any but to God, we had not of our own heads, thought them communicable to *Chriſt*. But it is a demonſtration that the Fathers did think the Trinity and Divinity of *Chriſt* to be contain'd in the Old Teſtament; becauſe one of their arguments for the Divinity of *Chriſt* is by comparing the Prophecies of him in the Old Teſtament, with the completion of them in the New: And from the New Teſtament applying to him the incommunicable Attributes of God, which the Old Teſtament did appropriate to *Chriſt*. And you have ſeen the Fathers, even before *Nice* inſiſt all along upon the Old Teſtament proofs, both for the Trinity and Divinity of *Chriſt*: So that this is a falſe and malicious aſperſion your Author caſts upon them, where he weakly inſinuates, that they give up the Old Teſtament Phraſes, becauſe theſe of the Goſpel are more full: Or even that the Old Teſtament proofs had not been clearly underſtood but for the New, which as I ſaid, if granted, makes nothing at all to his cauſe; but he has not prov'd even that: That he may make out his Character, to have prov'd no one thing that he has attempted.

SOC. But he asks p. 68. if the Trinity were taught in the Old Teſtament, how came the *Jewiſh* Church in all ages to be ſo wholly ignorant of it, that (as all confeſs) they had not the leaſt ſuſpicion, that God is more than one Perſon? And if in this they had err'd, 'tis not to be doubted our Saviour would have reproved their hereſy, and carefully ſet them right, as he did in the matter of the reſurrection.

CHR. His confident aſſerting is the beſt part of his arguments. He ſays, that *(as all confeſs)* the *Jews* had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of the Trinity. The contrary to which you have plainly ſeen.

SOC. But then why did not *Chriſt* explain the Trinity more fully to them, and ſet them right in this, as well as in the reſurrection?

CHR. He did ſo, as is evident from the clear Revelation of the Trinity in the New Teſtament; but they remain'd ignorant in this, as in other things which were as clearly reveal'd; as in the true Office of the *Meſſiah*, his paſſion, reſurrection, *&c.* *Luk.* XVIII. 31, *ad* 35. Nay the very Apoſtles remain'd all *Chriſt*'s life time ignorant of the true meaning of his coming into the World, of his death, reſurrection, *&c.* *Acts* I. 6. notwithſtanding all the clear Revelations he made to them of it before his death.

SOC. The chief of your proofs for the Trinity are in the New Teſtament. Therefore in our next Diſcourſe let us conſider theſe, at leaſt the principal of them.

THE

THE THIRD DIALOGUE.

Texts out of the NEW TESTAMENT.

CHRISTIAN. I Am now come to my proofs out of the New Teſtament: And I deſire you to conſider,

1. Matt. XII. 31. *Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhall not be forgiven.*

SOC. The Holy Ghoſt is not, in this text, a Perſon, or a God, but merely the Power of God *.

CHR. Not in this text; but in other texts it muſt be ſomething diſtinct from God; which you aſſert, p. 17, and p. 125. upon 2 *Cor.* XIII. 14. and in ſeveral other places: So that you alter the notion of the Holy Ghoſt according to the texts: Which is wiſely done, for every text will not fit your way.

SOC. But now we muſt take it only for the Power of God which is the
Pſal. cvi. 33. ſame with God, as 'tis ſaid of *Moſes, they provoked his Spirit*; the undoubted meaning is, they provoked him. So alſo *Grieve not the holy Spi-*
Eph. iv. 30. *rit of God*, is an Hebraiſm for *Grieve not God*; as our Author explains it, p. 52. upon *Pſal.* CXXXIX. 7.

CHR. Then this is the meaning you have put upon this text, that *ſins againſt God are to be forgiven, but ſins againſt his Spirit are not to be forgiven.* Now apply this to the parallel you have brought; and ſay that *a ſin againſt* Moſes *is to be forgiven, but againſt the Spirit of* Moſes *is not to be forgiven*: Or, which is the ſame, that *a ſin againſt* Moſes *is to be forgiven, but a ſin againſt* Moſes *is not to be forgiven:* For you know *Moſes* and his Spirit are the ſame.

SOC. You have propos'd the difficulty, pray anſwer it.

CHR. The Spirit of *Moſes* is not a Perſon, *viz.* it is not ſubſiſting by it ſelf: Therefore we cannot predicate, or affirm any thing of it otherwiſe than of *Moſes*, and it would be the ſame abſurdity to ſay any thing of the Spirit of God otherwiſe than of God, if the Spirit were not a Perſon, that is, ſubſiſting by it ſelf.

SOC. I will conſider of this: Go to another text.

2. CHR. Mat. XXVIII. 19. *Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.*

SOC. Baptizing unto ſuch a one, is ſometimes meant of baptizing in his *name* †, as *Rom.* VI. 3. *As many of you as have been baptized into* Jeſus

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* Brief Hiſt. p. 75. † p. 77.

Chriſt—— by which is meant, being baptized *in his name*. And we find it ſaid, *That our Fathers were baptized unto* Moſes, 1 Cor. x. 2. *and unto* John's *Baptiſm*, Acts xix. 3. and therefore we may ſuppoſe they were baptiz'd *in their names*. And ſo being baptiz'd *in the name* of ſuch a one, is not a proof that he is God.

CHR. This is Mr. *Bidle*'s expoſition of this text reprinted, 1691. in that Volume of *Socinian* Tracts intituled, *The Faith of one God*, &c. p. 8. And not to inſiſt upon the difference of being baptiz'd *unto*, and *into* ſuch a one, which is conſiderable; I anſwer, that being baptiz'd *in the name* of ſuch a one, does include, being baptiz'd *unto him*: But not on the contrary; for being baptiz'd *unto ſuch a one*, does not include, being baptiz'd *in his name*. *Unto ſuch a one*, may mean, no more than being baptiz'd by his Miniſtry: But being baptiz'd, *in ones name*, is owning him the Author of my Religion; and, as ſuch, a dedicating and devoting my ſelf to him: Which is not lawful to do to any Creature, becauſe it is the higheſt ſort of worſhip that can be. *I thank God I baptized none of you*, ſays St. 1 Cor. i. 25. *Paul, but* Criſpus *and* Gaius, *leſt any ſhould ſay that I had baptized in my own name*. And again he argues with them: *Is* Chriſt *divided? Was* ℣. 13. Paul *crucify'd for you? Or were ye baptized in the name of* Paul? Theſe are things which no Apoſtle muſt arrogate to himſelf, and there is not an inſtance in all the Scripture of any that were baptiz'd *in the name* of any Creature; for that would be to be baptiz'd into the Faith and Worſhip of Creatures, which is Idolatry: And aſſerted, *in terminis* in *Bidle*'s *Confeſſion of Faith*, printed in the aboveſaid Volume of *Socinian* Tracts, p. 4. where Artic. 2. and p. 8. Artic. 3. he aſſerts *Chriſt* to have *no other than an human Nature*, and yet, *in this very Nature* to be *not only a Perſon—— but alſo our Lord, yea our God*—— and the *object of our Faith and Worſhip*. Which is as groſs Idolatry as ever was own'd by the Heathen; and a greater contradiction than any that is charg'd upon the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity. St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus* in his *Expoſitio Fidei*, p. 100. ſays, that from the words of this text, *non poteſt contradici*—— there can be no diſpute, but the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt* have Communion and Unity, according to which, they are not three Divinities, nor three Dominations, not three Holy's, but their three Perſons remaining, the Union of all the three is moſt firmly to be confeſs'd: As the Father ſends the Son, and the Son ſends the Holy Ghoſt: But one Perſon never ſends it ſelf, for none will ſay that the Father is incarnate, *&c.* Our Author's interpretation of this text is the ſame which *Cyprian* ſo ſeverely reprehends in *Lucian*, who, when our Lord commanded all Nations to be baptized in the *name of the Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt*, and remiſſion of ſins to be given in Baptiſm, he being ignorant of the Command and the Law, commands Peace to be given, and ſins to be remitted in the name of *Paul*—— wherein he did not conſider at all, that it is not the Martyrs who made the Goſpel, but they are made Martyrs by the Goſpel. *Cyprian Epiſt.* 18. p. 53. and *Epiſt.* 73. *Jubaiano* p. 200. he ſays this form of Baptiſm in the *name of the Father*, *Son*, *and Holy Ghoſt*, *inſinuat Trinitatem*, *cujus Sacramento gentes baptizantur*; *It does inſinuate the Trinity into the Sacrament of which the Nations are baptized.* And afterward in the ſame *Epiſt.* p. 206. he ſays, that *Chriſt* commands all Nations to be baptized *in plena & adunata Trinitate*, *in the full and united Trinity.*

SOC. The *Def. of the Hiſt.* c. 7. p. 38. ſays, that the *Jews were baptized in the name of* Moſes, *and that it is plain*, *the Apoſtle tells the* Corinthians, *that as they were baptized in the name of* Jeſus—— *So the Fathers had been baptized in the name of* Moſes.

CHR. If we had said any thing like this, I should have expected some of his usual complements, impudent, want of common sense, *&c.* to bring no argument but to cry magisterially, *It is plain*, when it is plainly otherwise: However we will give him to the next Edition, to find the place where St. *Paul* tells the *Corinthians*, that the Fathers were baptized *in the name of* Moses.

SOC. But he finds some places of Scripture where Creatures are join'd with God as *Exod.* XIV. 31. *The people fear'd the Lord — and believ'd the Lord and his Servant* Moses. 2 *Tim.* V. 21. *I charge thee before God, and the Lord* Jesus Christ, *and the elect Angels, that thou observe these things*, &c.

CHR. What does he make of this?

SOC. If *Moses* and Angels be join'd with God in acts of Faith and Obtestation, *&c.* Why not the Son and Spirit in Baptism, tho' neither of them is God himself?

CHR. Sure he did not ask this question to be inform'd; for who is it does not see the difference? To be baptized in the name of a Person, is, giving up my name to him, dedicating my self to him, making my self his, giving him the title to me, to dispose of me at his pleasure: It is a form of initiating me into his Religion, owning him as the Father and Author of the Religion I profess. And this it is not lawful to do to any Creature: There's none whom we must thus call *our Father* upon *Earth*, whom we must join with God, in this solemn act of dedicating our selves unto God; for we are wholly God's, and he must have no sharer in the possession of us: In this we must join none with him. But there are many things wherein it is no harm to join Creatures with God, as in acts of obtestation, as your Author calls it, invoking God and Man to witness: To believe what God says, and what Man says, *&c.* This is so obvious, I will insist no more upon it.

SOC. My Author quotes 1 *Cor.* I. 14, 15. *I thank God*, says St. *Paul*, *I baptized none of you but* Crispus *and* Gaius; *lest any should say that I baptized in my own name.* He plainly insinuates, says my Author, that *a mere Man may baptize in his own name.*

This is such an insinuation, as, I believe, none but your Author could see: If any Man might do it, I know none had better pretence than St. *Paul*: But how his renouncing it, should be a plain insinuation that he might do it, is left to the Author to explain; till when, I must still believe, and most Men in the World with me, that these words of St. *Paul* rather imply that he had not power to baptize *in his own name*; and if not he, then I think, no body else had that power.

SOC. My Author still insists, that to be baptized *unto* Moses, is the same with being baptized *in the name of* Moses, because being baptiz'd *unto* Christ, and *in the name of* Christ, are the same.

CHR. That has been answer'd already, *viz.* The greater (which is, being baptiz'd *in the name of a Person)* includes the lesser (which is, being baptiz'd *unto one*, which may mean no more than by his Ministry:) But on the contrary, the lesser cannot include the greater. Therefore tho' being baptiz'd *unto* Christ, and *in the name of* Christ, mean the same thing, because the greater includes the lesser; yet being baptiz'd *unto* Moses, and *in the name of* Moses, are not the same, because the lesser does not include the greater.

SOC. He still insists, that if to be baptiz'd *into* Christ's *Baptism*, is all one with being baptiz'd *in the name of* Christ, then he says, that to be baptiz'd *into* John's *Baptism*, must also signify to be baptiz'd *in the name of* John. And that whoever profess'd in his Baptism, to follow the Doctrine

ctrine which *John* taught, might be ſaid to be *baptiz'd in the Name of* John.

CHR. To be baptiz'd into *Chriſt*'s Baptiſm is all one with being baptiz'd in the Name of *Chriſt*; becauſe the form of his Baptiſm was in his own Name, together with that of the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt. But to be baptiz'd into *John*'s Baptiſm, was not to be baptiz'd in the Name of *John*, unleſs *John* did baptize in his own name. Which it is evident he did not; for his Baptiſm had relation and referred to *Chriſt* who was to come after him: As it is ſaid, *Acts* XIX. 4. John *verily baptized with the Baptiſm of repentance, ſaying unto the People, that they ſhould believe in him who ſhould come after him; that is, in* Chriſt Jeſus.

But what does he ſay to the objection of being baptiz'd into the name of an Inſpiration, which is not a Perſon?

SOC. He ſays (ending of p. 39. and beginning of p. 40.) that he ſees no abſurdity in being baptiz'd into the profeſſion of a doctrine which came originally from God the Father, is reveal'd by his Son, and is confirm'd by the Power or Spirit of God.

CHR. That is to ſay, he is reſolved not to anſwer, ask him as often as you will: For the queſtion is not of being baptiz'd into the profeſſion of a doctrine, for all are oblig'd by their Baptiſm to profeſs the doctrine of that Perſon in whoſe name they are baptiz'd. Thus Chriſtians are oblig'd by their Baptiſm to profeſs the doctrine taught by *Chriſt*; but they are not baptiz'd in the name of that doctrine, or of any article of it; that would be nonſenſe: For every Baptiſm is in the name of ſome Perſon. As no Man is inliſted in the name of a cauſe, but in the name of ſome Perſon for whoſe cauſe he fights: And the cauſe is proclaim'd in the name of the Perſon. Thus we read, *Luke* XXIV. 47. *That repentance and remiſſion of Sins ſhould be preach'd in* Chriſt's *Name*. This was never ſaid of any Prophet, Apoſtle, or other Miniſter of the Goſpel: That is more than belongs to the office of a bare Servant, Miniſter, or Herald: They muſt not proclaim in their own Names.

The like reaſon will explain *Luke* XXII. 5. *The Apoſtles ſaid unto the Lord increaſe our Faith*: Which your Author would have to mean no more than to pray for them. But he will not find in Scripture an example of requeſting any Man's prayers in ſuch a form, as to deſire them to beſtow upon us any ſpiritual Grace.

3. The next text we ſhould conſider is *Joh.* I. 1. *In the beginning was the Word*, &c. Of which we have before diſcours'd at large: I only here mark it in its order: And ſo go to the next.

4. *John* II. 19, 21. *Deſtroy this Temple, and in three days I will raiſe it up—— He ſpake of the Temple of his Body.*

SOC. **Chriſt* raiſed his Body by a power communicated to him by the Father.

CHR. But had he that power when he was dead? How can a dead Man act? Which way ſhall he be ſet about the raiſing of himſelf?

SOC. Indeed I think we muſt have him alive before he can raiſe himſelf: Let us go on to *V.* 25.

5. CHR. We will let that alone till we come to *Rom.* II. 16. for the ſame anſwer will ſerve both. But now to prove that *Chriſt* had a Being before he was born of the Virgin †, Read *Joh.* III. 13. *No Man hath aſcended up to Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven; even the Son of Man that is in Heaven.*

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* Hiſt. p. 89. † p. 90.

SOC.

SOC. **He that came down from Heaven.* That is, ſays my Author, he that is ſent to you as the Meſſenger of Heaven, or of God: And even the *Son of Man that is in Heaven*; that is, whoſe mediation or converſation is in Heaven. But our Author quits this anſwer, and ſays that the *Socinians* do (generally) underſtand this text literally, and ſay, that 'tis here intimated, that before our Lord enter'd upon his office of *Meſſias* he was taken up to Heaven to be inſtructed in the Mind and Will of God, (as *Moſes* was into the *Mount*, *Exod.* XXIV. 1, 2, 12.) and from thence deſcended to execute this office and declare the ſaid Will of God: The ſame thing, they ſay, is alſo hinted *John* VI. 38, 46, 51. 62. *John* VIII. 40.

CHR. Does any of theſe places ſay that *Chriſt* was taken up to Heaven?

SOC. No: But that he came down from Heaven, and was in Heaven.

CHR. Will this prove that he was taken up to be inſtructed after his incarnation? We ſay he was there before, and came down: You, without any authority in the world, will have this to be a taking of him up after his Birth, of which there is not the leaſt hint in all the Bible, no, nor any where elſe. Your Author does not ſo much as pretend to any ſort of proof; ſo that we muſt take it for a revelation of his own: That is, for an abſolute ſign of a baffled cauſe, and the utmoſt obſtinacy to reſiſt all conviction. If he had found us build any thing upon ſuch a bottom as this, I am ſure he would perſecute us ſufficiently: They may as well take upon them to invent a new Bible, as invent ſtories on purpoſe to ground upon them ſtrange interpretations of the texts of the Bible.

But let me ask you, upon his own principles, what need was there for *Chriſt's* being taken up to Heaven to be inſtructed in the Will of God? He confeſſes that the Word of God, which is his whole Wiſdom and Power, abode on *Chriſt*, and inſpir'd him, even †*without meaſure*, ſo as that it was even incarnate and made fleſh in him, and ſpoken of as one Perſon with him, and he with him. And was not this ſufficient to ſhew him the Will of God? What could Heaven add to this? He could have but the ſame in Heaven. But if *Chriſt's* Aſcenſion into Heaven may be ſolv'd by my fanſying that he might be taken up at this or that time, and let down again, I may deny what all Chriſtians mean by his Aſcenſion; and every other article of the Creed by the ſame liberty: But let us go on.

6. How do you anſwer *John* viii. 58. ‡ *Before* Abraham *was, I am?*

SOC. That is, before *Abraham* was it was decreed that *Chriſt* ſhould come.

CHR. Why was not that expreſt in the text? You will grant the words will not bear it. Never Man expreſſed himſelf at this rate: And the Scripture is to be underſtood, like other writings, by the common uſe of words; elſe it was not meant to be underſtood.

SOC. He produces other texts to countenance his interpretation of this, 1 *Pet.* I. 20. —— *Who was fore-ordain'd from the foundation of the World.*

CHR. That is clearly expreſſed, that he was fore-ordain'd.

SOC. Rev. XIII. 8. *The Lamb ſlain from the foundation of the world.*

CHR. Theſe are the words of the *Revelation*, which ſpeaks in the higheſt ſtrain of Prophecy, and that as we have obſerv'd, ſpeaks of things to come, as preſent, or paſt.

And this could not be miſunderſtood, for none ever ſaid that *Chriſt* was ſlain before the time that he was ſlain: And therefore this could not be meant but only of the decree, or in relation to God, to whom all things are preſent, in which reſpect the Lamb was ſlain from all Eternity.

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* Hiſt. p. 91. † p. 89. ‡ p. 94.

And beſides you cannot reconcile this anſwer of *Chriſt*'s to common truth as you explain it.

The queſtion was, whether *Jeſus* or *Abraham* were firſt. *The* Jews *ſaid unto him, thou art not fifty years old, and haſt thou ſeen* Abraham?

Jeſus anſwered, that he was before *Abraham*: if he meant in decree only, it was no anſwer to their queſtion; for ſo I am before *Abraham*, that is, before *Abraham* was born it was decreed that I ſhould be: And you would not make our Saviour anſwer ſophiſtically.

Iren. adverſ. Her. l. 4. c. 27. p. 346. underſtands this text [*before* Abraham *was, I am*] of *Chriſt*'s really exiſting before *Abraham*.

But the next place, why ſhould the *Jews* go to ſtone him for this anſwer? There was no ſort of difficulty in it, as you explain it.

SOC. The *Jews* miſunderſtood it.

CHR. Then you muſt ſuppoſe *Chriſt* ſpoke with a mental reſervation, on purpoſe that they might miſtake.

SOC. Yes, as *Luke* VIII. 10. He ſpake in Parables, *that ſeeing they might not ſee*, &c.

CHR. This is not to be underſtood as if *Chriſt* ſpoke in Parables, on purpoſe to hinder them from believing: On the contrary, Parables do naturally prompt Men to enquire and learn the meaning of them, and therefore are the moſt effectual method of inſtructing: That is, to Men apt and forward to learn. But otherwiſe they are indeed inſipid, and very ineffectual. But that is from the fault of the hearer, who will not be at pains to enquire. Therefore our Saviour ſo often repeats, *He that hath ears to ear let him hear—— and take heed how ye hear: For he that hath, to him ſhall be given, and he that hath not, from him ſhall be taken even that which he hath.* That is, a docible temper will learn ſtill more: On the contrary, Men who are careleſs and ſtupid, grow backward, and looſe what Reaſon they had.

And what our Saviour ſays of *ſeeing they might not ſee*, &c. it was only as applying to them the Prophecy which was of their hardened and indocible temper, which is evident from the parallel place, *Mat.* XIII. 14. *In them is fulfilled the Prophecy of* Iſaias, *which ſaith, by hearing ye ſhall hear, and ſhall not underſtand, and ſeeing ye ſhall ſee and ſhall not perceive: for this People's heart is waxed groſs, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes are cloſed, leſt at any time they ſhould ſee with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and ſhould underſtand with their heart, and ſhould be converted, and I ſhould heal them.*

You will not ſay that it was the Prophecy which hardened theſe Men. But God foreſaw their hardneſs, and foretold it by the Prophet; St. *Matthew*, c. 1. 22. ſpeaking of the Birth of *Chriſt*, ſays, *all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophet, ſaying, behold a Virgin ſhall be with Child*, &c. Do you think that the end of *Chriſt*'s coming into the World was only that he might not make *Iſaiah* a lyar, who wrote this Prophecy? Or that this Prophecy was the cauſe of *Chriſt*'s Birth, ſo that it had not otherwiſe come to paſs if this Prophecy had not been made? There is the ſame reaſon for the ſame manner of expreſſion in the ſame Evangeliſt, c. XIII. 14. and quoting another Prophecy of the ſame Prophet *Iſaiah*.

But how different a caſe is this from our Saviour's anſwering a plain and direct queſtion of the *Jews*? Are you older than ſuch a Man, or not? To make him deceive them on purpoſe is a hard interpretation; and when he ſaw them in an error, and brought into it by his improper and unknown way of ſpeaking, that he ſhould leave them in that error, into which he had viſibly led them, and not vouchſafe one word to undeceive them; not only

at that time, but never after in his whole life: On the contrary, that all he ſaid ſhould be conſtantly in this ſtrain, ſpeaking ſuch ſtrange things of himſelf, and in words applicable to no other Perſon in the World: I ſay this would give him more the character of an impoſtor and a deceiver, as they call'd him, than of a teacher come from God to tell us the truth.

7. *Joh.* x. 30. *Chriſt* ſays, *I and the Father are one.*

SOC. Not one God, but as friends are ſaid to be one*.

CHR. *Tertullian (de Oratione* c. 2. p. 130.) proves that we pray to the Son when we pray to the Father, becauſe *Chriſt* ſays, *I and the Father are one. In Patre Filius invocatur; Ego enim inquit, & Pater unum ſumus.* And *(adverſ. Prax.* c. 8. p. 504.) *Sermo in Patre ſemper*—— *The Word*, ſays he, *was always in the Father*, as *Chriſt* ſays, *I am in the Father*, and always with God, as it is written, *And the Word was with God:* And never ſeparated from the Father, or other from the Father, becauſe *I and the Father are one. (Ibid.* c. 22. p. 513.) And by this ſaying he ſhews them to be two, *quos æquat & jungit, whom he joins and makes equal.* But all this is to be underſtood, *Ut duo tamen crederentur in unâ Virtute. That they be believed to be two in one and the ſame Power; becauſe otherwiſe the Son cannot be believ'd, unleſs two be believ'd:* Theſe are the words of *Tertullian.*

St. *Cyprian (de Unit. Eccl.* p. 109.) quotes this text as proving the natural Union of the Father and the Son: For he joins it in the ſame proof with 1 *John* v. 7. which is the moſt expreſs for proving the Unity of the Trinity. *Dicit Dominus, Ego & Pater unum ſumus, & iterum, de Patre & Filio & Spiritu Sancto ſcriptum eſt; & hi tres unum ſunt. The Lord ſaid, I and the Father are one; and again, it is written of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt: And theſe three are one.*

8. The next text I offer you is *John* x. 33. *Thou being a Man makeſt thy ſelf God.* What ſays your Author to this?

SOC. He ſays, they ly'd.

CHR. That is not the queſtion. But what notion had the *Jews* of that term, *the Son of God?* They knew that God had many Sons by Adoption, and that Kings were called Gods in their Law, which you inſtance p. 76. in anſwer to *Mat.* xxvi. 63. *Tell us whether thou be the* Chriſt *the Son of God.* But a natural Son partakes of the true nature of his Father; in which ſenſe to call any the Son of God, is to call him true and real God: As the *Jews* here you ſee underſtood it; and in this ſenſe it is that *Chriſt* is called the *Firſt Begotten.* The production of God's Nature is eſſential to him; and therefore the firſt production of God, before any of his outward acts of Creation, and in this ſenſe *Chriſt* is God's *only Begotten:* Theſe are his epithets in holy Scripture. Now the queſtion is, whether the *Jews* underſtood him in this ſenſe, or only in the common ſenſe of *Chriſt*'s being a God, or a Son of God, as Kings or Judges are?

You remember what we have ſaid of Gods by Nature, and Gods by Office: And that there was a neceſſity that our Saviour muſt uſe the terms of the *Logos*, or the *Word*, and likewiſe of the Son of God, and all other terms, in the ſame ſenſe in which they underſtood them to whom he ſpoke; elſe he had not ſpoke in ſincerity and truth.

SOC. I remember this very well: And it is neceſſary that he ſhould uſe theſe terms in the ſame ſenſe the *Jews* did: Therefore I deſire you to prove, that the *Jews* had any notion at all of a natural Son of God, or a Son of God, which is God: For our Author thinks that they had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any ſuch thing, as I quoted him to you before, p. 68.

* Hiſt. p. 95.

CHR.

CHR. And I have quoted to you before the *Jews* notion of the Trinity, and likewiſe of the *Meſſias*, *Shechinah*, which they diſtinguiſhed from the Holy Spirit: If they had no ſuch notion, why then did they charge *Chriſt* with Blaſphemy for ſaying he was the *Son of God?* And that this did make him God.

SOC. I cannot ſee a good reaſon for it. The expreſſion is very ſtrange.

CHR. But they explain their own meaning paſt diſpute. *Thou being a Man*, ſay they, *makeſt thy ſelf God.* They could not ſay this, if they had meant by God, only a Man. *And they ſought to kill him, becauſe he ſaid that God was his Father, making himſelf equal to God.* Being God's natural Son does indeed make him equal to God, as every Son is equal to his Father in Nature; and therefore they muſt mean it in this ſenſe, for otherwiſe to be God's adopted Son, or only upon the account of Creation, is ſo far from making us equal to God, that, on the contrary, it demonſtrates that we are not equal to him. And in this ſenſe it is not only no fault, but it is our duty to call him *our Father*; for ſo he is. And therefore it is impoſſible that the *Jews* ſhould ſeek to kill him, or be angry with him for this, which themſelves did every day; much leſs to infer from hence, that he made himſelf equal to God. John v. 18.

SOC. But our Author ſays*, that *had our Lord been more than the Son of God, he would have own'd his dignity, when they charg'd him with Blaſphemy, for ſaying thoſe things from which it might (by their ſtrain'd conſequences) be inferr'd that he made himſelf a God.*

CHR. He did own his dignity plainly, becauſe he knew what they meant by *the Son of God*: But on the other hand, if he had not been *ſuch a Son of God* as they meant, which was to be equal to God, or to be God; without doubt he would have renounc'd the Blaſphemy with the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation (as St. *Paul* and *Barnabas* did, when the People took them for Gods, *Acts*. XIV. 14.) and never ſuffer'd the *Jews* to have gone away in ſo mortal an error, and juſt prejudice to him and his Doctrine; eſpecially not to loſe his life for it, for when the High-prieſt rent his clothes, and the *Sanhedrim* condemn'd him to death for the Blaſphemy of calling himſelf the *Son of God*, he ſhould ſtand mute (which was owning of the fact) and refuſe to ſave his life (which was being acceſſary to his own death) or to undeceive theſe ſo fatally miſtaken in ſuch a blaſphemous and mortal error, when he might have done it ſo eaſily as naming this diſtinction of his not being the natural (which only in their ſenſe was blaſphemous) but a created Son of God, with which none could find any fault, much leſs charge it with Blaſphemy. But I go on.

9. John 14. 1. *Ye believe in God, believe alſo in me.*

SOC. Our Lord has himſelf interpreted this *John* XII. 44. *He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that ſent me*†.

CHR. That is, they are both one. And you will not find any Prophet, or Apoſtle, no nor Angel, compare himſelf thus with God; or that durſt ſay, *Honour me, as you honour God*; and *ye believe in God, believe alſo in me.*

SOC. That is a different ſtyle I muſt confeſs, from what is us'd of Angels, or of Men.

10. CHR. John XIV. 9.—— *He that hath ſeen me, hath ſeen the Father.*

SOC. It is alſo ſaid of the Diſciples, *Luk.* X. 16. *He that heareth you, heareth me—— and he that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth me*‡.

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* Hiſt. p. 96. † p. 97. ‡ Ibid.

CHR.

CHR. So he that deſpiſeth, or will not hearken to an Herald, deſpiſeth the King that ſent him. But you will not ſay, that he who ſeeth the Herald, ſeeth the King.

SOC. That indeed bears a different meaning, eſpecially in one who pretends to be the King himſelf, and is accus'd for ſo doing.

II. CHR. John XIV. *If ye ask any thing in my name I will do it.*

SOC. That is, by interceſſion with the Father, as it is ſaid *Heb.* VII. 25. *He is able to ſave them—— that come to God by him, ſeeing he ever liveth to make interceſſion for them**.

CHR. The Apoſtle is there deſcribing his Prieſtly Office (which was interceſſion for the People) and comparing it with that of *Aaron*: And this is, as he is Man. But *I will do what you ask*; is of another ſtrain, never ſpoke by a bare Interceſſor, it arrogates to my ſelf to grant your petition, and therefore no Man or Angel ever ſpoke after this manner.

12. John XVI. 14. *He* [the Holy Ghoſt] *ſhall receive of mine, and ſhall ſhew it unto you.* Here the Spirit is plainly ſpoken of as a Perſon. This we have diſcours'd already.

But what does he ſay to theſe words, that the *Holy Ghoſt ſhall receive of* Chriſt's.

SOC. That is, *He ſhall receive of God, the remainder of* Chriſt's *Doctrine, and teach it to the Apoſtles*†.

CHR. This is beyond a ſtrain'd interpretation; it is adding to the text, and your Author might have made it ſignify what he pleas'd. But our Saviour gives another reaſon, why the Holy Ghoſt did receive of his: Becauſe, ſays he in the next words, *All things that the Father hath are mine: Therefore ſaid I, that he ſhall receive of mine.* And ℣. 7. He attributes to himſelf the ſending of the Holy Ghoſt; *I will ſend him unto you.*

Will you now give unto a Creature the power of ſending the Holy Spirit, which you ſay, *is not any thing different from God, but is God?* A Creature to ſend God, and to give him ſomething of a Creature's to carry: A Creature to call God his Meſſenger, and to ſay, *He ſhall receive of mine and give to you:* And for a Creature to ſay that *all things that are Gods are his:* Theſe things are unintelligible, irreconcilable upon your ſcheme; but in the Doctrine of the Trinity of Perſons, in the Unity of Nature, they are obvious and eaſie: For there is a Natural Order and Superiority of the Perſons, in an Equality of Nature; which we ſee even among Men, as has been explain'd.

Object. of the Holy Ghoſt appearing in the ſhape of a Dove.

SOC. My Author objects that the Holy Ghoſt appear'd in the form of a Dove on *Chriſt*, and of Cloven Tongues on the Apoſtles‡. And he asks what ſenſe the *Trinitarians* can make of theſe things? They ſay the Spirit is a Perſon, and God: Did God receive and aſſume the ſhape of a Dove, that is, of a Brute? What hinders but that they may believe all the transformations in the *Metamorphoſis* of *Ovid.*

CHR. He reſts mightily aſſur'd in this Objection, and expreſſes it very modeſtly: But let us ſee what is in it.

Firſt, For the Holy Ghoſt appearing in the form of Cloven Tongues, he himſelf confeſſes, that this was to expreſs the gift then beſtow'd, which may be the gift of Tongues. And conſequently it was not to expreſs the form or ſhape of the giver: So this part of the Objection is over.

He ſays, That for the like reaſon the Holy Ghoſt appear'd in the ſhape of a Dove at our Saviour's Baptiſm, to ſignify the mild and peaceable Spirit of *Chriſt.*

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* Hiſt. p. 98. † p. 101. ‡ p. 102.

If ſo, then this Apparition too was as an emblem of the gift, and not of the giver: So that he has anſwer'd himſelf.

But in the next place it does not appear that there was any ſhape of a Dove at our Saviour's Baptiſm; tho' it is (I think) a vulgar error. For which reaſon I will ſpeak a little of it here.

There was a bodily ſhape appear'd; elſe the People could not have ſeen it: But what was this ſhape, or appearance? It was a fire of glory that deſcended from Heaven, and lighted upon the head of our Saviour. But how did it light? Was it like a flaſh of Lightning, quick and tranſient? No, for then, in ſo great a multitude, the People cou'd not have diſcern'd for what particular Perſon it was meant. Did it come down ſwift, as a Bird of prey ſtoops to its game, like an Arrow out of a Bow? No, it deſcended leiſurely and hovering, as a Dove does, when it lights upon the ground, that the People might take the more notice, and to expreſs the over-ſhadowing of the Holy Spirit: And it not only lighted upon the head of our Saviour, but it abode and remained upon him. As it is ſaid *John* I. 32, 33.

Now that the expreſſion in the text, *Like a Dove*, does refer to this manner of the deſcent of that glory upon our bleſſed Saviour, and not to the ſhape of it, appears from the grammatical conſtruction of the words in the text, which is better diſtinguiſhed in the *Greek* and *Latin*, than in the *Engliſh*, where the caſes of Nouns are expreſs'd by Particles, and not by their Termination. Now if theſe words, *Like a Dove*, had refer'd to the ſhape, then the word *Dove* muſt have been in the Genitive Caſe, the ſhape *of* a Dove. But it is not ſo, either in the *Greek* or *Latin*. It is ſaid in the *Greek*, that the Holy Ghoſt deſcended σωματικῷ εἴδει, in a *bodily appearance*, ὡσεὶ (or ὡς as the *Cambridge* Copy of *Beza* reads it) περιστερὰν, but if it had refer'd to the ſhape, it muſt have been, ὡσεὶ περιστερᾶς, *of a Dove*. Thus the *Latin*, *Deſcendit corporali ſpecie, ſicut Columba:* That is, *Sicut Columba deſcendit, as a Dove deſcends*. It can bear no other conſtruction: But if it had refer'd to the ſhape, it muſt have been, *Deſcendit corporali ſpecie, ſicut Columbæ; the ſhape of a Dove:* Which is not in our *Engliſh*: It is not ſaid in our *Engliſh, the ſhape of a Dove*; but that the *Holy Ghoſt deſcended* (in a bodily ſhape) *like a Dove*, that is as a Dove deſcends. If it had refer'd to the ſhape, it ſhou'd have ſaid, *In a bodily ſhape, as of a Dove:* Or, *like as of a Dove*.

Beſides, if that glory which appear'd had been no bigger than a Dove, (which is not to be imagin'd, when it is ſaid the Heaven was opened: And the People had not taken ſo much notice, if the appearance had been no bigger than a Dove, it might have eſcap'd the ſight of many; but ſuppoſe it) how ſhou'd they know it to be a Dove, more than any other Bird, or thing of the like bigneſs? Eſpecially conſidering that it utter'd no voice, for it is expreſly ſaid, that the voice came from Heaven; then not from that which abode or remain'd upon our Saviour.

I have ſaid thus much of it, becauſe of the too common practice of painting the Holy Ghoſt like a Dove; which gives countenance to the uſage in the Church of *Rome* of painting God the Father like an old Man, from his being call'd the *Ancient of Days*, and repreſented to *Daniel* in a dream (ſo it is expreſsly ſaid, *Dan.* VII. 1.) *as ſitting upon a throne*, &c.

But in that glorious appearance at *Horeb* (which was more than a dream) it is particularly caution'd, *Deut.* IV. 12. *The Lord ſpake unto you out of the midſt of the fire, ye heard the voice of the words, but ſaw no ſimilitude.* That is, of God who ſpoke, for they ſaw many other ſimilitudes, as fire, ſmoke, *&c.* But they were to make no reſemblance of God from any thing that they ſaw. And the Fowls of the Air are particularly nam'd, ℣ 17.

But how do you *Socinians* get over this text? You, who by the Holy Ghoſt mean only an Inſpiration, or an Attribute of God, as his Wiſdom or Power. Now for an Inſpiration, or a Quality, or Attribute to take a bodily ſhape, has an abſurdity in it beyond any you can charge upon our Interpretation of this text.

SOC. Our Author gives an anſwer to the text before quoted, *John* XVI. 15. *All things that the Father hath are mine*, he ſays* St. *Paul* ſaid as much of every Chriſtian, 1 *Cor.* III. 21, 22. *All things are yours——things preſent, things to come are yours.*

CHR. *All things*, is often us'd to expreſs all the things which we are then ſpeaking of: And what theſe things were, and what he meant by *all things* in this text, St. *Paul* ſufficiently declares, while he repeats that expreſſion in the ſame breath, *Whether* Paul, *or* Apollos, *or* Cephas, *or the World, or Life, or Death, or things preſent, or things to come, all are yours*; that is, all theſe things are intended for your benefit: Not only the preſent miniſtration of the Goſpel in the hands of *Paul*, or *Apollos*, or other Men; and the grace with God beſtows upon them in this life; but even Heaven hereafter will be the portion of Saints; but all theſe things are not, *all things that the Father hath:* This which St. *Paul* ſpeaks to Chriſtians, has no proportion to what *Chriſt* ſays of himſelf.

SOC. He gives a ſecond anſwer. He ſays that ſaying of *Chriſt* is thus to be rendered: *All things, relating to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the chriſtian Church, which the Father hath in his mind and deſign, are mine.*

CHR. Bleſs me! That Men ſhould pretend to Reaſon, and to appeal to Scripture; and yet take upon them not only to interpret them to all the perverſeneſs that words are capable of, but where that will not do, to add, what they pleaſe to the text, and turn it to whatever they have a mind to! I'll undertake give me this latitude, and you ſhall not prove from Scripture, that there is a God, or a World, or ever ſuch a Man as *Chriſt*. There is an ingenious Book written, expoſing their method of argument, by which the Author proves from Scripture, after their manner of interpretation, that Women have no Souls, and anſwers all texts againſt it in the *Socinian* way; and as plauſibly as they oppoſe theſe texts which prove the Trinity, or the Incarnation, and Satisfaction of *Chriſt*. And another maintains the Eternity of the World, and anſwers the firſt of *Geneſis* as the *Socinians* do, *Col.* I. 16. *viz.* That by creating was only meant modelling, or new ordering. Which you will ſee more of when we come to that text. Others ſet up *Præ-Adamites*, without any ſtop from the ſtory of *Geneſis*: And indeed there is no ſtop to invention, at this rate, nor any certainty in words: No temporal Law can guard itſelf without this maxim, that *ubi lex non diſtinguit, ibi non eſt diſtinguendum*; *you muſt not diſtinguiſh, but where the Law does diſtinguiſh*, for that is to ſet your ſelf above all Laws, and alter them at your pleaſure.

But adding is yet more arbitrary: And your Author adds more than two thirds to this text: Therefore I recommend to our Author's ſerious meditation, that admonition, *Prov.* xxx. 6. *Add not then unto his words, leſt he reprove thee, and thou be found a lyar.* For *every word of God is pure.* Rev. xxii. 18. *His word is perfect and entire; and he that addeth to it, God will add to him the plagues written in that Book.*

But that you may not lean wholly upon what I ſay in defence of this text we are upon, *Joh.* XVI. 15. you may conſult *Tertullian adverſ. Prax.* c. 17. p. 510. where he proves, from this text, that *Chriſt* is God.

* Hiſt. p. 103.

13. *Chriſt* ſays to the Father, *John* XVII. 5. *Glorify me with thine own ſelf, with the glory I had with thee, before the World was.* Does not this prove *Chriſt* to be before the World?

SOC. This he anſwers*, that is, the glory I had with thee, in thy decree and deſign, before the World was.

CHR. Does he give any Reaſon why it is otherwiſe expreſs'd in the text?

SOC. No, but he brings other texts where what was only in decree, was ſaid actually to be.

CHR. Without ſomething in the text to ſhew that it ſpeaks of ſuch a decree?

SOC. Yes ſure, elſe they cannot be parallel caſes to this text.

CHR. Let us hear them.

SOC. 1 *Pet.* I. 11. *Searching what, and what manner of time the Spirit—— did ſignify, when it teſtified before hand the Sufferings of* Chriſt, *and what was to follow.*

CHR. Is there nothing in this text, which tells you that it teſtify'd before hand, of what was to follow?

SOC. He might have ſpar'd this inſtance. The next is better, 2 *Cor.* V. 1. *We have a building of God, an houſe not made with hands.* Here *we have*, is, we have it in God's decree or intention.

CHR. And is there nothing of that expreſs'd in the text? If you had repeated two words more, it would have told you, that this houſe *was reſerv'd for us in Heaven:* And that it was not to be till after *our earthly houſe of this tabernacle were diſſolv'd:* And therefore, that we *groan earneſtly after it, expecting it*; and therefore that we have it but in reverſion, not in preſent poſſeſſion: So that what is meant by *we have* in that text is very plainly told.

SOC. His next text will do it. 2 *Tim.* I. 9. *Grace was given us in* Chriſt *before the World was.* Where again, *was given to us*, is, was given in God's decree and intention.

CHR. And is there nothing in this text to ſhew us, that this was only in God's purpoſe or decree? If you had repeated but one word before, it had hindred you from producing of this text. For there it expreſſly tells us, that this grace given us before the World, was in God's purpoſe—— *According to his own purpoſe, and grace which was given us, before the World was.* And this is the Apoſtle's ſtyle in other places where he ſpeaks of the ſame, *Tit.* I. 2. *in hope of eternal life, which God promiſed before the World began.* Eph. I. 4.—— *He hath choſen us in him, before the foundation of the World.* (c. iii. 11.) *According to the eternal purpoſe, which he purpoſed in* Chriſt Jeſus *our Lord.*

Now if you can ſhew ſuch an explanation in that text *Joh.* XVII 5. then theſe may be parallel caſes.

But I have another thing to ask in this matter. Do not decrees always look forward, and reſpect things to come?

SOC. Yes certainly, one is not ſaid to decree what is paſt.

CHR. But our Saviour in this text ſpeaks of what is paſt—— *the glory which I had with thee before the World was.* Common Speech allows to ſay, I have a reverſion: But to ſay, that I had, what I have not yet, nor ever had; is a new way of ſpeaking.

But there is more than this yet: You ſay that *Chriſt had no being before the world.*

SOC. Yes, that is our Tenet.

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* Hiſt. p. 104.

CHR.

CHR. How had he glory then *before the world*, when he had no Being? Was this by way of decree too? *Irenæus (adverſ. Hereſ.* l. 4. c. 28. p. 347.) quotes this text to prove *Chriſt*'s Exiſtence before the World. And *Origen* (in *Mat.* p. 326.) ſays, it was not meant of this World.

SOC. Pray, let us go to ſome other text.

14. CHR. John xx. 28. Thomas *anſwered, and ſaid unto him, my Lord and my God.*

SOC. *O my Lord* are words of congratulation to our Saviour, and *O my God* words of admiration and praiſe to God*.

CHR. This is very ingenious! But if I ſhould ask, who told you this? There is nothing of this diſcovery in the text. But I wonder he would let either of theſe belong to *Chriſt*, becauſe they ſeem both to be ſpoken of the ſame Perſon as much as words can bear.

SOC. The reaſon is, becauſe they were ſpoke to *Chriſt*; and as a conſequence of *Thomas*'s conviction after his having ſo long remained doubtful of our Saviour's Reſurrection; of which being now ſatisfied, he makes this confeſſion to *Chriſt*, and therefore at leaſt one of them muſt belong to *Chriſt*.

CHR. Then there will be hazard of the others going along with it, for they are link'd very cloſe together.

The truth of it is, our Author leans that way: And ſays *Neſtorius Patriarch of Conſtantinople* thought ſo: But he will not truſt to that; becauſe it ſeems a very harſh interpretation to make *Thomas* anſwer a queſtion of our Saviour's to him, only by an exclamation, which might ſerve any queſtion in the world, by ſaying, *O God!* Which a Man will do when you pinch his finger: Whereas otherwiſe it was a direct and full anſwer to our Saviour. His Reſurrection was a great proof of his Divinity: Of this *Thomas* remain'd a while doubtful; but being convinc'd by our Saviour, he then acknowledges *Chriſt* to be his *Lord* and his *God*; and this by way of anſwer to our Saviour. *Be not faithleſs but believing* ſays *Chriſt*: Then *Thomas* anſwers and owns his belief, by acknowledging *Chriſt* to be Lord and God. St. *Cyprian* quotes this text as proving the Divinity of *Chriſt*: (*adverſ. Jud.* l. 2. c. 6. p. 35.) But we go on.

15. *Acts* v. 3, 4. *Why hath* Satan *filled thine heart, to lye to the Holy Ghoſt?* —— *Thou haſt not lied unto Men, but unto God.*

SOC. Thou haſt lied to the Holy Ghoſt; *i. e.* † to us Apoſtles who have the Holy Spirit, or inſpiration of God in us.

CHR. To lye to an Inſpiration is a ſtrange expreſſion. In the next place, tho' you allow the Spirit of God, ſometimes, to be put for God himſelf; yet it is a little over bold, methinks, to put it for an Apoſtle. There ſhould be very good authority for that, ſomething ſtronger than one of our Author's ſuppoſes. When was St. *Peter* called the Holy Ghoſt before? Or the Holy Ghoſt called by the names of any of the Apoſtles? Becauſe the Holy Ghoſt inſpires me, am I therefore the Holy Ghoſt? So that if you tell me a lie, it is to be called telling a lie to God? But more eſpecially when the text ſays, *he did not lye to Men.*

SOC. That is, not to Men only, or chiefly.

CHR. No: There is another reaſon. Men could not know that he lied; but only God, who knew his heart. And therefore it is called a lying to God, and not to Men; for there was no evidence produced againſt him, they knew not but he ſpoke truth, in telling them the price of his land, which was the matter then in debate.

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* Hiſt. p. 106. † p. 107.

SOC. Our Author brings a text to ſupport him, 1 *Theſ.* IV. 8. *He therefore that deſpiſeth, deſpiſeth not Man, but God.* * *Who hath alſo given to us his Holy Spirit.* Here 'tis manifeſt that thoſe who deſpiſed the Apoſtles, are ſaid to deſpiſe *becauſe God was in them by his Spirit.*

CHR. I utterly deny that to be the reaſon, for that would transfer the honour of God to every good Man, which is, to every ſtranger I meet, for ought I know to the contrary; that if I deſpiſe him, I deſpiſe God: Which is extravagant even to blaſphemy.

But the meaning is, he that deſpiſeth that meſſage which God ſent by the Apoſtles, which was the Goſpel of *Chriſt*, he deſpiſeth not Man, for it is not the Goſpel of Man, but he deſpiſeth God, the Author and Sender of it. As if any ſhould return a King an opprobrious anſwer by his Embaſſador, the affront could not be underſtood to the Ambaſſador, but to the King who ſent him: But this has nothing in the world to do with our preſent caſe, wherein our Author would have the honour of God to belong to every Man, to whom God gave the aſſiſtance of his bleſſed Spirit.

This is a ſufficient anſwer to the Hiſtorian's interpretation of this text: But I cannot forbear to ſhew the ridiculous madneſs of your Evangeliſt *Bidle* in his expoſition of this text, in the above-quoted volume of *Socinian* tracts, entituled *The Faith of one God*, &c. p. 9, 10. where, inſtead of *Ananias* lying to the Holy Ghoſt, he would very fain (but without any ground) have it underſtood that *Ananias* did tell a lye of the Holy Ghoſt, *viz.* that the Holy Ghoſt had put it into his heart *to ſell his farm, and lay down the price at the Apoſtles feet*; and ſo was guilty of *Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Spirit, in fathering upon the Holy Spirit that which was ejected into his heart by the unclean Spirit, i. e.* to ſell his lands. Whereby you muſt firſt obſerve, that it was by the inſpiration of the unclean Spirit that *Ananias*, and conſequently other Chriſtians of that time did ſell their poſſeſſions to diſtribute to the neceſſities of others, which the Scripture, and I believe all mankind elſe before Mr. *Bidle*, have always aſcrib'd to the great Grace, with which we are told, *Acts* IV. 33. God did bleſs thoſe early converts to the Chriſtian Faith.

Secondly, he ſays, that theſe words in this text, *why hath* Satan *filled thy heart to deceive God?* ſeem to be Blaſphemy, [that is, ſuppoſing the Holy Ghoſt to be God] *for it importeth* [ſays he] *either that God may be deceived, or elſe that* Satan, *or at leaſt* Ananias *thought ſo, otherwiſe he would not have propos'd in his heart to do it:* Thus delicate Mr. *Biddle!* I would recommend to his annotations 1 *John* v. 20. *He that believeth not the Son hath made him* (God) *a lyar, becauſe he believeth not the teſtimony which God gave of his Son.* Will Mr. *Biddle* hence infer that any Man had ſuch a notion of the ſupreme Being as that he is a lyar? Or not rather that, as we are ſaid to crucify *Chriſt* afreſh by our ſins, to grieve the Spirit of God, &c. ſo, by conſequence, we make God a lyar when we do not believe the teſtimony he has given? tho', at the ſame time, none can be ſuppos'd ſo groſly ignorant of the Nature of God, as to think him capable of deceiving, or being deceived: No, neither *Satan* nor *Ananias* were ſuch ſpeculative Atheiſts, tho' practically every ſinner is ſuch, in ſome degree. But, if you will have it, according to Mr. *Biddle*'s expoſition, that not to believe the teſtimony which God hath given of his Son, is to be a downright ſpeculative Atheiſt, or to think him a lyar, which is the ſame, or worſe; then I deſire you to look to it, for it will ſtand you as much upon to clear your ſelves from Atheiſm, for not believing the many

* Hiſt. p. 107.

teſtimonies which God has given of the Divinity of his Son; as from idolatry, in worſhipping him whom you do not think to be true God.

16. *Acts* VII. 59. *They ſtoned* Stephen, *calling upon God, and ſaying Lord* Jeſus *receive my Spirit.* Here praying to *Jeſus* is called praying to God.

SOC. The *Greek* is, *Lord of* Jeſus *receive my Spirit* *.

CHR. This is only becauſe the word *Jeſus* is indeclinable; that makes it no more *of Jeſu*, then *in*, *by*, *with*, or *from Jeſu:* And this text is as much *Lord Jeſu*—— as it is poſſible for either *Greek* or *Latin* to expreſs it.

SOC. Well, we will give you another anſwer: That is, *Stephen* called upon God, *and he alſo ſaid, Lord Jeſu receive my Spirit**.

CHR. Does your Author alledge any authority for this?

SOC. No: Not a word. But only that he ſuppoſes St. *Stephen*'s viſion of *Chriſt* at the right hand of God, which he had before the Council, to continue ſtill with him.

CHR. What is all this to the buſineſs? I cannot ſee how it concerns this text, or favours his addition, and interruption of the ſenſe, which ſpeaks of *Stephen calling upon God and ſaying*—— inſtead of which our Author adds, of his own head, *and he alſo ſaid*, leaving out the word in the text, for both words cannot be in; it cannot be both *ſaying*, and *he alſo ſaid:* And he does not ſo much as pretend that the word *ſaying* was not right tranſlated, or any thing amiſs in it: So that here, by his own confeſſion, is both ſubſtraction and addition to the word of God; nay more, a putting in his own invention inſtead of the word of God: I am weary of this.

17. *Acts* IX. 14, 21. *To bind all that call upon thy name.* (The words are ſpoken of the Lord *Chriſt*, as is made undeniable by ℣. 21.) *Is not this he that deſtroy'd them which called on this Name* (Chriſt's Name) *in* Jeruſalem?

SOC. *The* Socinians *generally not only grant, but earneſtly contend, that* Chriſt *is to be worſhipped and pray'd to; that he is to be worſhipped with divine worſhip* †.

CHR. This is their opinion; and it is the ſore place of the *Socinians*; herein they divide, and herein they contradict themſelves: And inſtead of anſwering this text, your Author brings ſeveral arguments from elſewhere againſt the Divinity of *Chriſt*, and to avoid anſwering, he turns an objector: His arguments are all anſwer'd in what is ſaid before, therefore I will not trouble you with them: For we are now upon his reply to the texts that are brought againſt him.

SOC. When he is againſt the invocation of *Chriſt* (which is not always) he anſwers theſe texts thus. *To bind all that call upon his Name*; and again, *Them that called on this Name in* Jeruſalem: He ſays the original *Greek* may be tranſlated ſeveral ways. *Firſt*, To bind all that *are called by thy Name. Secondly*, To bind all that *name this Name* ‡.

CHR. We know his gift in interpretations; and for anſwer, we inſiſt, that the *Greek* does not bear his ſenſe, but is rightly tranſlated in our Bibles; and for him to offer nothing againſt it, but his own ſaying ſo, and thus and thus it may be, is no indifferent meaſure of aſſurance, which oft paſſes with him inſtead of argument.

But in this ſame chapter, ℣. 10. it's ſaid, *That the Lord appeared to* Ananias, *And the Lord ſaid unto him*, &c. what Lord was this?

SOC. It was the true God certainly: For this is the common ſtyle of God thro' all the Scriptures.

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* Hiſt. p. 108. † p. 109. ‡ p. 112.

CHR.

CHR. And it is certain, that this was *Jeſus* who ſpoke to *Ananias*, and to whom *Ananias* ſpoke, and who ſent *Ananias* to *Saul*, ℣. 17. *The Lord even* Jeſus *hath ſent me*, ſays *Ananias*. Hear another text:

Acts xv. 28. *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us*.*

18. SOC. *That is, to God's Inſpiration in us; and therefore to us alſo.*

CHR. To ſeem good to an Inſpiration! Or to us and to our Inſpiration! This has been ſpoke to before.

19. Acts xx. 28. *Feed the Church of God which he had purchaſed with his own Blood.*

SOC. My Author here again diſputes the true reading of this text; and ſays, that ſome read it *Feed the Church of* Chriſt.

CHR. And we ſtill inſiſt upon the truth of our tranſlation, againſt his bare ſaying; which we ſay, is an evident ſign of his loſt cauſe, when he has nothing to ſay but to aſſert, without proof.

SOC. His ſecond anſwer is, that ſome Maſters of the *Greek* Tongue do render the word thus, *Feed the Church of God, which he has purchaſed with his own Son's Blood.*

CHR. However skilfull in the *Greek* they may be: The word *(Son's)* is a plain addition, which is beyond the power of interpretation.

SOC. His third anſwer is, That *the Blood of God is no more, than the Blood which God gave.* As *the Lamb of God, is no more than the Lamb which God gave.*

CHR. The common Law of diſcourſe allows me to call any thing mine that belongs to me, as my Horſe, my Cow, *&c.* But no language ever call'd another Man's Blood, my Blood, unleſs my Son's, or near Relations, whoſe Blood is really mine: As we call'd our Children, our Fleſh and Blood, in which ſenſe you will not allow *Chriſt* to be the *Son of God.*

I come now to your Author's fourth Letter which contains the texts out of the Epiſtles and Revelation; and there firſt take notice of his Motto-text, *Rom.* i. 25. *Of theſe who change the truth of God into a lye, and worſhip the creature.* And deſire your Author to reconcile it to their worſhip of *Chriſt*, ſuppoſing him a Creature, as they do; and their arbitrary changing the texts of Scripture, as we have ſeen; but now to the texts. The firſt I name is,

20. Rom. ix. 5. *Of whom, as concerning the fleſh,* Chriſt *came, who is over all God, bleſſed for ever,* Amen.

SOC. I'll undertake he will have ſomething to ſay againſt this text; for it is too poſitive to be endur'd.

CHR. Yet he is more merciful then he us'd to be; for here he ſays only that it is *probable, by ſome paſſages in the Fathers* (which he does not tell us) *that the word* God *was not originally in this text*†.

SOC. But becauſe this will not do, he anſwers, Secondly, that theſe words ought to be tranſlated thus, *Of whom as concerning the fleſh* Chriſt *came, God, who is over all be bleſſed for ever.* Amen.

CHR. This is adding again to the text: For the *Engliſh* is rendered even literally from the *Greek*, and there is no ſuch word in the *Greek* as *be, God be bleſſed*, but it is, *God bleſſed for ever.*

And the very natural running of the words comes into our ſenſe, *Chriſt who is*——is what? *God bleſſed*——there is nothing elſe for him to be in that text; for theſe words, *over all*, are but an epithet of the Perſon there deſcrib'd, like *Bleſſed for ever.* The Perſon there ſpoke of is *over all, and bleſſed for ever*, and is *God.* For this text is not telling what God is, but

* Hiſt. p. 113. † p. 117.

what

what *Chriſt* is, of whom only the Apoſtle is ſpeaking from the beginning of this chapter, without the word *God* us'd at all before that mention'd in this text. And in this caſe the only remedy left to the Author, is, to cut one ſentence into two, and apply one of them to a Perſon who is not mention'd at all in the whole diſcourſe. But this it ſelf will not do, for there will want a word, to turn the ſenſe to another than the Perſon there ſpoke of; for read the text, *Chriſt* who *is*, this word *is* refers to all the particulars which follow in the ſame ſentence, *Is over all, is God bleſſed for ever.* Now to make a new ſentence in the middle of this, there will want another *is*, for it muſt be either that *ſomething is God*, or, *God is ſomething. God bleſſed for ever*, without any more, is no ſentence at all; there is nothing affirm'd or deny'd. But to end all theſe diſputes, our Author adds the word *be*, after the word *God*, *God be bleſſed*; and even then it is but poſſible to become a diſtinct ſentence; for it breaks and tears the ſenſe, and ſhocks any reader, to ſtop in the middle of the deſcription of one Perſon, and, without any why or wherefore, to apply two or three of the epithets to another Perſon not mention'd before, and to force in a new word on purpoſe to bring it in.

But a good cauſe will ſtruggle thro' many of theſe hardſhips.

But then to call this plain and eaſy, and moſt rational, that indeed is a little impoſing and hard to be born, but for ſo neceſſary a work as to take away the Divinity of *Chriſt*, or any argument for the Trinity.

Tertullian (adverſ. Prax. §. 13. and 15. p. 507, 508, 509.) quotes this text as proving *Chriſt* to be God. St. *Cyprian* does the ſame, *Adverſ. Jud.* l. 2. §. 6. p. 35. and *Irenæus* l. 3. c. 18.

That other expreſſion in this text [*as concerning the fleſh*] that *Chriſt* came of the Father only as to what concern'd his fleſh, or human Nature, ſhews plainly that he had another Nature which did not come from the Father, or that was deriv'd to him from his birth of the bleſſed Virgin; the ſame caution of expreſſion is us'd *Acts* 11. 30. where *Chriſt* is call'd the ſeed of *David*, only *according to the fleſh.*

21. I would deſire among other his congruous and eaſy interpretations to look into the 1ſt verſe of this 9th Chapter to the *Romans. I ſay the truth in* Chriſt, *my conſcience alſo bearing me witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt.* What is the meaning in ſpeaking the truth in *Chriſt?* Suppoſing him only to be a Man, and abſent in Heaven. And then *my conſcience bearing me witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt:* Sure to make any thing a judge or diſcerner of conſcience, is to make it God; for that is an incommunicable Attribute, by the confeſſion of all: But taking the Holy Ghoſt in your Author's interpretation, only for the inſpiration which God ſends into our hearts; then you muſt read the text thus, *My conſcience bearing me witneſs, in my inſpiration*, which no body can ſay but is very familiar and intelligible.

But the Apoſtle here appealing to *Chriſt* and the Holy Ghoſt, as judges of his conſcience, I think is a demonſtration, that they are Perſons; and that they are God.

SOC. Our Author ſays nothing of this text. And now let us follow him.

22. CHR. There is ſomething of this in his next quotation, *Rom.* 11. 16. *God ſhall judge the ſecrets of Men by* Jeſus Chriſt. 1 *Cor.* IV. 5. *Who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkneſs, and will make manifeſt the councils of hearts* *.

SOC. *Chriſt's* knowledge of the ſecrets of Hearts is by the divine Word communicated to him, and by Revelation from God.

* Hiſt. p. 120.

CHR.

CHR. If God reveal to me that another Man does now think ſo or ſo, does that make me a Knower of Hearts? I know that particular that is reveal'd to me, but no more: Neither do I know it by knowing the Man's Heart, I know it only by Revelation.

But to have a Power within my ſelf to know the Hearts of all Men, to look into a Man's Heart, and ſee his Thoughts, is not communicable to a Creature. *God only knows the Hearts of Men.* 1 Kings VIII. 39.

And that *Chriſt* has that Attribute of God of knowing Hearts, not when it is reveal'd to him by another; but that he knows them *in his Spirit*, as it is ſaid of him, *Mark* II. 8. and *in himſelf*, *Mark* V. 30. is plain from many Scriptures beſides theſe now quoted; ſee *John* II. 24, 25. Jeſus—— *Knew all Men; and needed not that any ſhould teſtify of Man; for he knew what was in Man.*

SOC. The *Defence of the Hiſt.* p. 53. proves that this was no inherent perſonal Knowledge in *Chriſt*, in oppoſition to Revelation.

CHR. How does he prove it?

SOC. He ſays, what is known by Revelation is an inherent perſonal Knowledge.

CHR. That is, ſuch Knowledge is inherent, becauſe it is in a Man; and it is perſonal, becauſe it is the Man's own Perſon that knows. This indeed is a noble diſcovery, and by this he would quite take away the diſtinction 'twixt perſonal inherent Knowledge, and Revelation; becauſe, ſays he, Revelation it ſelf is a perſonal inherent Knowledge.

But after all this *Socinian* Subtilty, is it poſſible, or would he have us believe, that he cannot ſee the difference 'twixt what a Man knows of his own natural inherent Knowledge, and what he knows by Revelation; and that for no better reaſon, but becauſe he knows both; and that it is he himſelf, his own Perſon which knows both? A Man's natural inherent Knowledge is ſtinted and cannot go beyond its ſphere: And therefore one Man's natural Knowledge is greater than another's. But there are none ſo great as to diſcover ſome things, particularly the preſent inſtance we are upon, the Thoughts of the Heart; which none but God can know by his natural inherent Knowledge. But ſuppoſe God reveals to me a particular Thought of a Man's Heart, does it therefore follow that I know it by my own natural inherent Knowledge? If I did, I needed not that any ſhould tell it me: And that is the reaſon given in the text to ſhew that this Knowledge of *Chriſt's* was his natural inherent Knowledge, becauſe it is ſaid, *He needed not that any ſhould teſtify of Man, for he knew what was in Man.* If his knowing what was in Man, was by Revelation, he not only needed, but it was abſolutely neceſſary that ſome ſhould teſtify to him of Man. I hope there is ſome difference 'twixt this and *Eliſha's* knowing what the King of *Syria* ſpoke in his Bed-chamber (2 *Kings* VI. 12.) which this Author makes a parallel place, to this of *John* II. 24, 25. For firſt *Eliſha* might have had intelligence from ſome about the King; which was the thing that the King apprehended, and thought nothing miraculous in it: But ſuppoſe God told *Eliſha*; therefore *Eliſha* needed that ſome ſhould teſtify of what the King ſaid: And therefore it can be no parallel to that of our Saviour, who did not need that any ſhould teſtify to him, even of the Thoughts of Men's Hearts; for he not only knew this or that Thought, and that when it was told him, but he knew all Men's Thoughts, *whatever was in Man*; without need of any to declare this to him: That is, without Revelation, which cannot be ſaid of any Prophet, or any Creature. And therefore this perſonal inherent Knowledge of *Chriſt's*, is put in oppoſition to Revelation, contrary to this vain Defence of our Hiſtorian.

SOC. But our Author quotes* *Rev.* 1. 1. *The Revelation of* Jeſus Chriſt, *which God gave to him, to ſhew unto his Servants.* And what need God reveal any thing to *Chriſt*, if he knew all things?

CHR. This is ſpoken of *Chriſt* as Man. Secondly it is not ſaid that God did reveal it to *Chriſt*, but gave it to *Chriſt* to reveal to others; that is, gave Commiſſion to *Chriſt* to reveal it to *John*, &c. which does not imply that *Chriſt* did not know it before.

SOC. But the *Defence* of this *Hiſtory* ſays, who can give to God?

CHR. *Chriſt* as Man receives all from God: Which this Author could not but know to be the Chriſtian Doctrine, and therefore it was frivolous in him to urge it, without farther reaſons, as an argument againſt the Chriſtian Doctrine.

23. The third text he quotes out of the *Romans* is, chap. x. 12. *The ſame Lord over all, is rich unto all that call upon him.*

SOC. This and what follows is ſpoken of God and not of *Chriſt*.

CHR. The contrary is moſt evident; from the 4th verſe. The Apoſtle is treating wholly of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and making him the object of our Faith, as he was under the Law, for he applies *Deut.* xxx. 12. expreſſly to *Chriſt*; and ſays, *That is the word of Faith which we preach, that if thou confeſs with thy mouth the Lord* Jeſus, *and believe that God raiſed him—— whoſoever believeth on him—— the ſame Lord over all, is rich unto all that call upon him—— for whoſoever ſhall call upon the name of the Lord ſhall be ſaved. How then ſhall they call on him—— How ſhall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how ſhall they hear without a Preacher?*

Rom. x. 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14.

Here you ſee the ſame *him* is carry'd through all theſe verſes. And the Apoſtle expreſſly applies to this *him*, Joel II. 32. *Whoſoever ſhall call upon the name of the Lord*, &c. which is applicable to none but God. And therefore it is certain that *Chriſt* is the Lord here ſpoke of. The *Jews* had heard of God before; and therefore the Apoſtle could not ſay—— *Of whom they have not heard*, but in relation to *Chriſt*; who was not rightly underſtood by the *Jews*, who did not apprehend what *Moſes* and the Prophets had wrote of him, and therefore they needed a Preacher to explain him to them.

Your Author cannot deny all the *him's* in this chapter before your text, to belong to *Chriſt*. But in his old ſhort way, he excepts the *him* in the 12th verſe, and ſo forward, and the buſineſs is done; tho' the diſcourſe goes as continu'dly on as before, and ſpeaks of the ſame *him*, without any diſcrimination, or leaſt mark that he is bringing in any other *him*: Which would not only be wrong ſenſe, but it would be an expreſs deceit to uſe ſuch an unſeen ſhifting of Perſons in an argument, as has been ſaid before. But we go on.

24. 1 Cor. VI. 9. *Your Body is the Temple of the Holy Ghoſt.* 2 Cor. VI. 16. *Ye are the Temples of the living God.*

SOC. The Holy Ghoſt or Spirit being the inſpiration and power of God, the ſame Bodies that are Temples of the one, muſt needs be Temples alſo of the other‡.

CHR. Firſt it is abſurd and illogical to ſay, the Temples of an inſpiration, Temples belong to Perſons: But in the next place, you make a difference 'twixt the Spirit and God, they are the one and the other. And in other places you make them the ſelf-ſame thing, and no difference 'twixt them at all, as I have often obſerv'd before.

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* Hiſt. p. 120. † Ibid. ‡ p. 121.

25. 1 Cor. x. 9. *Neither let us tempt* Chriſt, *as ſome of them alſo tempted.*

SOC. It ſhould be *neither let us tempt God.* But ſince the former is the receiv'd reading of the Church, our Author has not authority ſufficient to counterbalance that, therefore he gives you another anſwer. He ſays that * *admitting the reading in the* Engliſh *Bibles, yet the ſenſe will be, let us not tempt* Chriſt, *as the* Iſraelites *tempted God in the Wilderneſs.*

CHR. But he muſt confeſs that this is plain adding to the Word of God; for we muſt not add words to the text, upon pretence of keeping to the ſenſe. But does he not bring ſome very extraordinary reaſon to ſupport this opinion of his?

SOC. Not one word, but that murmuring againſt God, or *Chriſt*, is tempting them.

CHR. Then he gives us leave to proceed.

26. 2 *Cor.* 8, 9. It is ſaid, that *Chriſt, tho' he was rich, yet for your ſakes he became poor.* When was it that *Chriſt was rich,* and *became poor?* If he had no Being before he was born of the Virgin?

SOC. † The ſenſe is, tho' *he might have lived rich.*

CHR. But the text ſays, that *he was rich.* And we muſt take your Author's word, as formerly, that the meaning is, *not that he was rich,* but only he *might have been ſo, if he wou'd.*

SOC. The *Defence of the Hiſtory*, c. 9. p. 51. gives another anſwer, *viz.* that πτωχεύειν does not ſignify to *become poor*, but to *be poor.*

CHR. He only ſays ſo: Which he would have to over-ballance the learning of all the tranſlators of our Bible. But in the next place, the ſtreſs does not lie upon the word *poor*, but upon the word *rich:* We all know *Chriſt* was *poor*, but the queſtion is when it was that he was rich.

SOC. He ſays, *the ſenſe of the place is this: Tho'* Chriſt *was rich and glorious, by reaſon of the authority and power conferred on him; yet he was willing to lead a poor life,* &c.

CHR. In this ſenſe *Chriſt* was never poor, for he was always rich in authority: And a Man that has authority can never be poor in this ſenſe. Poverty and Riches may be taken in many ſenſes: There is rich and poor in eloquence, in beauty, in courage, in ſenſe, in authority, and in money. And if when you ſpeak of any of theſe, you make not your diſcourſe proceed of the ſame, you argue ſophiſtically, and no Man can underſtand you. This is the defence of your Hiſtory, and has helped him much: This play is not worth the candle: Let us diſpatch.

27. ‡ His anſwer to 2 *Cor.* XII. 8, 9. is this, that the *Power of* Chriſt *reſting on the Apoſtle* was only that *Chriſt* interceded for that Power to reſt on him: That is to ſay, if I beg an eſtate from the King for you, it is therefore my eſtate which you poſſeſs! And this ſhall be the way of ſpeaking in ** this text.

28. And in the next too. 2. *Cor.* XIII. 14. where *The Grace of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, is not his Grace, but another's Grace, which he only begs for us.

But there is another extraordinary thing in this text. For *it plainly diſtinguiſhes*, ſays our Author, Chriſt *and the* Holy Ghoſt *from God.* Now they are plainly diſtinguiſhed; but in anſwer to *John* I. 1. they muſt not be diſtinguiſhed at all.

29. *Gal.* I. 1, 12. *Paul an Apoſtle, not of Men, neither by Men, but by* Jeſus Chriſt, *and God the Father — I neither receiv'd it of Man, neither was I taught it, but by revelation of* Jeſus Chriſt.

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* Hiſt. p. 122. † p. 123. ‡ p. 124. ** p. 125.

SOC.

SOC. *Paul *rightly denies he is made an Apoſtle by Man becauſe he was made one by* Jeſus Chriſt, *who in all things acted by the Spirit and Directions of God.*

Acts i. 24, xiii. 2. CHR. Did not the Apoſtles act by the Spirit and Directions of God when they choſe *Matthias* into the room of *Judas*; and ſeparated *Barnabas* and *Saul* for the work whereunto God had called them?

SOC. Yes certainly; for it is expreſſly ſaid, that the Holy Ghoſt bad them do it.

CHR. Did they therefore in that receive commiſſion from Men?

Ib. 3. SOC. Yes, for it is ſaid, that *they laid their hands on them, and ſent them.*

CHR. Then Mens acting *by the Spirit and Directions of God* does not hinder that ſuch actions are ſaid to be done by ſuch Men: For example, *Matthias* was elected by the eleven Apoſtles, and *Barnabas* and *Saul* were ſeparated by the Church.

And therefore it would follow, in this ſenſe, that St. *Paul* did not argue rightly, as our Author ſays he did, when he denied himſelf to be made an Apoſtle by Man, becauſe he was made one by a Man who acted by the Spirit and Directions of God.

But his meaning is plainly this, that he did not receive his commiſſion from, that is, by the mediation of Men, but immediately from God.

And if *Chriſt* were not more than Man, and conſider'd as ſuch in this text, the Apoſtle's words cannot be made conſonant, eſpecially as interpreted by our Author. *Tertullian (adverſ. Prax. §.* 27. and 28. p. 517.) proves *Chriſt* to be both God and Man: *Ex Carne Homo, ex Spiritu Deus*; and then proves the diſtinction betwixt him and the Father, and quotes this text, among others, to ſhew that tho' he was God, yet he was diſtinguiſh'd from the Father.

30. But let us ſee what art he will find to eſcape *Phil.* II. 5, 6, 7, 8. where it is ſaid, that Chriſt *being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God*, &c.

SOC. †*In the form of God*, that is, *being made like God, and namely by a communication to him of divine and miraculous Power over Diſeaſes, Devils, the Grave, the Wind, the Seas*, &c.

CHR. A communication of this divine and miraculous Power was given likewiſe to Prophets, Apoſtles, *&c.* were they therefore in the Form of God?

Every body that underſtands terms, knows what is meant by matter and form. The form of a thing is its eſſence, not its ſhadow or likeneſs: And therefore whatever is in the form of God, is of his eſſence, and conſequently muſt be God.

And this is the inference the Apoſtle makes, that becauſe *Chriſt* was in the form of God, therefore he was equal to God: And that this was not any arrogance or preſumption in *Chriſt*, for being in the form of God, he was natural God.

But if *Chriſt* were originally a creature, as the *Socinians* would have him, and advanc'd to the divine honour, or a made God, as they word it, then indeed it could not be excuſed from a great robbery, preſumption and blaſphemy, for him to pretend to be equal to God.

And the Apoſtle in this text ſeems to have foreſeen and obviated the *Socinian* hereſy; for he does not only call *Chriſt*, God, but tells how he is God: Not by gift or donation, or that he was made God, that is a contradiction in the very terms; but that he was in the form and eſſence of

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* Hiſt. p. 126. † p. 128.

God, and ſo equal to God, which could not be pretended to, without robbery, any other way.

Irenæus (*adverſ. Hær.* l. 1. c. 2. p. 51.) quotes the 10th verſe of this chapter, which immediately follows the words you have quoted, and is an inference from them, *viz. that at the Name of* Jeſus *every knee ſhould bow*; and deſcribing what ſort of adoration it was which was to be paid to *Chriſt*, he ſays*, that *every knee ſhould bow to him as to our Lord, and God, and Saviour and King.*

Clemens Alexandrinus (*Admonit. ad Gent.* p. 7.) having ſaid how God had perſuaded Men many ways, by Prophets, by Miracles, &c. at laſt ſays, *he emptied himſelf; and if you will not believe the Prophets, behold the Lord himſelf ſhall ſpeak to thee; Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But the merciful God* ὁ φιλοικτίρμων Θεὸς, *emptied himſelf, deſiring to ſave Man: And now the* Logos, *the Word himſelf ſpeaks to thee, being grieved for thy Infidelity:* Thus *Clemens.*

Tertullian (*adverſ. Prax.* c. 7. p. 504.) quotes this text *Phil.* II. 6. as proving *Chriſt*, whom he there calls the *Word*, to be God. And (*adverſ. Marcion.* l. 2. c. 16. p. 389.) he ſays, *Qui credimus*——*We who believe that God dwelt on the Earth, and took upon him the form of a Servant, that he might ſave Man are far from their opinion who would have God take care of nothing.*

Origen (in *Matt.* p. 357. of Tom. 1.) purſuing his allegory betwixt *Chriſt* and the Church, ſays that *Chriſt being the Husband, for his Spouſe the Church left his Father* ὃν εἶδεν, whom *he beheld, or enjoy'd his preſence, when he was in the form of God*, ibid. p. 34. he ſays that *Chriſt when he was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal to God, was made a Child*, &c. and (in *Johan.* p. 413. of Tom. 2.) he ſays τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, *the Humanity of* Chriſt *was made,* ἓν μετὰ τοῦ λόγου, *one with the Word; he being exalted, who thought it no robbery to be equal with God; but the Word remaining,* ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὕψει, *in its own altitude, or* Chriſt *in his Humanity being exalted to the dignity of the Word, which he had before with God, The Word being now both God and Man,* Θεὸς λόγος ὢν ἄνθρωπος, *God the Word being Man*, &c.

But pray, what ſays your Author to that part of the text, that Chriſt *thought it not robbery to be equal with God?*

SOC. He renders it thus, *Who committed not robbery by equalling himſelf to God, i. e.* did not rob God of his Honour by arrogating to be God, or equal to God.

CHR. That was anſwer'd like an Oracle! for it bears two meanings, either that *Chriſt* did not arrogate to himſelf to be God, or equal to God; and therefore did not rob God of his Honour; or otherwiſe, it may be underſtood, that tho' he did arrogate to himſelf to be God, or equal to God, yet this was not a robbing God of his Honour.

In the laſt ſenſe, he muſt either mean, that *Chriſt* is God, or that it is no diſhonour to God to have a creature made equal to him. In the firſt ſenſe, no poſſible account can be given why *Chriſt* ſhould ſay, that he *did not think it robbery to be equal with God*; when he intended to ſay, that he *did think it robbery*, and that he would not be guilty of ſuch robbery, by equalling himſelf with God.

SOC. Therefore inſtead of *not thinking it robbery*, our Author puts in *committed not robbery*, by equalling himſelf with God.

CHR. But does he alledge that there is any fault in our tranſlation? Or that theſe words *Thought it*, are not in the *Greek?* Or that the *Greek* word

* Ut Chriſto Jeſu Domino noſtro & Deo, & Salvatori, & Regi, ſecundùm placitum Patris inviſibilis omne genu curvetur.

does mean both *Thought* and *Committed?* Or that *Thought* and *Committed* are the ſame thing?

SOC. No: He alledges none of theſe things; only in the repeating the text, he puts in the word *Committed*, and leaves out the word *Thought*.

CHR. Hoping it would not be perceiv'd: And ſo he would get ſome ſort of gloſs put upon this text, which otherwiſe admitted of no ſubterfuge, nor room for wit; for the *Greek* word is, ἡγήσατο, which does not ſignify *Committed*, but *Thought*, ἡγήσατο ἁρπαγμὸν, *He did not eſteem* or think it *any robbery to be equal with God.*

Again, if *Chriſt* was nothing but a Servant, and no more than a Man, how can it be ſaid, That he *took upon him the form of a Servant, and was found in faſhion as a Man?* Our Author* does not give any good account of this, he ſays only, that he was *like a Servant*, and *like other Men.* But that does in no wiſe fill the expreſſion of the text: The *form of a Servant* which *Chriſt* is here ſaid to take, was his taking upon him our fleſh, which appears from the following words: *He took upon him the form of a Servant, and was made in the likeneſs of Men, and being found in faſhion as a Man*—— And this *Form of a Servant*, is compar'd with the *Form of God*, in which he was before he took upon him the *Form of a Servant.* The ſame word is uſed in both branches of the compariſon, and therefore muſt be taken in the ſame ſenſe, unleſs you would make the compariſon fallacious, ἐν μορφῇ Θεῦ ὑπάρχων—— μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, *Being in the form of God*——*He took upon him the form of a Servant:* Therefore he was as truly God as he was Man; as much in the *Form of God*, as in the *Form of a Servant.* And Secondly, He was God, before he was Man: For obſerve, it is not ſaid that he *took upon him the form of God*, becauſe he was always in that form, and ſo could not take it: For taking a thing ſuppoſes me to exiſt before I take it. Therefore the text is worded, *Being in the form of God*, that is, always exiſting in that, he afterwards took the *Form of a Servant.* Now if like other Men, he had no exiſtence before his corporal Generation, it cou'd not be ſaid, that he took fleſh upon him, or that he was made fleſh: We do not ſay ſo of any Man. If you ask a Man when did you take fleſh upon you? When were you made fleſh? He will anſwer, I never took fleſh, for I was always fleſh. Therefore that expreſſion of *Chriſt*'s *taking upon him the form of a Servant*, is not fill'd, by ſaying, he was *like a Servant.* No, being God, he was made Man: But in your ſenſe, it muſt have been worded, *being Man*, he took upon him to become a Servant; that had been proper; for by that he muſt be ſuppos'd to be a Man, before he was a Servant: And till he was a Man, he could not take upon him to be a Servant: So he could not take upon him our fleſh, unleſs he had been ſomething before.

The *Defence of this Hiſtory*, c. 9. p. 51. repeats this objection, *viz. How did he take this form upon him* (which ſignifies his own free and voluntary choice) *when he did not take it, but was made ſo?*

Now what anſwer can you imagine he gives to this? *What?* ſays he, *when the Apoſtle ſays, that* Chriſt *took upon him the form of a Servant; muſt we ſay that he did not? Is it not a plain contradiction to the Apoſtle?* This is every word of the anſwer he gives; had any of us given the like, he would have found ſomething to have call'd us beyond his familiar and common ſtyle of want of common ſenſe, impudent, brutal, &c. which he beſtows upon us almoſt in every page; for pray tell me, did that objection deny that *Chriſt* took upon him *the form of a Servant?* So far from it, that it ſuppoſes it, and argues from it, that *Chriſt* muſt have an exiſtence

* Hiſt. p. 129.

before:

before: But it ſeems all the Stickler could find out in that objection, was, that it deny'd the text, *That* Chriſt *took upon him the form of a Servant*. Such a quick ſight as this was neceſſary to expound the Scriptures contrary to the whole chriſtian Church, and the common uſage of words among Mankind, to bring down Myſteries, and make Proſelytes for *Socinus*. I congratulate with you in your Champion. I ſhould have thought it to have proceeded from his paſſion, or been the fault of the Printer, but that p. 52. he in other words repeats it again, and gives the like anſwer: He puts the objection, that the Apoſtle urging *Chriſt*'s taking upon him the *form of a Servant*, as an argument of his love and humility, this muſt ſuppoſe a choice in *Chriſt* (for who calls it humility in any Man to be born poor? Does a Man chuſe to be born?) therefore that the Apoſtle muſt ſpeak of what *Chriſt* did before he came into the World, for then it muſt be that he made his choice of coming into the World. To this our Author replies, *That the Apoſtle did not ſpeak of what* Chriſt *did before he came into the World*. And he neither anſwers one word to the argument, nor offers any reaſon for his own aſſertion. This is, *Bellarmin thou lieſt*; and *ipſe dixit*, in an extraordinary manner: But like a wary diſputant, who could ſee the weakneſs of his cauſe, inſtead of anſwering he falls to objecting. He ſays, "That if to be in the form of God ſignifies to be the true God, then the "ſenſe will be this, *Chriſt* being the true God, thought it not robbery to "be equal with the true God: Which is juſt as if one ſhould ſay, *Leopold* "who is Emperor, does not think it robbery to be equal with the Emperor. "Is it poſſible Men ſhould put ſuch a trifling ſenſe on the words of an "Apoſtle"? Thus he. And in return to his complement, I would ask whether it be poſſible, that he ſhould be ſo trifling as to think his inſtance of *Leopold* is parallel to what the Chriſtians teach of *Chriſt?* He makes *Leopold* and the Emperor to be the ſame Perſon, and cannot but know that the Chriſtians make *Chriſt* to be a diſtinct Perſon from his Father. And then from a ridiculous compariſon 'twixt the ſame Perſon and himſelf, he thinks he has concluded againſt thoſe who make a compariſon 'twixt two Perſons. But now to bring his inſtance nearer to the truth: Suppoſe *Leopold* ſhould take his Son into the partnerſhip of the Empire (as was done ſeveral times among the *Roman* Emperors, and as *David* crown'd *Solomon* in his own life time) and ſuppoſe this Son out of love to a company of condemn'd wretches ſhould take their guilt and condition upon him, and make himſelf one of them; might not this love and condeſcenſion of his be expreſs'd in words like thoſe in this text? That he who wasof the ſame Nature with *Leopold*, being his natural Son, and therefore equal to him in Nature, and likewiſe join'd with him in the Government, in both which reſpects, of Nature and Authority, he thought it no robbery to be equal to the Emperor, that a Perſon of his Dignity ſhould *take upon him the form of a Servant*, &c. I know this *ſimile* will not anſwer in all points: And I would not have choſen it, but that by following my Author, I have ſhewn the diſparity of his parallel. Laſtly, he cannot apprehend how God can be of no reputation. Anſ. When ſeveral Natures are join'd in one Perſon, what is proper to any of the Natures may be aſcrib'd to the Perſon; as has been ſaid before; thus Man is ſaid to dye, tho' the Soul cannot; to be cut or maimed, which only the Body can ſuffer: And thus it is, that God may be ſaid to be of no reputation, to ſhed his blood, to dye, &c. Tho' that can befall *Chriſt*'s human Nature only; the Godhead is impaſſible, but the Perſon, who is God, may ſuffer.

31. I will here ſubjoin other expreſſions like to that *Chriſt*'s being in the *form of God*. Col. 1. 15. *The Image of the inviſible God*. Heb. 1. 3. *The expreſs Image of his Perſon:* Or of his Subſiſtence; *Hypoſtaſeos*.

Soc.

*SOC. Man is called the Image of God.

CHR. True. But do you not perceive a remarkable difference betwixt theſe appellations given to *Chriſt*, and what is ſaid of Man?

A picture or a Shadow is a Man's image, but not in the ſame reſpect as his Son, who is the expreſs image of his perſon, becauſe he partakes of his nature.

SOC. This is notorious: But our Author anſwers again, that this proves *Chriſt* not to be God, becauſe the image cannot be that thing whoſe image it is.

CHR. This is objecting inſtead of anſwering to the text: And to this has been reply'd already, in the words of the above-quoted text, *Heb.* 1. 3. that the Son is the *Image* of the Father's Perſon, or Subſiſtence, *Hypoſtaſeos*; not of his Subſtance or Nature, of which the Son partakes equally with the Father: And by the word God, in this text, the Father is meant, as in many other places of Scripture, which has been obſerv'd before.

Juſt. Martyr (Dial. cum Tryphon. Jud. p. 285.) explains how *Chriſt* was the Image of God: *Viz.* Not on account of his corporal Generation, but of his eternal Generation from the Father, by which he was with the Father before all creatures.

Τοῦτο τὸ τῷ ὄντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προβληθὲν γέννημα, πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων συνῆν τῷ πατρί.

32. But now to prove that *Chriſt* had a being before his incarnation, what words could you invent more full and poſitive than theſe. *Col.* 1. 15, 16? *Chriſt*—— *the Firſt-born of every creature, for by him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth, viſible and inviſible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers, all things were created by him and for him; and he is before all things, and by him all things conſiſt.*

SOC. †By *Firſt-born* is meant the *Firſt-born from the Dead:* That is, *Chriſt* was the firſt Creature that roſe from the dead.

CHR. That is very well! But pray tell me, what do you think of this argument, by *Chriſt all things were created*; therefore *Chriſt* was the firſt who roſe from the dead?

SOC. It is flat nonſenſe. But what do you bring it in for?

CHR. That is the ſenſe your interpretation of this text puts upon the Apoſtle: For that is the proof he brings why *Chriſt* is the *Firſt-born of every Creature*, becauſe *by him all things were created.*

SOC. *By him*, there, ſhould not be underſtood of *Chriſt*, but of God.

CHR. How will that mend the conſequence? By God were all things created, therefore *Chriſt* was the firſt who roſe from the dead?

SOC. That is full as great nonſenſe as the other. But why may not *Firſt-born* mean *Firſt-born from the dead* here as well as ℣. 18. where it is ſaid that he is the *Firſtborn from the dead.*

CHR. Becauſe in ℣. 18. it is plainly ſaid ſo: And ℣. 25. it is ſaid quite otherwiſe. For *Firſtborn from the dead*, and *Firſt-born of every Creature* are two quite different things: And the Apoſtle in theſe two places ſpeaks of things very different: For ℣. 18. he is ſpeaking of *Chriſt* as *Head of the Church*, and (as the fulfilling of that character) of his Reſurrection, in which ſenſe he calls him the *Firſtborn from the dead. He is the Head of the Body, the Church*, who is,—— *the Firſt-born from the dead*

But ℣. 15. he is ſpeaking of *Chriſt* in a quite different capacity, *viz.* as the Creator of all things, or that great inſtrument by which God created all things, the Word, by whom all things were made: In which ſenſe he was

* Hiſt. p. 130. † p. 131.

prior

prior to all Creatures, as the cauſe is before its effect: And he was born of God——Was his true image in his natural and therefore eternal Generation, before any Creature was born in the courſe of Creation, who are images of God too, in their ſeveral degrees; and in this ſenſe it is that he is ſaid to be the Image of God, *per Eminentiam*: The *Firſt-born of every Creature*: And this is the proof the Apoſtle brings why he is the Image of the inviſible God, the *Firſt-born of every Creature*; *For by him all things were created*——

SOC. But our Author ſays, that *by him* is meant of God, and not of *Chriſt*.

CHR. He ſays it, but he offers nothing to prove it, nor to reconcile the text even to common ſenſe in his way of interpretation: He would have the Apoſtle prove that *Chriſt* was the firſt roſe from the dead, becauſe God made all things!

The word in the original is, ἐν: *In him all things were created*: Which yet is rightly rendered in the *Engliſh*, *by him*. God created all things *in Chriſt*, or *by Chriſt*: Theſe terms are ſynonymous, and ſo uſed in the Scripture. But your Author would rather have it rendered *for*, *viz.* that all things were created *for Chriſt*; becauſe he would have more latitude by that word to avoid *Chriſt*'s pre-exiſtence to all creatures, which is unavoidable by the word *by* or *in*; for if all things were created *by him* or *in him*, of neceſſity he muſt be *before* them. But our Author thinks they might be created *for him*, that is, *for his ſake*, or *with reſpect to him*, and that this might be *before he was born*.

But in this text all theſe ways are apply'd to *Chriſt*, *viz.* that all things were created *in* him, and *by* him, and *for* him. Will you add to this (tho' I think it is not neceſſary, the text does ſo plainly ſhew its own meaning) that *Juſt. Mart.* (*Dial. cum Tryph. Jud.* p. 284.) expreſſly applies all this to *Chriſt*, as being the Wiſdom, Power, Word, Son of the Father, by which he made all Creatures? *Tertullian* (*adverſ. Marcion.* l. 5. c. 19. p. 484. and 485.) ſays, *Si non* Chriſtus *Primo-genitus*—— *If* Chriſt *be not the Firſt-born of every Creature, as the Word of the Creator by whom all things were made and without which nothing was made, if all things were not created by him that are in Heaven, and that are in the Earth, viſible and inviſible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers; if all things were not created by him, and in him, the Apoſtle would not have ſaid ſo plainly, that he is before, all things—— And how is he before all, if he be not the Firſt born of Creatures? If not the Word of the Creator? How can he be prov'd to be before all, who appeared after all? Who could know him to be before who did not know him to be at all?* And *Origen* (in *Jerem. Hom.* 1. p. 58. of Tom 1.) quoting this text *Col.* 1. 15. he proves from thence the antiquity of *Chriſt*, and from his being the *Firſt-born of every Creature*, he infers that he is for that reaſon Πρεσβύτερος, the *Ancient*, which would have been no argument, if it had been meant of his Reſurrection. And St. *Cyprian* (*adverſ. Jud.* c. 1. p. 32.) quotes this text *Col.* 1. 15. among many others, proving *Chriſt* to be the Firſt-Begotten, and the Wiſdom of God by which he *made all things*.

SOC. Will you hear more of my Author's anſwers to this text? The *Firſt-born*, that is, *moſt beloved*—— By him were all things created, that is, *model'd, not created**: He is before all things, that is, *in worth and excellency*. By him all things conſiſt, that is, *by his wiſe government they fall into no diſorder or confuſion* †.

* Hiſt. p. 132. † Ibid. p. 133.

And he ſays ſome of the Fathers ſaid theſe things upon this text.

CHR. They might ſo: And theſe things are inferred from this text: For he that is before all things in Exiſtence, is likewiſe ſo in Worth and Excellency; and he by whom all things do conſiſt, that is, are preſerv'd in their Beings, muſt needs govern ſo wiſely as to keep them from falling into diſorder and confuſion: And the *Firſt-born* of God muſt be *moſt beloved*: And therefore his *beloved Son* is the epithet of *Chriſt* in the Goſpel as well as his *Firſt-begotten* or *only Begotten*. I ſay all theſe things might be rightly inferred from this text, from the literal meaning of the text: And the Fathers might improve thus upon this text.

The Defender of our Hiſtory * has a great deal upon this text: But ſo confus'd, and ſuch wild arguments, as if he play'd booty, and meant to betray his cauſe. P. 16. he proves that *Chriſt* was the *firſt born* only becauſe he had the preheminence, which, ſays he, is often expreſſed by the *Firſt-born*, and therefore concludes, that *Chriſt* being called the *Firſt-born*, only preheminence was thereby meant, and not that he was *Firſt-born*. From p. 13. to 16. he proves, that by theſe words, *the Firſt-born, by whom all things were created*, the Creation of the World cannot be meant, becauſe, ſays he, this *Firſt born* was *Jeſus*, who was a Man. When it is anſwered (p. 14.) that he was God too, he denies it, and that is all his proof, and asks where is he called God in Scripture? As if he had never heard of it before. His ſecond proof is, that there is *no warrant from Scripture for it: I mean*, ſays he, *that the Scripture does not ſay in expreſs words that* Chriſt *created Heaven and Earth*. He will have the Words *Heaven* or *Earth* in, as you have heard upon *John* 1. 3. yet that itſelf does not do againſt this text *Col.* 1. 16. for there they are expreſſly nam'd: *By him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth*. Ay, but not Heaven and Earth itſelf, replies our Defender: And the *all things* of which he ſpeaketh, *he limiteth to all Thrones and Dominions, Principalities and Powers, viſible and inviſible*. Theſe are the heavenly powers ſpoke of, and I wiſh our Author would tell us which of theſe are viſible. But theſe are ſo far from being a limitation, as this Author would have them, that it is plain they are but enumeration of a part; for *viſible* is not put after theſe heavenly *Powers*, as this Gentleman ſlily ſets it, the better to ſerve his turn, but after the *Earth*: *He created all things in Heaven and Earth, viſible and inviſible*. And theſe heavenly Powers are reckon'd as ſome of the inviſible things, and immediately after them it is added again, that *all things were created by him and for him*. His third reaſon is, that *Chriſt*'s creating all things is not ſaid in *Eph.* 1. 20, 21, 22. and therefore it cannot be meant in *Col.* 1. 16. nay he ſays, it would be nonſenſe in the Apoſtle to ſpeak of it in the *Col* having ſaid in the *Eph.* that God ſet him *(Chriſt)* above the *Principalities*, &c. as if *Chriſt* in his human Nature might not be exalted above them, and yet as God be their Creator: Or as if this Author had never heard that the Chriſtians ſaid thus. But having called this abſurd, ridiculous, and nonſenſe, he ends with no other reaſon. His dulneſs or perverſeneſs is inſuperable, for it being objected to him, p. 13. that if by the Creation here, only the *new Creation by the Goſpel* be meant, how *Chriſt* ſhould be the *Firſt-born of every new Creature*, that is, of every good Man, ſeeing there were good Men before *Chriſt*, and ſo he was not the *Firſt-born* in that ſenſe: All that our Author ſays to this, is, that he was the *Firſt-born* of every new evangelical Creature, which was not at all apprehending the difficulty, for it excludes all before *Chriſt*. But to return from the Defender to the Hiſtorian, none denies but all things were mo-

* Def. Hiſt. c. 3. p. 12. *ad* 17.

del'd by *Chriſt*: And that it might be inferr'd even from this text: But that therefore, they were not created by him, remains yet for our Author to prove; or to ſhew us where *Athanaſius* or any of the Fathers he quotes, ſays any ſuch thing: He quotes not the places of theſe Fathers; he loves to fight in the dark. But to ſhew him that tho' this text may be apply'd to the reformation made by *Chriſt* in the Goſpel, which our Author means by modelling; yet that it is not only truly, but chiefly and literally meant of *Chriſt*'s creating all things: Firſt, the literal meaning of the κτίζειν which is here uſed, is, *Creare*, to *Create*. Secondly, The Creatures which are here chiefly ſaid to be created by *Chriſt*, are the powers of Heaven, which did not fall, and ſo came not under the redemption of the Goſpel-model, of which our Author would have all this to be meant: *By him were all things created that are in Heaven—— Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, &c.* Our Author ſays, that by all this is meant no more than that *Chriſt* became the head of the Angels: And this is a new *modelling* of the Angels, and *modelling* is *creating*, or *creating* is *modelling*, &c. But this Author might have obſerv'd, that the Apoſtle in this place ſpeaks firſt of *creating*, and then of *modelling*. Of *creating* ℣. 16, and 17. And then of *modelling* ℣ 18. *viz.* of *Chriſt*'s becoming the head of the Church: *He* (Chriſt) *is the head of the Body, the Church.* There the Angels are not mentioned, he became not their head by his incarnation, he was ſo before: For he took not on him the Nature of Angels, but he took the Seed of *Abraham*, and ſo by his incarnation became the head of Mankind in a more ſpecial manner. And after this ℣. 18. where the Apoſtle begins to ſpeak of *Chriſt*'s *modelling the Church*, there is not a word more of *creating*: He had done ſpeaking of the one, of *Chriſt*'s *creating*, wherein he mentions the Angels; and then he goes on to ſpeak upon another point, *viz.* How *Chriſt* became *the head of the Church*, wherein he does not mention the Angels, nor ſpeaks any more of *creating*: And yet this Author wou'd confound all theſe together, and make *modelling* and *creating* the ſame thing: I told you before upon *John* xvi. 15. that by this method thoſe who hold that the World was from eternity might anſwer all the firſt of *Gen.* to be only a new *modelling*, and to mean no more than *Ovid's Metamorphoſis*: Indeed it confounds all language in the World, and not only the Divinity of the Father, his creating the World, or indeed his being, that there is any God at all cannot be ſhewn from Scripture, if you will allow this latitude of turning and modelling words, from their common and cuſtomary meaning. But we go on.

33. Coll. II. 9. *In him dwelleth the fullneſs of the Godhead bodily: And ye are compleat in him*, or *ye are fill'd by him.*

*Thus he repeats that text, wherein he leaves out a very material word, πᾶν, *all the fullneſs, or the whole fullneſs of the Godhead.*

SOC. He ſays that *the fullneſs of the Godhead*, is, *the fullneſs of the knowledge of the Godhead*: And that this was it which dwelt in *Chriſt.*

CHR. Both Addition and Subſtraction in one text is very hard; to leave out the word *all*, and put in the word *knowledge*. No text will be able to ſtand before this: And after all if it ſhould not do his buſineſs—for the full *knowledge of the Godhead* can be in none but God; becauſe, as ſaid before, nothing can hold infinite, but infinite. And therefore if all the *fullneſs of the knowledge of God* dwells in *Chriſt*, it is as full a proof of his Godhead, as any can be deſir'd. It muſt be ſome conſciouſneſs of this made the Author leave the word *all* out of this text: He thought it would break the force of it a little: For tho' the *fullneſs of the Godhead* be an extraordi-

* Hiſt. p. 135.

nary

nary expreſſion, and does in conſequence imply the whole fullneſs, yet the word *all* makes it obvious, and prevents all objections.

SOC. But our Author quotes *Eph.* III. 19. where it is ſaid, that the *Epheſians* might be filled *with all the fullneſs of God.*

CHR. The Apoſtle there makes it very plain, that he is not ſpeaking literally, or according to the full extent of the words; the whole verſe is this, *That ye might know the love of* Chriſt, *which paſſeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullneſs of God.* Where it is even ſelf-evident, that the Apoſtle means no more, than a very great degree of fullneſs, and knowledge: And it would be perverſeneſs for any one to diſpute how a Man can know paſt his knowledge, which is a contradiction. And in this manner of expreſſion, it is plain that the Apoſtle ſaw the contradiction, and therefore intended it hyperbolically: And the whole ſentence muſt be taken in the ſame ſenſe: But it is not ſo where one expreſſion of that ſentence is join'd with plain words, and in an argument, as it is in *Col.* II. 9.

Beſides in *Eph.* III. 19. the *Greek* word is εἰς, which ſignifies *in*; *that ye may be filled in all the fullneſs of God.* Which is the ſame expreſſion with that in our preſent text, *Col.* II. 10. And *ye are compleat*, or *filled in him*; that is, *in the fullneſs of God, we are filled.* But it is not ſaid, that the whole fullneſs of God dwells in us: Or that it dwells in us bodily, or ſubſtantially (as our Author ſays others do tranſlate it) to diſtinguiſh it from figuratively, as it is in *Eph.* III. 19.

SOC. Our Author ſays*, that *bodily* or *ſubſtantially* means no more than what is oppos'd to the Philoſopher's knowledge of God, which was not ſo perfect as the knowledge of *Chriſt.*

CHR. Did you ever hear of a bodily knowledge before? Or that that was ever us'd to ſignify a more perfect knowledge? In our way of ſpeaking it would ſignify a more groſs and imperfect knowledge; knowledge is always moſt perfect when it is moſt pure, and ſpiritual; and conſequently it is moſt imperfect, the more it grows bodily.

SOC. Go on to the next.

34. CHR. 2 *Theſſ.* II. 16, 17. *Our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *comfort your hearts, and eſtabliſh you in every good word and work.*

SOC. * Our Author anſwers this, in anſwer to 2 *Theſſ.* III. 11, 12. and ſays, That it is to be underſtood of *Chriſt*'s interceſſion for us.

CHR. That is altering all the uſe of words that is known among Men. The Church of *Rome* allows an *Ora pro nobis* to the Saints; which is a plain diſtinction between interceſſion and beſtowing. *Eſtabliſhing the heart* —— nothing can do but God: And therefore I ought not to pray to any but God to *eſtabliſh my heart.* If interceſſion were ground enough, then I might pray to a Man to *eſtabliſh my heart, to give me grace*, &c. becauſe he can intercede for me.

SOC. But not ſo effectually as *Chriſt.*

CHR. That is true: But it is interceſſion ſtill; and therefore if interceſſion will not excuſe ſuch a Prayer of mine from Blaſphemy and Idolatry, if I make it to a Man, it will not alter the caſe, if I make it to *Chriſt*, who is no more than a Man, as the *Socinians* do diſpute.

35. But ſee what ſtyles St. *Paul* gives him 1 *Tim.* VI. 14, 15, 16.—— *Until the appearing of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *which in his times he ſhall ſhew, who is the bleſſed and only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, which only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath ſeen, nor can ſee*——

* Hiſt. p. 136.

SOC.

Soc. The laſt words ſhew, that not the Lord *Chriſt*, but God is deſign'd in this whole deſcription*.

Chr. They ſhew indeed that *Chriſt* is here deſcrib'd according to his Divinity; in which ſenſe he is and ever was inviſible: And even in his Body he was in ſome ſenſe inviſible; that is, they ſaw his Body, but if they did not underſtand him to be the *Chriſt*, this was call'd not ſeeing of him: Seeing is there taken for knowing and underſtanding: In which ſenſe *Chriſt* tells the *Jews* that they neither knew him nor his Father: Tho' they ſaid of him that he was their God; and they that knew God are ſaid to ſee him, *If ye had known me*, ſaid *Chriſt* unto his Diſciples, *ye ſhould have known my Father alſo: And from henceforth ye know him and have ſeen him—he that hath ſeen me hath ſeen the Father.* John viii. 54, 55. John xiv. 7, 9.

So that theſe laſt words in the text—— *whom no Man hath ſeen, or can ſee*, are not in one ſenſe applicable to the Father and in another ſenſe applicable to *Chriſt*; and therefore they do not ſhew (as your Author ſays) that not the Lord *Chriſt*, but God is deſign'd in this whole deſcription.

God is not nam'd in this whole deſcription; and why he ſhou'd not be nam'd, if he had been intended to have been deſcribed, I believe our Author will find it hard to tell: Why ſhou'd *Chriſt* be nam'd, and only *Chriſt* in this deſcription, if it was intended for another? Why ſhould the Apoſtle lead us, and even force us to apply all theſe divine Attributes to *Chriſt*, if he deſign'd to perſuade us that *Chriſt* was not God, and that it would be groſs idolatry in any one who thought him ſo, or worſhipp'd him as ſuch?

And why ſhould any of the divine Attributes in this deſcription be in expreſs terms apply'd to *Chriſt*, as we find it *Rev.* xvii. 14. where he is call'd *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.*

Soc. Go to the next.

36. Chr. *Tit.* ii. 13. *Looking for the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt.

Soc. *Nothing hinders but that we may believe that not only the Lord* Chriſt, *but God himſelf will appear at the laſt Judgment*†.

Chr. *Nothing hinders!* Yes, I'll tell you what hinders our believing it, God has not reveal'd it; and you muſt not add to his words: God has not told us that he will appear any other way in the laſt Judgment than by *Chriſt Jeſus.* God is a Spirit, and muſt take a Body to appear to the Eyes; and that God will aſſume a Body diſtinct from the Lord *Jeſus*, and appear in another Body at the laſt Judgment, is a bold preſumption, and adding to God's word to ſuppoſe, and never was ſuppoſed; but by thoſe who will invent extravagant and groundleſs ſuppoſes to elude the plain texts of Scripture: It is the opinion and interpretation of the *Mahometans*, whoſe greateſt error is being *Socinians.*

Clem. Alexandr. (*admonit. ad Gent.* p. 5. and 6.) applies this text only to *Chriſt*, who was the Word of God, and ſo true God, and likewiſe true Man, and that it was his apparition at the laſt Judgment that was here ſpoke of.

" But now this very Word himſelf hath appeared unto Men, who only " is both God and Man, and the cauſe of all good unto us——for as ſaid " that divine Apoſtle of our Lord, ‡ *The grace of God that bringeth Sal-* " *vation unto Men hath appeared, &c. looking for that bleſſed hope, and*

* Hiſt. p. 139. † p. 140. ‡ Νῦν ἡ ἐπιφάνη ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος, ὁ μόνος ἀμφω, Θεός τε καὶ Ἄνθρωπος, ἀπάντων ἡμῖν αἴτιος ἀγαθῶν. καὶ ἡδὲ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐκείνου τοῦ κηρύκου ἐπόστολος, ἐγκέκραγε τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σωτήριος ἀνθρώποις ἐπιφάνη, &c. Tit. ii. 11. Προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα, καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ, καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμα τὸ καινὸν, ἡ ἐπιφάνεια ἡ νῦν ἐκλάμψασα ἐν ἡμῖν τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντος, καὶ προφήτου Λόγου· ἐπιφάνη δὲ ἔναλλος ὁ πρὸ τοῦ σωτήρ.

" *the appearing of the glory of the great God, and our Saviour* Jeſus " Chriſt. This is a new Song, the Epiphany or Appearance of the Word " who was in the beginning, and before exiſting, which hath ſhined unto " us: He appear'd of late, who before was our Saviour.

37. CHR. Heb. XII. *By whom alſo he made the Worlds.*

SOC. This is, for *whom he made the Worlds* *.

CHR. But the *Greek* is δι', *by* whom, *Origen* (in *Joh.* p. 56. of 2 Tom.) ſhews the words to be δι' ὃν, *by whom*, and thence proves, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς τὰς αἰῶνας ἐποίησε διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ; *that God made the Worlds by his Son.* But to end this poor ſhift, *Col.* I. 16. it is ſaid, that *all things were created by him, and for him, and in him*; as we have before obſerv'd.

SOC. Well then we muſt ſee if we can get any help from the other words of this text: He ſays ſome do render the words thus. *By whom he made the ages.*

CHR. The *Greek* word αἰὼν, ſignifies *age*, and it is as often us'd for *eternity*, that is, *all ages*, or *generations*, or the *age to come*, as we ſay the *world to come*: Hence the word Αἰώνιος ſignifies *Eternal*, 1 Tim. VI. 16. But ſuppoſe it in that ſenſe, how will it help your cauſe? Will you allow that God made all ages by *Chriſt?*

SOC. No: That we muſt not do: Therefore our Author underſtands by *ages*, only the Goſpel ages or times.

CHR. But by what authority does he do that? Does he alledge any thing out of the text or context, or any other authority for it?

SOC. No: Not a word.

CHR. Then if he has power to limit the ages, he may, if he pleaſes, ſay, that it meant only the ages of ſome other Reformation, than that by the Goſpel of *Chriſt*; ſome yet to come, perhaps the millenary, or what elſe he pleaſes.

38. Heb. VII. 3. *Melchiſedec* is compar'd to the Son of God in theſe particulars, as being *without Father, without Mother, without Deſcent, having neither beginning of days, or end of life, but made like unto the Son of God, abideth a Prieſt continually.*

Theſe are not literally underſtood of *Melchiſedec*, only that none of theſe things are recorded of him; and ſo he was left in Hiſtory *without Father*, &c. But in theſe particulars, he was like the Son of God, who really was what *Melchiſedec* was there ſaid to be, *without beginning of days, or end of life*, &c.

SOC. But our Author ſays †, That of all theſe things he is only like the Son of God in that particular, of being a *Prieſt for ever.*

CHR. By what does he exclude all the reſt, which are in the ſame ſentence?

SOC. I cannot tell indeed.

CHR. *Licentia Sociniana* is beyond *Licentia Poetica.* But how came *Melchiſedec* to be like the Son of God, if there was no Son of God, when *Melchiſedec* was made? The pattern after which any thing is made muſt be before the copy that is made after it.

SOC. Verſe 15. it is that *another Prieſt* (Chriſt) *ariſeth after the ſimilitude of* Melchiſedec.

CHR. And how will you reconcile theſe two upon the *Socinian* Principle? For *Melchiſedec* cannot be both after the ſimilitude of *Chriſt*, and *Chriſt* after the ſimilitude of *Melchiſedec:* But in the chriſtian ſcheme it is moſt eaſy, *viz.* the eternal Son of God was before *Melchiſedec*, but incarnate in time after *Melchiſedec:*

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* Hiſt. p. 141. † p. 146.

39. And yet it was the ſame *Jeſus, yeſterday, to day, and for ever.* As it is expreſs'd *Heb.* XIII. 8.

SOC. Our Author ſays*, that was ſpoke of the Goſpel of *Chriſt* not changing.

CHR. But the text ſpeaks it expreſſly of *Jeſus* himſelf, and we know that the Phraſe was us'd to expreſs all time paſt, preſent, and to come; and is the ſame with the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the *beginning and the ending, which was, and which is, and which is to come*, Rev. I. 8. and other places of Scripture.

40. He has two texts out of St. *Peter*. 1 *Pet.* I. 11. *Searching what, and what manner of time the Spirit of* Chriſt, *which was in them did ſignify, when it teſtify'd before-hand the Sufferings of* Chriſt.

SOC. Our Author ſays†, that by the Spirit of *Chriſt*, there, is meant only the ſame Spirit of Prophecy which was in *Chriſt*.

CHR. This was ſpoke of the Prophets long before *Chriſt* was born; *viz.* that the Spirit of *Chriſt* was in them, and did teſtify before-hand the Sufferings of *Chriſt*; now if *Chriſt* had no Being, before he was born of the Virgin, as you ſay, how had he a Spirit ſo long before? And how could his Spirit teſtify before it had a Being?

SOC. Therefore our Author ſays, not that it was the Spirit of *Chriſt*, which was in them, but only the prophetick Spirit that ſpoke of *Chriſt*.

CHR. But the text ſays expreſſly that it was the Spirit of *Chriſt* which was in them: This is not interpreting, but running quite from the text.

SOC. He ſays that Poets are called the Poets of ſuch Men as they wrote of, as *Virgil* is called the Poet of *Æneas*, and *Homer* of *Ulyſſes*, becauſe they wrote of *Æneas* and *Ulyſſes*.

CHR. But is there not ſome difference betwixt calling a Man ſuch a Man's Poet, becauſe he wrote of him, (tho' that is an expreſſion I never heard us'd) and betwixt ſaying that ſuch a Man's Spirit was in him, and did ſignify to him what he ſhould ſay? Eſpecially if the Man whoſe Spirit taught the other, had no Spirit at that time, nor was a Man then? A Man to teach another before he is born! St. *Barnabas*, in his *Catholick Epiſtle*, c. v. p. 21, 22. ſays that the *Prophets having the gift* (of Prophecy) *from* Chriſt, *did propheſy of him.* Οἱ προφῆται ἀπ' αὐτὸ ἔχοντες τ δωρεὰν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπροφήτευσαν. And St. *Ignatius* in his *Epiſtle* to the *Magneſians*, ſays that *they were inſpired by his Grace.* Οἱ θειότατοι προφῆται ἐμπνεόμενοι ὑπὸ τ χάριτ@ αὐτ. Thus theſe holy Fathers, who lived with the Apoſtles, and learned their doctrine from their mouths as well as from their writings: And one of them was ranked with the Apoſtles, *Acts* XIV. 14.

41. There is another text in this ſame *Epiſtle* of St. *Peter*, which likewiſe imports the Exiſtence of our bleſſed Saviour before his Incarnation. 1 *Pet.* III. 19, 20. *Quickned by the Spirit, by which alſo he went and preached to the Spirits in priſon, which ſometimes were diſobedient in the days of* Noah.

SOC. Our Author interprets this of *Chriſt*'s deſcent into Hell: And quotes *Bellarmine*‡.

CHR. This is not the only inſtance wherein your Author craves aid of the *Romans*; but he does not quote the Book or Chapter of *Bellarmine*, that you may not find him out, or with more pains than it is worth; but this we are ſure of, that the *Papiſts* generally interpret this of Purgatory. And I would deſire our Author to tell us what buſineſs our Saviour had to preach in Hell? Is there repentance and remiſſion there? He has given reaſon to think this is his opinion, which we ſhall have more occaſion to diſcourſe

* Hiſt. p. 147. † p. 148. ‡ p. 149.

hereafter

hereafter. But the orthodox do plainly mean, according to the letter of the text, that it was the Spirit of *Chriſt* which preached in *Noah*, and the Prophets of thoſe days, to thoſe Spirits which were then bound in the chains of their Sins, and which are now in the priſon of Hell: And that Spirit by which he quickned himſelf, was the ſame by which alſo he went and preached in the days of *Noah*.

42. But here follows a very peremptory text, 1 *John* v. 7. *There are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt, and theſe three are one.*

SOC. *This verſe was not originally in the Bible, but has been added to it: 'Tis not found in the moſt ancient copies of the *Greek*, nor in the *Syriack*, *Arabick*, or *Æthiopick*, or *Armenian* Bibles, nor in the moſt ancient *Latin* Bibles: 'Tis not acknowledged by the Fathers; 'tis wholly rejected by abundance of the moſt learned Criticks, and by all acknowledg'd to be doubtful and uncertain.

CHR. This is manifeſtly falſe, for St. *Hierom*† does by no means acknowledge it to be doubtful or uncertain: But on the contrary, tells us plainly that he found out how this text had been adulterated by unfaithful Tranſlators, and by others omitted on purpoſe to elude the truth. And I will ſhew you hereafter how thoſe whom you quote as the primitive *Socinians*, were notoriouſly detected in their adulterating the Holy Scriptures: And their ſucceſſors have continued their practice in this; therefore ſome copies may want it. But this is only a negative argument, or preſumption rather, for it can amount to no more: And in no Judicature can ſtand againſt the affirmative proof of St. *Cyprian*, St. *Hierom*, and other Fathers, and which is admitted in all the Churches of *Chriſt*: And it is a great Providence of God, that notwithſtanding the corrupters of this text, it is ſtill extant in the greateſt number of ancient manuſcripts. The Divines of *Louvain* having compar'd many *Latin* copies, found this text wanting but in five. And *R. Stephanus* found it retained in the *major* number of fifteen or ſixteen ancient manuſcripts, which he us'd. Therefore it is no wonder if Dr. *Burnet* ſaw ſome manuſcripts that wanted it, which he has ſo carefully told in his *Travels*.

SOC. Our Author gives a ſecond anſwer, viz. *Theſe three are one*, that is, are not one God, but are one in teſtimony; for they are ſpoken of here as Witneſſes.

CHR. And their Witneſs v. 9. is called the *Witneſs of God*.

SOC. So every Witneſs of Men which God appoints is called the Witneſs of God, *viz.* becauſe God appoints it.

CHR. But here the immediate Witneſs of God is put in oppoſition to the Witneſs of Men, or other Witneſſes of God, which is by the mediation of ſecond cauſes; the Witneſs of the three in Heaven is compar'd with the Witneſs of the three in Earth. And the concluſion is made, that if we receive the Witneſs of the three in Earth, which is called the Witneſs of Men, *i. e.* wrought by the miniſtry of Men, we ought much rather to receive the Witneſs of the three in Heaven, which is called the Witneſs of God, and a greater Witneſs than the Witneſs of Men: It is call'd the Witneſs of God, which he teſtified, in oppoſition to what was teſtify'd by other means: And this is a demonſtration that the text of the three Witneſſes in Heaven muſt not be deſt out, becauſe there is a compariſon made betwixt the Witneſs of theſe three, and the three Witneſſes in Earth: So that if you leave out this verſe, you muſt leave out the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th verſes altogether, which no *Socinian* has yet ſo much as attempted: And the Witneſs of theſe three

* Hiſt. p. 152. † Præfat. ad Epiſt. Canon. vide *Smith* Vindicat. 1. *John* v. 7. à ſuppoſitionis notâ Miſcell. p. 137, 138. *and the* Appendix *to his Sermon on* 1 Tim. iii. 16.

in Heaven being called the Witneſs of God, in oppoſition to the ſame Witneſs by Men is a full proof what was meant, when it was ſaid that *theſe three are one, i. e.* are one God; for otherwiſe their Witneſs could not be the Witneſs of God, that is immediately, as it is there put in oppoſition to a mediate Witneſs by Men, or otherwiſe.

SOC. I have heard this text is not quoted by any of the *Anti-Nicene* Fathers, and you named *Cyprian* juſt now, pray let me hear what he ſays of it.

CHR. In his 73d *Epiſtle*, which is directed *Jubaiano*, p. 203. ſpeaking againſt the Baptiſm of Hereticks, and ſhewing that they cannot be the Temple of God; he asks * *of which God? If of the Creator, he cannot who does not believe in him; if of* Chriſt, *neither can he be his Temple who denies God*—— Chriſt; *if of the Holy Ghoſt, when theſe three are one, how can the Holy Ghoſt be pleas'd with him who is an enemy to the Father, or the Son?*

Here you ſee he reckons the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, each of them to be God: For when he is ſuppoſing the ſeveral ways by which any become the Temple of God, he computes that it can be but one of theſe three ways, that is, by becoming the Temple either of the Father, (whom he calls Creator) or of the Son, or of the Holy Ghoſt, which ſhews each of them to be God; and he calls *Chriſt* expreſſly God; and ſays that *theſe three are one*; and *(de Unit. Eccleſiæ*, p. 109.) *Chriſt* ſays, *I and the Father are one*; and again it is written of the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt*, and *theſe three are one.* This I quoted before, and I refer you to the *Annotations* upon this place in *Cyprian* to ſhew you many manuſcripts, where this text is had, and vindicated from the malice of *Socinus:* And if you will look into Dr. *Hammond*, and *Pole's Synopſ. Critic.* upon this text, you will be farther ſatisfy'd: For I would not take up time now to go through all this at large.

43. 1 *John* v. 20. *We know that the Son of God is come and hath given us an underſtanding, that we may know him that is true; and we are in him that is true, even in his Son* Jeſus Chriſt: *This is the true God.*

SOC. My Author ſays, that this was a very negligent tranſlation, for whether you interpret *him that is true*, to be God, or to be *Chriſt*, no ſenſe can be made of the words.

CHR. Does he tell where the nonſenſe is?

SOC. No—— he ſays no more of it.

CHR. It ſeems to me to be ſo far from nonſenſe, that I cannot ſee the leaſt difficulty in it: *To know him that is true:* I cannot imagine what ſhould trouble him at that ſaying, but that he is reſolved to quarrel.

SOC. The latter part of the text ought to be thus render'd, *We are in him that is true*, (i. e. in God) *by his Son* Jeſus Chriſt: *In God, By* Chriſt.

CHR. But the text is quite otherwiſe, it is ἐν, *in* his Son: He does not pretend that the Original is otherwiſe, yet he finds fault with the tranſlation, and calls the Scripture nonſenſe.

The Apoſtle immediately ſubjoins to this text, *Little Children keep your ſelves from Idols:* Which ſeems to bear this ſenſe: That if *Chriſt* were not the true God, he muſt be an Idol, becauſe Divine Worſhip was paid to him: And this is an explanation of his calling *Chriſt* the true God, *viz.* that whoever elſe pretends to it is an Idol, and therefore we muſt worſhip none elſe.

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* Quæro cujus Dei? Si Creatoris, non potuit qui in eum non credidit; ſi *Chriſti*, nec hujus fieri poteſt Templum, qui negat Deum *Chriſtum*; ſi *Spiritûs Sancti*, cùm *Tres unum ſint*, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus eſſe ei poteſt, qui aut Patris, aut Filii inimicus eſt?

There is another part of this text which our Author takes no notice of, which does plainly evidence the Divinity of *Chriſt*, and that is, That *the Son of God hath given us an Underſtanding* that we may know him that is true.

To give Man Underſtanding is an incommunicable Attribute of God; and that is, paſt all ſubterfuge, attributed here to the Son.

As knowing the hearts of Men is, *Rev.* II. 23. *I am he* (ſaith the Son of God, ℣. 18.) *which ſearcheth the reins and heart.*

SOC. *Chriſt* knoweth our Thoughts, only when God reveals them to him, and thus the Prophets may know Thoughts*.

CHR. And thus I know your Thoughts, and you mine, *i. e.* when we tell them to one another: But does that make me a ſearcher or knower of your heart? We have ſpoke of this before upon *Rom.* II. 16. and 1 *Cor.* IV. 5. and ſhown that a knower of hearts is he who knows them of himſelf, without being told by another: And that this is an incommunicable Attribute of God.

To what I then ſaid, I will only add this, that in the Scripture God uſes this as a peculiar attribute, as you may read, 1 *Sam.* XVI. 7. 1 *Cor.* XXVIII. 9. *Pſal.* VII. 9. and CXXXIX. 1. *Jer* II. 20. and XX. 12. and many other Scriptures: But that which is moſt remarkable, and belongs particularly to this text we are upon is, *Jer.* XVII. 10. For what God ſpeaks graciouſly of himſelf in that verſe, *Chriſt* ſpeaks of himſelf in this.

Firſt, The Prophet in the 9th verſe ſhews, that none can know the heart. *Who can know it?* And then in the next words, God ſpeaks, ſetting forth his Almighty Power in that he knew it: *I the Lord ſearch the heart, I try the reins, even to give every Man according to his ways.*

And *Rev.* II. 23. *Chriſt* attributes the ſame to himſelf. *Theſe things ſaith the Son of God.* (℣. 18.) *I am he which ſearcheth the reins and hearts: And I will give to every one of you according to your works. Irenæus* (adverſ. Her. l. 4. c. 36. p. 369.) reckons this among the Attributes of God: And this ſame text *Rev.* II. 23. is repeated in his text, and quoted in the Margent.

I'll trouble you but with one text more. *Rev.* v. 5. *Chriſt* is call'd, *The Root of* David.

44. SOC. That is, *a Root ſpringing from* David: *As a Root of the Earth is a Root which ſpringeth from the Earth; not on the contrary a Root from which the Earth ſpringeth*†.

CHR. This is very fine, the Sophiſm is ſubtile, and worthy a *Socinian*: Pray, let me know what you do mean by the Root of any thing? Is it that out of which the thing grows, or that which grows out of the thing?

SOC. That is as commonly known as any thing in the World: For the Branches grow out of the Root, and not the Root out of the Branches.

CHR. And when you, by a figure, apply this to families, and ſay ſuch a one is a Branch of ſuch a Family; ſuch a one is the Root of a Family: Are not theſe terms as commonly known as the Root and Branches of Trees? And is not the Root ſpringing from a Branch, the ſame abſurdity as a Father ſpringing from his Son?

SOC. All this is ſelf-evident. Go on.

CHR. Therefore if *Chriſt* be the Root of *David*, he muſt be before *David*; and this deſtroys the *Socinian* Principle, which allows *Chriſt* no Being before he was born of the Virgin.

And therefore your Author muſt get over this, tho' he is forc'd to make the Root the Branch, and the Branch the Root.

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* Hiſt. p. 155. † Ibid. 156.

This wou'd have put any leſs wit or reſolution into deſpair: For the attempt looks as eaſy to prove day to be night. It is ſtrange he wou'd ſcruple the Trinity, Incarnation, or any other difficulty who cou'd hope to maſter this: And he has done it to a miracle; for he has found a ſaying, a *Root of the Earth*, by which is not meant that the Earth ſprings out of that Root; and therefore the Root may be a Branch; a Father may ſpring from his Son, and what you pleaſe.

Let us entertain our ſelves a little with this great Invention, and examine it particularly.

Pray what do you mean when you ſay a *Root of the Earth?*

SOC. I mean a Root that grows in the Earth, and ſo is call'd a *Root of the Earth.*

CHR. So you may ſay a Root of ſuch a Man's, who owns the Garden, of ſuch a Gardener who planted it, of ſuch a one who beſtow'd it upon you, and a hundred other ways: But is there no difference 'twixt a Root that belongs to a Man, and the Root of that Man himſelf? 'Twixt that which grows in the Earth, and the Root of the Earth itſelf? Therefore tho you may call a Tulip *a* Root of the Earth, yet you would not call it *the* Root of the Earth: Now *Chriſt* is call'd *the Root of* David, not *a Root of* David: But pray what did our Author mean when he call'd Chriſt *the Root of* David?

SOC. He meant that *Chriſt* was a Branch of *David's* Family.

CHR. And when did you ever hear a Branch of a Root call'd the Root of its Root.

It is inextricable nonſenſe: There is not a Man in the World cou'd ſpeak at this rate, or wou'd be underſtood if he did: That deſigning to call *John* a Deſcendant or Branch of *Robert*, ſhould call *John* the Root of *Robert*.

And it is impoſſible for me to think that our Author did believe himſelf, when he made this diſtinction: And it is a full demonſtration to me, that theſe Men ſeek not truth, but are reſolv'd to oppoſe all arguments againſt their own opinion, tho' they were as clear as the light.

But (*Rev.* XXII. 16.) *Jeſus*, ſays, *I am the Root and the Offspring of* David. Here is both Root and Branch. This grows too hard for a diſtinction, and cannot be reconcil'd any other way than as *Chriſt* is the Root of *David*, according to his Divine Nature which created *David*, and ſo *David* ſprang from *Chriſt*, as a Branch or Offspring from its Root: And then according to *Chriſt*'s human Nature, he was the Son and Offspring of *David:* As he is propheſied of, *Iſa.* II. 6. *There ſhall come forth a rod out of the ſtem of* Jeſſe, *and a Branch ſhall grow out of his Roots:* But our Author will have it, that the Branch was the Root, growing out of the Root; and the Rod was the Stem, which came out of the Stem.

See now, upon the whole, what cauſe your Author had to conclude ſo triumphantly as he does at the end of his fourth Letter, p. 166. *That our Lord* Chriſt, *nor the holy Spirit, neither are, nor ever are called Gods nor God in holy Scripture; as alſo, that neither Creation (whether new or old) nor any of the Attributes of God are aſcribed to our bleſſed Saviour.*

Whereas the main of his arguments have been (as you have ſeen) to ward off thoſe texts in holy Scripture, which aſcribe the Name and Attributes of God to be both the other Perſons in the bleſſed Trinity; and to put other ſenſes and conſtructions upon them.

But then to conclude from all this, that they are not ſo much as call'd ſo, after all the pains he has taken to ſhew in what ſenſe they are call'd ſo, is ſuch an aſſurance as contradicts itſelf: Has he not own'd that *Chriſt* is call'd the *Word of God?* And is it not ſaid in expreſs words, *John.* I. 1. *Chriſt* called God.

That

That *the Word was God?* And *v.* 14. *was made Flesh?* Is it not ſaid, 2 *Cor.* III. 17. *The Lord is that Spirit?* And is not the Spirit then called God? In what ſenſe is not now the queſtion? That we have ſeen already: But he ſays, they are not ſo much as called ſo.

The Holy Spirit called God.

SOC. I have now heard you to the anſwers my Author gives to thoſe texts alledged by the *Trinitarians* in proof of the Trinity and Incarnation. It is fit you ſhould likewiſe anſwer to thoſe texts he brings in diſproof of them: For this compleats the work.

CHR. In what I have done already, I hope I have not only clear'd thoſe texts againſt which he diſputes, as to their own genuine meaning; but have likewiſe ſhew'd, that our interpretation of thoſe texts is ſupported by the current ſenſe of the moſt orthodox Fathers before the firſt Council of *Nice*; and conſequently vindicated the *Anti-Nicene* Faith againſt the allegations of your Author.

That the Trinity was the Doctrine of the Church before the firſt Council of *Nice*, prov'd from *Lucian*.

But before I come to thoſe texts which he alledges on his ſide, let me add to the teſtimonies of the Fathers I have quoted, one evidence of a bitter enemy to Chriſtianity, the vile but ingenious *Lucian*, who liv'd about one hundred and ſeventy years after *Chriſt*. A Man of his ſagacity, and who took upon him to ridicule the chriſtian Faith, could not but know what it was, as then generally own'd and profeſs'd by Chriſtians: Eſpecially if (as St. *Jerom* in *Catal.* tells us) that he was once a Chriſtian, and turn'd Apoſtate. Among other his reproaches upon Chriſtianity he has theſe words in his *Philopatris**,

God reigning on high, great, eternal, heavenly, the Son of the Father, the Spirit proceeding from the Father, one out of three, and three out of one——I know not what thou ſay'ſt; one that is three, and three that are one!

Some learned Men think that the *Philopatris* was not wrote by *Lucian*, but by ſome other about the year 261. which anſwers my end as well, to prove the doctrine of the Trinity to have been receiv'd in the Church before the firſt Council of *Nice*: And next I will go with you to the texts alledg'd on your ſide.

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* Ὑψιμέδοντα Θεὸν, μέγαν, ἄμβροτον, ἐφετάνια, ὑὸν Πατρὸς, πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἓν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία·——οὐκ οἶδα μὲν τί λέγεις, ἓν τρία, τρία ἕν.

THE

FOURTH DIALOGUE.

A general Anſwer as to the Texts urg'd by the Socinians, *againſt the Divinity of* Chriſt, *and the Holy Ghoſt.*

1. Soc. THESE begin in the *Hiſtory*, p. 4. where ſeveral texts are quoted to prove that the Father is greater than *Chriſt*.

XVII. The texts urg'd by the *Socinians* againſt the Divinity of *Chriſt*.

Chr. That is anſwer'd in the *Athanaſian* Creed: That *Chriſt is equal to the Father as touching his Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching his Manhood.* To which I will add, from our diſcourſe, that he is equal to the Father in Nature, but inferior in the order of Nature, or in Relation: And this anſwers all the Reaſons and Scriptures he produces to §. 7. * wherein he ſpeaks of *Chriſt*'s human Infirmities and Death; for theſe things befel *Chriſt* in his human Nature, wherein he was a Creature, paſſible, improvable, rewardable, &c.

Soc. But §. 7. he proves *Chriſt* to be a diſtinct Perſon from God: For which I ſuppoſe you thank him; but I ſee not how it ſerves his cauſe.

2. But at the end of this §. † he intermixes an argument from Reaſon, and argues thus, *'Tis (ſay the* Socinians) *as impoſſible that the Son or Image of the one true God, ſhould himſelf be that one true God, as that the Son ſhould be the Father, and the Image that very thing whoſe Image it is; which they take to be ſimply impoſſible, and contradictory to common ſenſe, which Religion came not to deſtroy, but to improve.*

Chr. What I have ſaid to you appears the clearer for this objection; and ſhews his miſtakes. *Firſt*, He calls the Son the Image of God. If by the word *God* here, the Father be meant (as it is often,) then what he ſays is true; but then there is no conſequence in it, and the fallacy will appear by putting the word *Father* inſtead of the word *God:* For example, *'Tis as impoſſible that the Son or Image of the Father ſhould himſelf be that Father, as that the Son ſhould be the Father, and the Image that very thing whoſe Image it is:* All which is very true, but makes nothing to his purpoſe.

But now, if by the word *God* you mean the one Godhead, or the divine Nature, then his aſſertion is a miſtake, *viz.* that the Son is the Image of God. In this ſenſe he is not the Image of God, for he himſelf is God: But he is the Image of the Father, from whom he took his Nature; and therefore tho' he has the ſame Nature with the Father, yet he *is not the Father.*

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* Hiſt. p. 11. † Hiſt. p. 12.

Gen. v. 3. And we ſee the ſame in the parallel of Mankind: I put a caſe: *Adam* begat a Son in his own Likeneſs, after his Image, and called his name *Seth*. And the word *Adam* ſignifies Man, and ſometimes is taken to mean Man, that is, Mankind in general or the human Nature, and ſometimes it means only the firſt Father, who had that for his particular name: In which ſenſe only it is that *Seth* can be called the Son or Image of Man, that is, of his Father *Adam*. But otherwiſe he cannot be ſaid to be the Son or Image of Man, for he himſelf is Man, and he cannot be his own Son, or Image. But the terms of Father and Son reſpect only the Perſons, not the Nature of Man; and thus it is in God. And our Author's miſtake ariſes from not conſidering aright of this Unity of Nature, and Diverſity of Perſons, which appear viſibly both in the divine Nature, and in the human, which was made after its Image and Likeneſs.

SOC. At the end of * §. 7. he promiſes many conſiderations and paſſages of Scripture, which no leſs than demonſtrate it to be falſe, that *Chriſt* is God: And the demonſtration is this, §. 8. becauſe ſo many texts expreſſly declare, that *only the Father* is God.

3. The firſt he brings is *John* XVII. 1, 2, 3. *Father, this is Life eternal, that they know thee, the only true God, and* Jeſus Chriſt *whom thou haſt ſent:* Here the Father is call'd the only true God.

CHR. But there is a vaſt difference betwixt ſaying, that *he is the only true God*, and that *he only is the true God*. There is but *one only true God*, or one divine Nature, and each of the Perſons do partake of this Nature, that is, is this *one only truly God*. But then you muſt not ſay of any of the Perſons, that he only is this God, becauſe the other Perſons do partake of the ſame Nature, and ſo are the ſame God. So that the word *only* makes nothing in this argument: And ſaying the only true God means no other than if he had ſaid, the true God, or God ſingle, without either the word *true* or *only:* For we all agree that there is but one, true, God. Theſe are the attributes which belong to the divine Nature, and conſequently to every Perſon who partakes of it; and therefore they do not diſtinguiſh one Perſon from another, nor are they meant in any ſuch ſenſe in this text.

4. SOC. The next text is 1 *Cor.* VIII. 6. *But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things.*

CHR. We ſay there is but one God, and that the Father is that God: And this text ſays no more: *The Father of whom are all things* means God in his Nature, which includes the whole Trinity; and ſometimes it is taken perſonally to mean only the Father, as has been already diſcours'd: And this will anſwer the other texts he there brings.

5. SOC. §. 9. and 10. † he objects why *Chriſt* ſhould have the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, he himſelf being God the Son.

CHR. *Chriſt* did ſubmit himſelf to all the infirmities of our Nature that could be diſtinguiſhed from Sin: For he came to be an example to us: Which he had not been if his Divinity had exerted itſelf to the utmoſt. Therefore he was perfected, as we are, by the unction of the Holy Ghoſt; received Baptiſm from *John* the *Baptiſt*, and fulfilled all righteouſneſs, or conſtitutions and means of righteouſneſs to which other Men were oblig'd: He increas'd in Wiſdom, and aſcrib'd to the Father and to the Holy Ghoſt the Works which he did: Nay more, he ſubmitted to receive comfort and aſſiſtance from Angels, and to be ſupply'd in his temporal neceſſities from the miniſtry of Men and Women: In ſhort, to be deſpis'd, ſuffer, die, and be buried; leading us thro' every ſtep of our way to Heaven: Thus there-

* Hiſt. p. 13. † p. 14, 15.

by approving himſelf to be the *Captain of our Salvation*, as the Scripture ſpeaks, *For it became him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many Sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their Salvation perfect, thro' ſuffering——Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren.* Heb. ii. 10. ℣. 17.

6. SOC. §. 11. * He ſays, if *Chriſt* had been more than a Man, the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament would not have deſcrib'd him barely as the ſeed of the Woman, the Seed of *Abraham*, and a Prophet like unto *Moſes*.

CHR. This muſt be a wilful miſtake in our Author: Becauſe he pretends to anſwer many texts in the Old Teſtament which do plainly ſpeak *Chriſt* to be more than Man: For example, when *Chriſt* was propheſy'd of in theſe words, *Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given——He ſhall be call'd wonderful Councellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the prince of Peace. A Virgin ſhall conceive, and bare a Son, and ſhall call his name* Immanuel: That is, *God with us*. Iſa. ix. 6, 7. vii. 14.

The Lord ſaid unto my Lord. By which *Chriſt* prov'd, that he muſt be more than the Son of a Man: *If* David *call him Lord, how is he his Son?* And this argument was ſo plain as to ſilence the very obſtinate *Jews*. Pſal. cx. 1. Mat. xxii. 45.

SOC. But he anſwers theſe texts afterwards, and thinking them of no force he does not quote them now.

CHR. That is begging the queſtion: However without naming theſe, he ſhould not have ſaid, that there was nothing in the Old Teſtament, which ſpoke of *Chriſt* otherwiſe than as a Man; or that it deſcrib'd him barely as a Man: The contrary to which himſelf muſt know.

The arguments of the *Socinians* againſt the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt.

Theſe are all his arguments againſt the Divinity of *Chriſt*: Let us ſee his proofs as to the Holy Ghoſt: They begin p. 16. and there he immediately falls into his old contradictions of proving the Holy Ghoſt *to be God*, and *not to be God*; *to be a Perſon*, and *not to be a Perſon*. And which is extraordinary, he proves both by the very ſame argument.

1. That the Holy Ghoſt is only the Power or Wiſdom of God.

He ſays, that the *Holy Ghoſt, or Holy Spirit, is to be taken in the ſame ſenſe that we commonly ſay the Holy Wiſdom, or Holy Will of God*, or as he ſaid before, p. 16. *the Power of God, and that they are ſpoken of, as one and the ſame thing*.

And here (without his intention no doubt) he has fall'n upon the very diviſion of the faculties of the Soul, and of the Perſons of God, Power, Wiſdom, Will.

But now to his proofs: Where he ſpeaks conſiſtently to himſelf, he goes nearer to prove the Trinity, than what he himſelf would be at p. 83. which we have quoted before, where he proves that *God's Word*, or *Wiſdom* and *Power is not ſomething different from God; but, being his Wiſdom and Power is God*.

And yet here, † he ſays, that a *manifeſt diſtinction is made as between God and* Chriſt, *ſo alſo between God and the Holy Spirit*.

By the Holy Spirit, as he tells us, is meant God's Power, and Wiſdom. and Will.

Theſe he makes to be God, and to be manifeſtly diſtinct from God: And then theſe three, Power, Wiſdom, Will, are the very three Perſons in God which we have deſcrib'd.

This in him was being led near the Trinity, even while he was diſputing againſt it.

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* Hiſt. p. 15. † p. 17.

And

And it appears yet more in this, that when he endeavours to get off from this, he falls into manifeſt contradictions: For example, he ſays, p. 16. *That the Holy Ghoſt, or Spirit, is only the Power of God, at leaſt not himſelf God.* And p 17. *that 'tis impoſſible the Spirit ſhould be God himſelf.*

And yet as before is ſaid, p. 83. he gives the ſame reaſon why the Word is not any thing different from God, becauſe it is the Power of God, which is God. Here the Spirit or Power of God is God. p. 17. *It is impoſſible the Spirit ſhould be God.*

The matter was this, p. 83. The Word muſt be the ſame with the Power, and the Power the ſame with God, to get over that unanſwerable text, *The Word was God.*

But p. 17. the Holy Ghoſt muſt be different from God, to hinder him from being God.

And theſe contradictions are no way reconcileable but in the true notion of one God, and different Perſons.

2. That the Spirit is obtain'd of God by our Prayers.

SOC. The Spirit is obtain'd for us of God by our prayers; and therefore it is not God. Luke XI. 13. *How much more ſhall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?* If we ſay, theſe texts are to be underſtood not of the Perſon of the Holy Ghoſt, but of his Gifts and Graces; the *Socinians* readily confeſs it, but they ſay alſo, that if the Holy Spirit were at all a Perſon, much more a God, his Gifts and Graces would be beſtow'd by himſelf*.

CHR. If they be his Gifts, they muſt be beſtow'd by himſelf, elſe they were not his Gifts; for my Gifts are what I my ſelf beſtow, not what another Man beſtows: So that your very argument confutes its ſelf.

Secondly, They are expreſſly call'd his Gifts, and that they are *beſtow'd* by *him*. 1 *Cor.* XII. 8. *For to one is given, by the Spirit, the Word of Wiſdom; to another the Word of Knowledge, by the ſame Spirit; to another Faith, by the ſame Spirit; to another the gifts of Healing, by the ſame Spirit; to another the working of Miracles; to another Prophecy; to another diſcerning of Spirits; to another divers kinds of Tongues; to another the interpretation of Tongues: But all theſe worketh that one and the ſelf-ſame Spirit, dividing to every Man ſeverally as he will.*

Now as to the ſeeming difficulty how theſe Graces ſhould be the Gifts both of the Father and the Spirit, they being two Perſons, it is eaſily anſwer'd by their being one God; whereby, as before told, all the three Perſons are joint as in their Natures, ſo in all their operations; tho' yet ſome operations are more peculiarly, but not excluſively, attributed to one than to another.

And this is remarkable in this very chapter, ℣. 4, 5, 6. where a Trinity of Perſons, and ſorts of Gifts are plainly diſtinguiſhed. *Now there are diverſities of Gifts, but the ſame Spirit; and there are differences of Adminiſtrations, but the ſame Lord; and there are diverſities of Operations, but it is the ſame God, who worketh all in all.* Here Gifts are attributed more peculiarly to the Spirit, who inſpires us; Adminiſtrations to the Lord, who governs us; and Operations to God, who gives us power to work, who *works all in all* in us.

But now, to turn your argument upon you, I deſire to know how you will reconcile the Father's and the Holy Ghoſt's beſtowing Gifts, without making them ſeveral Perſons? That is, how the Holy Ghoſt could beſtow Gifts if he were not a Perſon? For our diſcourſe now is only of him: And if he were only the Gift, and not the Giver, he could not be ſaid to beſtow: A Gift does not beſtow itſelf.

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* Hiſt. p. 19.

Laſtly, Reconcile or condemn your own Sects, who own the Holy Ghoſt to be a Perſon; and *Biddle* in his *Confeſſion of Faith*, *Artic.* 6. of the Holy Ghoſt, calls him expreſſly, *the third Perſon in the Holy Trinity.*

3. That no Prayers are made to the Spirit.

SOC. In the ſame place he ſays, that in the Scripture no prayers are made to the Spirit.

CHR. Wherever God is invok'd, the Spirit is invok'd: Nay more, he is often included in the term of Father, whenever we ſay *our Father*, by which the whole Trinity is meant, who are jointly the Father of all Creatures; but this has been obſerv'd before.

SOC. §. 4. p. 19. he ſays, *The Scripture ſpeaks of God as but one Perſon.*

CHR. That is, where the Scripture ſpeaks of one God, he wou'd have it imply'd, that there is but one Perſon in God, which the Scripture no where ſays.

4. That God is ſpoke of in the ſingular Number.

SOC. P. 20. he lays ſtreſs upon God, being ſpoke of in the ſingular Number, which he thinks cou'd not be, if he had three Perſons.

CHR. This is no more than ſaying God is one, which the *Trinitarians* aſſert as much as he: But God is likewiſe ſpoke of in the plural Number: As, *Let us make Man.* Gen. 1. 26, &c.

SOC. He ſays, that is according to the ſtyle of a Prince, who ſays, we do this or that, when it means only himſelf.

CHR. I deny that it means only himſelf. A Prince takes that ſtyle to ſhew he does nothing by himſelf, that is, without counſel or advice, and therefore his acts are the acts of a great many, or as he is a body politick which implies a great many, all of whom he repreſents: And I ſuppoſe, none will ſay, that any of theſe reaſons has place in God: And therefore it is very ridiculous, as well as falſe-reaſoning, to paſs over the moſt weighty and ſerious ſtyle of Scripture, upon the complements or infirmities of Princes.

SOC. But he gives an inſtance of St. *Paul*, * who was no Prince, nor temporal great Man, who wrote 2 *Cor.* x. 2. *Some think of us as if we walk'd according to the fleſh*, which, he ſays, St. *Paul* means of himſelf only.

CHR. I muſt ask his pardon: It ſeems plain to me by thoſe words, that St. *Paul* ſpoke of a ſcandal rais'd againſt more than himſelf, againſt the Chriſtians, or the Apoſtles: Which is undeniable from the two next verſes, for ſays he, *tho we walk after the fleſh, we do not war after the fleſh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal.* Does the Apoſtle (think we) mean his own warfare only, or not rather the chriſtian warfare?

SOC. But tho' Princes ſometimes ſtyle themſelves in the plural Number, yet he ſays, † *No inſtance can be given in any language, where more Perſons are meant by the ſingular Number, as* I, Thou, He, Him, *&c.* He ſays, *ſuch ſpeaking is contrary to Cuſtom, Grammar, and Senſe, which are the Laws of Speech:* ‡ *Therefore the holy Scriptures always ſpeaking thus of God, either he is only one Perſon, or the Scriptures are one continued ungrammatical ſoleciſm and impropriety, and that in the chief Article of Faith; which no reaſonable or good Man can or ever will allow.*

CHR. Which no reaſonable, good, or modeſt Man wou'd aſſert in terms ſo irreverend of the Holy Scriptures, and God their Author; and in ſuch fulſome aſſurance of his own wit.

And after all, this is not true: For in common diſcourſe the ſingular Number is as oft put for the plural, as the plural for the ſingular.

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* Hiſt. p. 21. † p. 20. ‡ p. 21

It is as common to ſay, ſuch a King march'd, or fought, or retreated, by which his whole Army is meant; as to ſtyle himſelf *us* and *we*.

When we ſay, Man fell, *Chriſt* came to redeem Man: Do you mean only ſome one particular Man? Or by this ſingular Number are not many Men meant?

But now give me leave to retort this argument upon him: What Gram-
Gen. iii. 22. mar will he find for God's calling himſelf *us*, and ſaying *one of us? the Man* is become as *one of us*. *Abraham* ſpeaking to three Perſons, to ſay, *My*
xviii. 3. *Lord, if I have found favour in thy ſight, paſs not from thy Servant*; ——
ỽ. 4, *But waſh your feet, and reſt your ſelves——and comfort your hearts——*
9, 10, *And they ſaid, where is thy Wife?—— And he ſaid, I will certainly*
16, 17. *return unto thee—— And the Men roſe up,——and the Lord ſaid, Shall I hide from* Abraham *what I do?*

Here are three Men ſpoke of, and ſpoke to both in the ſingular and plural Numbers promiſcuouſly: This is odd ſort of Grammar.

By what rule of Grammar will he conſtrue this ſentence?

John viii. 58, 59. *Before* Abraham *was, I am.* He wou'd do as the *Jews* did, if he durſt, caſt ſtones at *Chriſt* for ſuch nonſenſe or blaſphemy: And now muſt the Scripture be *one continu'd ungrammatical ſoleciſm, and impropriety, and that in the chief Article of Faith*, becauſe theſe and the like expreſſions are out of the road of common ſpeaking, and will not fit our poor circumſtances?

Or if it muſt be ſo, unleſs theſe ſayings are reconcil'd, and if they cannot be reconcil'd to common ſenſe, but by the Doctrine of the Trinity; then here is an invincible argument for the Trinity, made out of this objection, and that by conforming *not only to Grammar, but to the cuſtom of all Nations which underſtand to ſpeak intelligibly and ſenſibly.* With which excellent rule our Author ends this Paragraph, beginning of p. 22. and all that he has to ſay out of Scripture, againſt the Deity of the Holy Ghoſt.

Objection from the Creed. p. 22. SOC. He comes next to the Creed, and ſays, the Son and Holy Ghoſt are not call'd God in the Apoſtles *Creed.*

CHR. God is nam'd at firſt as a Nature or Species to Individuals. *I believe in God:* Then the ſeveral Perſons follow in their order: *The Father, his Son, the Holy Ghoſt.* That the word *God* was not apply'd to each of them is no objection; our way of ſpeaking at this day being the ſame: As when we ſay; *God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, wherein the Nature of God is intended to deſcend to the ſecond and third Perſon: And if this be ſufficient with us to expreſs our meaning, it was much more ſo, before the *Arians* had diſturb'd the Doctrine of the Trinity; which occaſion'd a farther explication of it in the *Nicene* and *Athanaſian* Creeds.

Let me once more retort upon this Author, and ask him what tolerable ſenſe he will make of this Creed upon his ſcheme; that is, ſuppoſing the Holy Ghoſt to be nothing different from God, more than a Man's power, or wiſdom differs from himſelf. As to ſay, I believe in a Man; and I believe likewiſe in his Spirit: Which is the ſame, as to believe likewiſe in himſelf. Then he muſt give us ſome good reaſon, how believing in the Holy Ghoſt came to be a diſtinct Article by it ſelf, from that of believing in the Father; and put at that diſtance from him too, as to have more than two thirds of the whole Creed interpoſe.

I doubt this wou'd not paſs *according to the cuſtom of all Nations which underſtand to ſpeak intelligibly and ſenſibly.*

To divide a Man betwixt himſelf and his Spirit, and to make two Articles of theſe, that may do ſomething; becauſe a Man has a Body and a Spirit, and they may be divided: But to divide God, who is all Spirit, betwixt himſelf and his Spirit; and to put in the Son betwixt them, and to make

three Articles of theſe, cannot be put into ſenſible or intelligible language, by the cuſtom of any Nations yet extant.

Nor cou'd they think this *an accountable and reaſonable Faith*, as our Author * inferrs the *Socinians* to be, from this their excellent and plain expoſition of the Creed.

And now as a concluſion §. 6. p. 24. he in a meek and modeſt way tells the *Trinitarians* that their Faith is abſurd, and contrary both to reaſon and to it ſelf, and therefore not only falſe, but impoſſible; that it is, of all others the moſt brutal; and that not to diſcern it, is not to be a Man, *&c.* But of this ſort of treatment we have plentiful ſtore in your Author.

XVIII. The pretence of the *Socinians* to antiquity.

SOC. You have quoted ſeveral of the Fathers before *Nice* on your ſide: We have as ancient on our ſide: And it is fit our evidence ſhou'd be heard as well as yours. Our Hiſtory ſays, † *They whom we now call* Socinians, were by the Fathers and firſt *ages of chriſtianity call'd* Narazens. *They were alſo in thoſe firſt times call'd* Ebionites, Mineans, Samoſateni-ans, and ſeveral other names he there reckons up.

CHR. They were ſo call'd and condemn'd as Hereticks. Behold the Fathers of your Church!

But he joins the *Arians* with the orthodox againſt all theſe, and ſays, That *the writings of theſe ancients are all loſt, being deſtroy'd by the* Arians *and Catholicks.*

So that the *Arians* were Enemies to theſe ancients, which will break their ſucceſſion mightily, or make it run under ground for many Centuries, till it broke out again in *Socinus* fifteen hundred years after *Chriſt.*

SOC. But what do you ſay to the ſeveral names by which they were call'd in the primitive times †?

CHR. They were the names of ſeveral Hereticks as you will find in *Irenæus*, *Euſebius*, *Theodoret*, *Epiphanius*, and others: And they ſtand to this day condemn'd as ſuch by the whole chriſtian Church. I cannot imagine what advantage your Author propoſes by this.

Neither does he tell us the opinion of theſe ancient Hereticks, as to the queſtion in hand, how they agree with the *Socinians*, and yet deſerv'd to be perſecuted, and have their Books burnt by the *Arians.*

But that is no matter: The names are old names, and ſound like antiquity; and every body will not examine whether they were Fathers or Hereticks: But think this opinion of the *Socinians* has been very ancient.

But if antiquity alone wou'd do his buſineſs, I can help him to an elder precedent than any of theſe: *Simon Magus* was the firſt broacher of this Doctrine, and Father of all the Hereticks he has nam'd.

St. *John* ſays, that many of theſe falſe Prophets were gone out into the World in his time: And tells you what their opinion was, *viz. That* Jeſus Chriſt *was not come in the fleſh:* And he calls this *the Spirit of* Anti-Chriſt, *which was come into the World*; and it is the ſame with the *Socinian* opinion: That *Chriſt* had no being before he was born of the Virgin; and therefore cou'd not come in the fleſh. This opinion was againſt the *Arian* as well as the Orthodox, and not reviv'd till *Socinus.* 1 John iv. 1, 2, 3.

SOC. Our Author tells you ‡, That that is not the meaning of that text of St. *John*, but that this ſaying, *Came in the fleſh* (or, *in fleſh*, for ſo 'tis in the *Greek)* is oppos'd to theſe falſe Prophets and Teachers, that affirm'd *Chriſt* had not a real Body of Fleſh and Blood, but a ſpiritual; and conſequently was not a true Man, nor the Off-ſpring of *David.* On the contrary, St. *John* here teaches that *Chriſt is come in fleſh*, or *in the fleſh*, that is, *was cloathed with a real Body of real fleſh.*

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* Hiſt. p. 24, 25. † p. 26. ‡ p. 157.

CHR.

CHR. I grant that St. *John*'s words are full againſt theſe Hereticks: But will that excuſe you? This text is ſo worded, as to detect you both: For St. *John* does not only ſay, that *Chriſt* was Fleſh, but that he came in that Body of Fleſh.

SOC. I told you, that means no more than that he was *cloathed with a Body of Fleſh.*

CHR. But the text ſays that he *came.*

SOC. Yes: He came ſo cloathed.

CHR. Muſt he not exiſt then before he came, and was ſo cloathed? Was it nothing that came, or was cloathed? Your *Socinians* confeſs that *Chriſt was Fleſh*; but you deny that he came to take Fleſh upon him, for you ſay, that he had no being before he was made Fleſh. But the Scripture ſays, That *God ſent forth his Son, made of a Woman, and that* Chriſt *took upon him the form of a Servant, and was made in the likeneſs of Men.* Cou'd he take this form and likeneſs upon him before he had a Being? St. *John* ſays not only that *Chriſt was Fleſh*, but that he was *in the beginning with God*, was *ſent by God to take upon him our Fleſh*, that he came from God to do it, and that to deny that he came, is to be an *Anti-Chriſt*; and how he cou'd come and be ſent, and take upon him the form or likeneſs of Men, and yet be nothing, as you ſay, before he was born, this lies upon you to explain.

Gal. iv. 4. Phil. ii. 7.

SOC. I have told you all my Author ſays: But give me leave to purſue it a little farther. Is it not a common ſaying, That ſuch a Man is come of ſuch a Family? Yet this does not ſuppoſe that he had any Being, or that he really came before he was born.

CHR. I think it does. You cou'd not ſay a Child is born, if it were not a Child before it was born: But you cou'd not ſay, that Child took upon him the form of a Man: A Man does not take upon him his own Being.

SOC. But *Levi* is ſaid to be in the loins of his Father, before he was born, and that the *Jews* came out of the loins of *Abraham.*

Heb. vii. 10, 5.

CHR. And is not that literally true?

SOC. It is true only as to the matter of their Bodies: For that really came from their Fathers. The Soul is ſuppos'd by a figure which takes the part for the whole.

CHR. But *Chriſt*, you confeſs, came not by corporal generation, therefore he muſt come ſome other way; and muſt as really exiſt before he was born, as the matter of my Body did exiſt before I was born.

SOC. The ſubſtance of his Body he took from his Mother, by which he was the ſeed of *David.*

CHR. But ſomething he took likewiſe from his Father, by which you confeſs he is truly call'd the *Son of God:* So that what he took from his Father, muſt exiſt before he was born, as much as what he took from his Mother did exiſt before.

SOC. You ſay, That what he took from his Father, was from Eternity.

CHR. Yes: But that ſubſtance which he took from his Father, being join'd to the ſubſtance which he took from his Mother, is what we call his incarnation: As generation is not the begetting of a Soul, but the joining it to a Body. And without this you cannot verify the form which you your ſelves allow, that he was begotten of God: For there is difference 'twixt Creation and Generation. We are all created by God, and are his Son's in that ſenſe; but *Chriſt* only is his begotten Son, by which he partakes of his ſubſtance, and his whole and perfect Nature as all begotten Sons do among us.

SOC. At this rate *Chriſt* was twice generated, once from Eternity, and once at his Incarnation.

CHR. I grant it. For his eternal ſubſtance which he took from his Father, being by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt, join'd in one Perſon with the human ſubſtance which he took from his Mother, is call'd his Incarnation; and is likewiſe call'd Generation, as he is call'd my Father who is the inſtrument of joining my Soul and Body together; not that he begets my Soul, or it comes from him otherwiſe than as joining it into one Perſon with my Body. Thus *Chriſt* is not the Son of his own Spirit otherwiſe than as it form'd his Fleſh in the Womb of the Virgin, and join'd it to his Perſon.

SOC. But why was his human Generation perform'd by the Holy Ghoſt, whereas his eternal Generation was from the Father only, as you ſay?

CHR. Do not think I will take upon me to explain all the hidden myſteries of God, and this does no ways concern the ſubject we are upon; only that it proves demonſtrably, that the Holy Ghoſt is God, becauſe if he were not, *Chriſt* could not be call'd the Son of God from his being a Perſon: For begetting is the moſt perſonal action can be imagin'd: Naked Qualities cannot beget a Man: Whatever begets muſt have Subſtance; therefore the Holy Ghoſt muſt be a Subſtance, and muſt be God, becauſe what he begot is for that reaſon called the Son of God, and *Chriſt* muſt likewiſe be God, becauſe he partakes of the Subſtance of God: For, as before is ſaid, this is the difference betwixt Creation and Generation; in Creation we partake of ſuch Subſtance as God pleaſes to give us; but Generation is partaking of his own Subſtance who generates us. Luke 1. 35.

SOC. Then *Chriſt* partakes of two Subſtances of God: Of the Father's Subſtance in his eternal Generation, and of the Holy Ghoſt's in his human Generation.

CHR. The Subſtance of God is not divided among the divine Perſons: There is but one Subſtance or Nature which exiſts in three diſtinct Subſiſtences or Perſons, as has been ſaid before: And this Subſtance being, by the Operation of the third Perſon, united to a human Subſtance, is truly Generation.

SOC. Then *Chriſt* partakes of this Subſtance twice; once from the Father in his eternal Generation, and once from the Holy Ghoſt in his human Generation.

CHR. A Man cannot partake anew of what he has already: And the very word human Generation might ſet you right in this matter: For it was *Chriſt*'s human Subſtance which did partake, or was made one Perſon with his divine Subſtance, by the Operation of the Holy Ghoſt, as one corporal Subſtance partakes, or is made one Perſon with one Soul or ſpiritual Subſtance, by corporal Generation.

SOC. Can one Subſtance partake of another Subſtance?

CHR. Nothing elſe but Subſtance can partake of Subſtance, their being united ſo as to make up one Perſon, is called their partaking of one another. *Chriſt* did not take his divine Subſtance from the Holy Ghoſt: But by the Operation of the Holy Ghoſt his divine Subſtance was united into one Perſon with his human Subſtance, and his human Subſtance did partake of his divine Subſtance by the Operation of the Holy Ghoſt.

Thus, in reſpect of his divine Subſtance, the Holy Ghoſt did unite it to his human Subſtance.

In reſpect of his human Subſtance, the Holy Ghoſt did exalt it into a perſonal Union with his divine Subſtance.

In both reſpects he was begotten by the Holy Ghoſt: But in different manners, according to his different Natures; as is to be ſeen even in human Generation. Thus far towards framing in our ſelves ſome notion of the myſterious Generation of *Chriſt* in the Womb of the Virgin.

But there is an eaſier anſwer to the objection, for you have heard in what has been ſaid before, that in the Union of two Natures in one Perſon whatever belongs to either of the Natures is verify'd of the whole Perſon; as we ſay, that Man is mortal becauſe his Body is ſuch, and as truly we ſay that he is immortal becauſe his Soul is ſuch: And by this rule we may truly ſay, that *Chriſt* was begotten by the Holy Ghoſt, and was his Son, for ſo he was as to his human Nature; and likewiſe that he was not Son to the Holy Ghoſt, but only to the Father, from whom only he took his divine Subſtance, for that is true as to his divine Nature, and both theſe are truly verify'd of his Perſon, which is both.

SOC. Let us now, if you pleaſe, return to our *Hiſtory*; for my Author lays ſtreſs upon that: And it is not the leaſt plauſible part of his Book.

CHR. And there is nothing in his Book ſhews the weakneſs of his cauſe more than this; for he there confeſſes that which, if he had deny'd, would have been my greateſt task to have prov'd againſt him: And that is, that the *Socinian* opinion had been all along condemn'd in the Church as heretical; for all theſe were condemn'd hereticks whom he names for that opinion, in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity.

And to render them the more condemn'd, they differ'd among themſelves, even in that hereſy, as the *Socinians* do at this day: Beſides other groſs and abominable errors which the *Socinian-Unitarians* do abhor as much as we do. Of thoſe who call'd themſelves Chriſtians, *Simon Magus* was the firſt who appear'd in diſgrace of the Trinity.

Acts viii. 13. 18. He was converted and baptiz'd by *Philip*; but had ſo contemptible and opinion of the Holy Ghoſt, as to think he might be purchaſed with money. After this, falling from one error into another, he at laſt ſet up his whore *Helena* for the Holy Ghoſt, and inſtituted beaſtly carnalities for the worſhip of God, wherein the impure *Gnoſticks* follow'd him*: Who boaſted themſelves the greateſt Men of Reaſon, whence they aſſum'd to themſelves the name of *Gnoſticks*, from their exceeding other Chriſtians in Knowledge.

The denial of the Trinity is ever attended with other errors, which appeared in *Simon Magus*, who denying the Trinity, did likewiſe hold that the World was made by Angels, held magick and idolatry lawful, ſlighted the Law of *Moſes* as not being from God, and allow'd of promiſcuous marriages and all ſenſuality.

The firſt our Author names in his liſt of the *Socinian* Fathers, are the *Nazarens:* A ſort of Chriſtians who affected that name rather than to be nam'd after *Chriſt* or *Jeſus*. *Epiphanius* † tells us they were perfect *Jews*, they retain'd Circumciſion, and the *Judaical* rites, and differ'd from the *Jews* only that they believed in *Chriſt*.

They us'd a Goſpel which is call'd *the Goſpel of* Peter.

The *Ebionites*, whom our Author reckons next, ſo called from *Ebion*, held that *Chriſt* was born of *Joſeph* as well as of *Mary*, (which our modern *Socinians* do abhor) they liv'd according to the *Moſaical* Law‡, and receiv'd only the *Goſpel according to the* Hebrews, but they called the Apoſtle an apoſtate. *Symmachus*, whom our Author mentions, was one of thoſe that tranſlated the Old Teſtament out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*. There are others likewiſe who are called *Ebionites*, who in all other things agree with the former; but they ſay that *Chriſt* was born of a Virgin, they uſe only the Goſpel according to *Matthew*, and obſerve both the *Jewiſh* and the Chriſtian Sabbath. *Irenæus (adverſ. Hæreſ.* l. 3. c. 4. p. 257.) reckons ** *Cerinthus*, and before him the †† *Nicolaitans*, who had been put in with reſt, but that they are nam'd *Rev.* ii. 15.

* Epiph. Hær. 21. Iren. adverſ. Hær. c. 1. l. 20. † Id. Hær. 29. Theod. Hæret. Fab. l. 2. c. 2. ‡ Ibid. c. 1. ** Ibid. c. 8. †† Ibid. c. 11.

He tells you that *Paulus* of *Samoſata* was condemn'd by an epiſcopal Council aſſembled in his own City of *Antioch:* And *Theodorit* ſays farther, that he publickly renounc'd this error.

And that by the Providence of God theſe hereſies were ſo extinguiſhed, that their very names were not known to many.

But now it is thought a fit ſeaſon to revive them again.

And ſince it muſt be; behold the original of the *Socinians*, and the Fathers of their *no Church!* Such lewd and ſcandalous hereticks, as I am ſure any modeſt *Socinian* will ſtart and be amazed when he ſhall reflect from what ſort of Men he has deriv'd his Faith, and adventur'd to differ from the whole catholick Church of *Chriſt*, not only in this, but in all former ages.

SOC. **Euſebius* (Hiſt. l. 5. c. 28.) and *Theodorit (Hær. Fab.* l. 2. c. *de Artem.)* ſay, that theſe *Nazarens* conſtantly affirmed, that they derived their doctrine from the Apoſtles of our Lord, and that it was the general doctrine of the Church till the *Popes Victor* and *Zephyrin* ſet themſelves to root it up.

CHR. They ſay that the *Nazarens* affirmed this; and do not all hereticks the ſame? Did ever any Man condemn himſelf? Do not even *Quakers*, *Muggletonians*, and all pretend to the Scripture? Did not the Devil himſelf quote Scripture againſt our Saviour?

But why does not your Author tell how *Euſebius*, in the ſame chapter, proves this their allegation to be wholly falſe, and without any ground? Firſt from the Scripture itſelf, and next from thoſe who wrote before *Victor* or *Zephyrin*, as *Juſtin*, *Miltiades*, *Tatianus*, and *Clemens*, *Irenæus*, *Melito* and many more, in all whoſe Books the Divinity of *Chriſt* is eſtabliſh'd, that he is both true God and Man. And he ſtands in admiration at the impudence of theſe *Nazarens*, who could pretend that this was the general doctrine of the Church before *Victor* and *Zephyrin*.

He tells us likewiſe of another practice of theirs, which is of great uſe to have diſcover'd, that is, that they did boldly adulterate the holy Scriptures, and rejected the rule of the primitive Faith: And he proves this by a very ſtrong argument, *viz.* that their copies did not agree among themſelves, ſome of which he there reckons, as that of *Aſclepiades*, *Theodotus*, *Hermophilus*, and *Apollonius*, which laſt does not agree with itſelf, for theſe Copies which were written before, differ from thoſe which he wrote afterwards. And *Euſebius* ſays, that they could not deny this to be done by them, becauſe the copies were written with their own hands, neither did they receive them from thoſe who taught them the chriſtian Faith, nor could they ſhew the copies out of which they tranſcrib'd theirs.

Therefore they plainly own'd that they had mended the Scriptures, † adding ſome things, and taking away others, to make them more intelligible: Nay, ſome of them did not only thus adulterate the Scriptures, but abſolutely rejected the Law and the Prophets; Thus *Euſebius* and *Theodoret.*

SOC. ‡*Victor* (ſay the *Socinians*) began to perſecute the apoſtolick doctrine of one God, or, what is the ſame, that God is one, in the year 194. ** but with little ſucceſs, till that which was afterwards, the doctrine of the *Arians* grew into general credit and acceptance.

CHR. *Victor* excommunicated theſe hereticks, which your author calls a perſecution. *Victor* himſelf was under perſecution of the *Roman* government; and he had then no civil ſword to perſecute any other.

SOC. My Hiſtorian ſays, that *Victor*'s, or others endeavours had little ſucceſs againſt theſe *Nazarens*, &c.

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* Hiſt. Unitar. p. 27. † Theod. Hær. Fab. l. 2. c. 5. ‡ Hiſt. Unitar. p. 27. ** p. 28.

CHR.

CHR. Witneſs what you have heard juſt now out of *Theodorit*, that they were ſo buried in oblivion as that their very names were not known to many: For which he rejoices and bleſſeth God.

SOC. My Author names *Juſtin Martyr* and *Origen*, as raiſing the honour of the Son higher than the plain and ſimple doctrine of the *Nazarens*; but yet not ſo high as the Council of *Nice*, by attributing to the Son Eternity, *&c.*

CHR. Your Author quotes nothing out of theſe Fathers; he requires us to take his word: But I think I have given you ſufficient teſtimony of the Faith of both theſe Fathers, in our examination of the texts of Scripture: And if you wou'd have farther ſatisfaction, I refer you at your leiſure to Dr. *Bull*'s *Defenſio fidei Nicænæ*, Printed at *Oxford* 1685. There *Sect.* 2. c. 9. you have *Origen's* Doctrine as to the Divinity of the Son of God vindicated to be Catholick, and plainly agreeable to the *Nicene* Faith; and *Sect.* 3. c. 2. *Juſtin Martyr's* Doctine as to the Eternity of the Son is explain'd.

SOC. Let us then proceed with our Author: He tells us a lamentable ſtory how low they are now brought, that neither the *Nazaren* Faith, nor the *Arian*, or *Nicene* (truly ſo call'd) are openly profeſt in the territories of chriſtian Princes and States, except in a few obſcure Towns.

CHR. Bleſſed be God, that the *Nazaren* and *Arian* Hereſies have long been baniſh'd *Chriſtendom*, almoſt as much as what *Theodorit* ſaid, that their very names have not till of late been known to many, at leaſt amongſt us.

But it is a ſad and diſmal proſpect of our ſins, that God ſuffers theſe tares to appear now again; and this ought to bring us to ſpeedy bethinking our ſelves, wherein we have faln ſhort of our chriſtian Principles, and ſearching into thoſe provocations, and returning from them, which otherwiſe may root up our Religion, and deſtroy chriſtianity among us.

But with what aſſurance can your Author put in the *Nicene* Faith as baniſh'd *Chriſtendom*, with the *Nazaren* or *Socinian*, and the *Arian* Faith? Is not the Creed of that Council of *Nice* read in the chriſtian Churches?

SOC. You except the *Socinians* I hope.

CHR. They are no Church: Providence has not permitted them to come to the very name of a chriſtian Church: They look like a blot or an objection only in chriſtianity: The *Hiſt Unitar.* tells us, that their Faith is no where openly profeſt in the territories of chriſtian Princes and States, except in a few Cities of *Tranſylvania*, and ſome in the *United-Netherlands*, which allows of all Religions *, that will advance Trade: He ſays † there are many of them *in the* Turkiſh, *and other* Mahometan *and* Pagan *Dominions*. It ſeems God has baniſh'd them from *Chriſtendom*, only left ſome, as of the *Canaanites*, to keep us in exerciſe, leſt we ſhou'd forget our chriſtian War.

SOC. But tho' they are ſo low now, yet they ſay in ancient times they were much ſtronger: The *Arians* were very high once.

CHR. Indeed God did ſuffer them to make great inroads upon chriſtianity; and to have favour at Court, and raiſe perſecutions againſt the orthodox.

The difference 'twixt *Arians* and *Socinians* and a compariſon 'twixt *Socinianiſm* and *Mahometiſm*.

But he ſtill moſt ſignally and gloriouſly preſerv'd the Faith, and after ſome conteſts, crown'd it with Victory over *Arius* and his Hereſie to this Day.

And beſides the modern *Unitarians*, cannot be call'd *Arians*, nor have title even to his antiquity.

The *Arians* ſay, that *Chriſt* was generated *before the World*; ‡ and in proceſs of time became incarnate in our Nature.

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* Hiſt. Unitar. p. 20 † p. 30. ‡ p. 33.

The *Socinians* deny that he had any exiſtence before he was born of the bleſſed *Mary*.

Again the *Arians* ſay, that the Holy Ghoſt is the Creature of the Son, and ſubſervient to him in the work of Creation.

And the *Socinians* ſay, the Holy Spirit is the Power and Wiſdom of God which is God.

But Mr. *Biddle*, and thoſe that follow him, take the Holy Spirit to be a Perſon, chief of the heavenly Spirits, prime Miniſter of God and *Chriſt*.

SOC. But notwithſtanding theſe material differences, the Hiſtorian includes all theſe under the name of *Unitarians*, becauſe, ſays he*, they agree in the principal article, that there is *but one God*, or, *but one who is God*.

CHR. And in this ſenſe we claim the name of *Unitarians* as much as any. None aſſert more than we the Unity of God's Nature, which cannot be more than one; we ſay that is but *one God*, or *one Nature* which is God. But whether that Nature may not admit of ſeveral Perſons, is another queſtion and meddles not with the Unity of the Nature. But your different ſets of *Unitarians* know not what to make of the divine Perſons: The *Socinians* differ from the *Arians*, both as to the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, and therefore can in no juſtice derive themſelves from them: Tho' if they cou'd, as will be farther ſhewn, it wou'd do them little ſervice. But they neither have Unity with *Arius*, nor among themſelves, no, not as to the object of their Worſhip; they have not the ſame God, ſome of them at this day, making the Holy Ghoſt to be God, others to be only a Creature; ſome that he is a Perſon, others only as a Quality, *&c.*

SOC. But my Author ſays†, that the *Arians* and *Socinians* eſteem of one another as chriſtian Brethren and true Believers.

CHR. It is impoſſible they ſhou'd think one another to be true Believers, unleſs all the aboveſaid opinions can be true, or that it is not material whether the Holy Ghoſt be God, or a Creature; whether *Chriſt* had, or had not a Being with his Father before his Incarnation.

And for their being chriſtian Brethren; if it be only the word *Chriſt* that does it, then all who acknowledge the name of *Chriſt* muſt come in, let their opinions of him be what they will, tho' ſome think him God, others only a Man.

The *Alcoran* ſpeaks thus of him. ‡ "The *Meſſias*, *Jeſus* the Son of "*Mary*, is a Prophet, and an Apoſtle of God, his Word, and his Spirit, "which he ſent to *Mary*.

"The Angels ſaid to *Zachary*, thou ſhalt have a Son called *John*, he "ſhall affirm the *Meſſias*, to be the Word of God.

"The angels ſaid, *O Mary*, God declareth unto thee a Word, from "which ſhall proceed the *Meſſias*, named *Jeſus*** —— or (as it is in the Latin tranſlation of D. *Petrus Abbas Cluniacenſis* put out by *Theodor. Bibliander*††) *O* Maria *tibi ſummi nuncij gaudium cum verbo Dei, cujus nomen eſt* Chriſtus Jeſus, *filius* Mariæ, *qui eſt facies omnium gentium, hoc ſeculoq; futuro*—— Here the *Alcoran* ſays, the name of the Word of God is *Chriſt Jeſus*, that he is the *Face of all Nations*, which the Annotator obſerves to be a parallel Phraſe to the deſire or expectation of the *Gentiles*, and other like appellations of *Chriſt*. *Gen.* XLIX. and Chap. XXII. *Iſai.* II. and *Zech.* III. *Hag.* II. And is the *Face of all Nations*, ſays the *Alcoran*, *not only in this World, but in the World to come.*

So that if ſpeaking great and honourable things of *Chriſt* makes a Man a Chriſtian, the *Mahometans* are as good Chriſtians as the *Socinians*.

SOC. If they did acknowledge the Scriptures, it might go a great way.

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* Hiſt. p. 34. † Ibid. ‡ Tranſl. Engliſh. Lond. 1649. c. 4. p. 62 c. 3. p. 33.
** p. 34. †† Azoara 5. p. 23.

CHR. They do acknowledge them, only they take the liberty as you do, to interpret them differently from the Catholick Church: Thus we read in the *Alcoran*. * *O you that have knowledge of the Scriptures! Believe in the* Alcoran, *that confirmeth the Old and New Teſtament.*

† *He* (the Lord) *ſhall ſay unto* Jeſus, O Jeſus *Son of* Mary, *remember thou my grace towards thee and thy Mother, I ſtrengthen'd thee with the Holy Ghoſt*——*thee did I inſtruct in Scripture and Knowledge, the Old Teſtament and the Goſpel.* Again, ‡ *I will teach him the Scripture, the Myſteries of the Law, the Old Teſtament and the Goſpel.* And the common appellation which the *Alcoran* gives to the *Jews* and Chriſtians, is, *O ye that know the Scripture!* And it provokes them to diſpute out of the Scripture. *O ye that know the Scripture, come with words alike*—— *true between you and us; do I worſhip other than God? Be ye witneſſes that we believe in God. O ye that underſtand Scripture, diſpute not the Law of* Abraham, *to wit, if he obſerv'd the Old Teſtament, or the Goſpel; they were taught after him, perhaps you will acknowledge your error; O ye that have diſputed what ye know not!* Abraham *was no* Jew *nor Chriſtian, he profeſſed the Unity of God, he was a true Believer, and not of the number of Infidels. The People, and particularly thoſe that follow'd him of his time, as alſo the Prophet* Mahomet, *and all true Believers have known the truth of his Law*——*O ye that know the Scripture! Do not maliciouſly conceal the Commandments of God*—— *Obſerve exactly what you have learn'd in Scripture, and what you read*—— *Remember*——*that he* (God) *taught you Scripture and Knowledge,* ** *and that after this came a Prophet, that confirm'd the Doctrine that was taught you, that you might believe his words.*

Theſe are the words of the *Alcoran*: And you ſee they make no more of *Mahomet*, than a Prophet who ſucceeded *Chriſt*, as *Chriſt* ſucceeded *Moſes*: And as *Chriſt* confirm'd *Moſes*'s Law, ſo *Mahomet* confirms the Goſpel of *Chriſt*; the latter ſtill confirms the former. *Say to them* (ſays the ſame Chapter of the *Alcoran* ††): *we believe in God, in what he hath inſpired into us, in what he inſpired into* Abraham, Iſmael, Iſaac, Jacob, *and the Tribes, in what was ordained by* Moſes, *by* Jeſus, *and generally all the Prophets from God*——*Such as ſhall be impious towards* Jeſus *having believ'd the Books of* Moſes, *and ſhall augment their impiety againſt* Mahomet, *ſhall err eternally.* And there is a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe.

SOC. At this rate they advance *Chriſt* beyond *Mahomet*.

CHR. Only, that *Mahomet* was a later Prophet, and ſo the laſt Meſſenger from Heaven; otherwiſe they do not ſpeak ſuch things of him as they do of *Chriſt*: They acknowledge *Chriſt* to be born of a Virgin, by the operation of God, in the ſame terms with the Scripture; they ſay not ſo of *Mahomet*, whom they do not call the *Meſſias*, the *Word of God*, and the *Face*, or Lord of *the World to come*, as you have heard the *Alcoran* ſpeak of the Lord *Chriſt*.

SOC. Wherein then do they differ from the chriſtian Church?

CHR. In the ſame points which the *Socinians* do; they allow not the Trinity nor Divinity of *Chriſt*: And they interpret thoſe texts which ſpeak of the Trinity and Incarnation of the Word, as the *Socinians* do.

‡‡ And they acknowledge not the ſatisfaction of *Chriſt*, but they put him into the *number of Interceſſors with his divine Majeſty*: Which are exactly the *Socinian* Tenets.

And I wou'd not have you aſham'd of it, but accept *Mahomet* for one of the Fathers of Socinianiſm: He is not half ſo ſcandalous, nor ſo heroto-

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* Alcoran c. 4. p. 51. † c. 5. p. 75. ‡ c. 3. p. 34, 35. ** p. 36. †† p. 37. ‡‡ p. 34.

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dox as *Ebion*, and *Theodotion*, and that ſtring of Heretricks whom your Hiſtorian has muſter'd up for the primitive founders of Socinianiſm in its purity: Some of theſe us'd a different Goſpel from ours, others rejected all our Scripture, but ſome parcel that pleas'd themſelves; they corrupted the Scripture, and it being prov'd upon them under their hands, they call'd it mending and improving the Scripture: Some of them wou'd not allow *Chriſt* to be born of a Virgin, but that he was begot by *Joſeph*, as other Men are; and many other things which I ſhall ſhew you by and by, and which grate the Ears even of a *Socinian* now.

Mahomet is much more Chriſtian than theſe, and an expreſs *Unitarian*, but theſe are not ſo well known in the World now as *Mahomet* is: Therefore you wou'd not own *Mahomet* to be of your Party, leſt the People ſhou'd ſtone you, for they have all a great averſion to *Mahomet*. But I aſſure you, that theſe primitive *Anti-Trinitarian* Heretricks were as odious to the Chriſtians then, as *Mahomet* is now: Witneſs St. *John* quitting the Bath where *Cerinthus*, one of the Ring-leaders of theſe, came in, ſaying, he wou'd not ſtay in a place where there was one of ſuch Anti-chriſtian Principles, leſt a Judgment ſhou'd overtake him for being in ſuch Company.

Mahomet ſucceeded *Arius*, and ſet up his Doctrine, which is contain'd in the *Alcoran*, with ſome additions: And it is obſervable, that where *Arianiſm* moſt prevail'd, there *Mahometiſm* came in and proſper'd; that Men might read their ſin in their puniſhment, by the progreſs of their wickedneſs, and having once departed from the chriſtian Faith, can now find no ſtop or remedy.

And as *Mahomet* improv'd *Arianiſm*, ſo the *Socinians* have exceeded even the *Alcoran*, in their contempt of *Chriſt*, as I have ſhew'd, bringing him lower, and making him more a mere Man than the *Alcoran* does.

XIX. The Credit the *Socinians* expect by alledging ſome modern Chriſtian Writers, as favourers of their opinion.

SOC. I muſt tell you, that notwithſtanding all you have ſaid, we have ſome of your modern and celebrated chriſtian Writers, who favour our opinion; and our Hiſtory names three or four of them.

CHR. This you urge not, I ſuppoſe, as an argument, only that it wou'd gain ſome credit to your cauſe. 'Tis well he can name no more: But that you may not loſe any advantage, I am willing to hear whom he names.

SOC. He names two of the Church of *Rome*, and two of the reformed, with a fifth one *Sandius*, whom he calls the *Arians* Hiſtorian.

Eraſmus.

CHR. The firſt he names is *Eraſmus*, who liv'd and dy'd in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. Yet he was not a bigot Papiſt, as he was far from being a thorow Proteſtant: His great wit led him from many errors of *Rome*. He begun well, but it was left to others to finiſh.

Yet might he be vindicated in a great meaſure from what your Hiſtorian lays upon him; but that is not our preſent buſineſs: Neither does what is here alledged, prove him to be either *Arian* or *Socinian*. For tho' *Phil.* II. 6. be a principal argument of the fathers againſt the *Arians*, and tho' *Eraſmus* ſhou'd ſay (for your Author quotes no place where he ſays it) that this text did not prove againſt the *Arians*, yet it is no conſequence, that therefore no other text does prove it: One Man may think that a proof, which another does not.

And as to his ſecond proof from what *Eraſmus* ſays upon *Eph.* v. 5. I do not find in him what your Author ſays in that place. Yet, if he ſaid it, *viz.* That the word *God* us'd abſolutely, always ſignifies the *Father*, this wou'd not prove him a *Socinian*: For we grant the word *God* frequently to mean the *Father*, as I have already told you, but that it does not always ſo, you may ſee *Col.* II. 2. where the Apoſtle ſpeaks of the Myſtery of *God*, and of the *Father*, and of *Chriſt*: Where the word *God*, us'd

abſo-

abſolutely is diſtinguiſh'd from the *Father*, as from *Chriſt*, and this is there call'd a Myſtery; which it were not, if it were ſpoken all of one Perſon, as you wou'd have it: But on the other hand, where it is not ſo diſtinguiſh'd, we grant that it always means the *Father*, but not in excluſion of the other Perſons; for the word *God* us'd abſolutely, means the divine Nature, which includes all the three Perſons. He next quotes *Eraſmus*'s *Scholia* on the third Tome of St. *Jerom*'s Epiſtles, but he names not which Epiſtle, that you may not find it without reading him all over. He ſays *Eraſmus* there denies the *Arians* to be Hereticks, and that *they were ſuperior to our Men in Learning and Eloquence:* To which we muſt demur till he quotes the place: But I am ſure, if he ſays the *Arians* are not Hereticks, he contradicts himſelf, for in the ſecond Tome of St. *Jerom*'s Epiſtles, in his argument of the Epiſtle *adverſus Luciferianos* p. 134. Edit. *Baſil* 1537. he ſays that *no hereſy did more grievouſly afflict the Church than that of the* Arians. And in his Paraphraſe upon *John* II. I. no *Trinitarian* can ſpeak more full and expreſs than he does. He calls *Chriſt*, " *Ex Deo vero, verus Deus: Very God, of very God.* That he was the " eternal Word, with the eternal Father, and that this Word did ſo come " forth from the Father as never to part from the Father. Neither did he " ſo adhere to his Father as an Accident adheres to its Subſtance, but he " was God of God, he was God in God, he was God with God, becauſe " of the common Nature of both their Divinities: Theſe two who were a- " like in all things, nothing did diſtinguiſh but the property of the Begetter, " and the Perſon begotten: And tho' this Word was God omnipotent, of " the omnipotent, yet being diſtinguiſh'd by the property of his Perſon; " he was with God the Father not in any diſſimilitude of Nature. Neither " was he made or created by the Father; but by this his own Word, co- " eternal to himſelf, the Father made all things, that he did make, whe- " ther viſible or inviſible; by the ſame he governs all things, by the ſame " he reſtores all things, not uſing him as an Inſtrument or Miniſter, but as " a Son of the ſame Nature, and ſame Power with himſelf. So all things " whatever are, came from the Father as the ſupreme Author, but by the " Son, whom he begot from Eternity, equal to himſelf in all things, and " without end does beget". Theſe are the words of *Eraſmus*, and a great deal more in the ſame, and many other places, to the ſame purpoſe. And if you will make a *Socinian* of this Man, you need not deſpair to gain *Athanaſius* too, and prove him to be an *Arian*, *Nazaren*, or what you pleaſe. And to ſhew you what opinion *Eraſmus* has of the great ingenuity, which your Author brags he expreſſes for the *Socinians*, upon the ſame Chapter, *John* I. he ſays, *They greatly err from the truth, who think that the Word of God is poſterior to him who brings it forth, as among Men the mind is before the ſpeech; and who reckon the Word of God, by which God the Father made all things, among the things which were made:* Sed craſſior eſt illorum error—— *But their error is more groſs who ſuppoſe that* Chriſt *then began to be the Son and Word of God, when he was born of the Virgin* Mary.

Whether this be the opinion of the *Socinians*, you can tell, and whether calling their error groſs and greatly diſtant from the truth, be ſo mighty a complement, as your Author wou'd force from this great Man to the *Socinians*.

SOC. My Author quotes *Eraſmus* Epiſt. to *Bilibaldus*, wherein he ſays he cou'd be of the *Arian* perſuaſion, if the Church approv'd it.

CHR. Your Author is very unwilling to be brought to the light, his quotations are all dark, he does not care to have them look'd into. In *Eraſmus*'s Epiſtles there are no leſs than thirty ſeven to *Bilibaldus:* And you

may ſuppoſe it was too much trouble for your Author to name the Epiſtle, then you would have found it out too ſoon. That one which he means, I ſuppoſe, is the third Epiſtle of *Eraſmus*'s twentieth book of his Epiſtles; where ſpeaking his ſenſe of the great authority of the Church, he ſays, *it was by her authority he believed the canonical Scriptures:* And then indeed it is no wonder that he ſubmits every thing elſe to her authority. And magnifying his deference to the Church, he ſays, *he could agree with the* Arians *and* Pelagians, *if the Church had approv'd what they have taught.* Now the natural conſequence of this to me, is, that *Eraſmus* thought theſe the moſt peſtilent and abominable hereſies he could think of, for it had been no great matter to ſubmit to any rational or tolerable doctrine; but to ſhew the vaſt authority of the Church, he ſure would name ſome mighty thing. But why did your Hiſtorian leave the *Pelagians* out of this quotation? He would not have them join'd with the *Arians*, for fear of diſcovering his plot, for he does not pretend to favour the *Pelagians*, or that *Eraſmus* was a *Pelagian:* And this quotation would make him as much ſo, as an *Arian.* But whatever comes of the integrity, I muſt commend the ingenuity of your Hiſtorian.

SOC. You are ſatyrical, you know not how to miſs a blot; let us ſee if you can find the like in his next inſtance of *Grotius*, who, he ſays, is *Socinian all over.* *Grotius.*

CHR. It is all over, for he quotes no particular place, but deſires that you will take his word, or elſe be at the pains of reading over all *Grotius*'s works.

SOC. I had rather take his word, at this time, for I have not now ſo much leiſure: But yet he names his Notes upon *John* I. 1. and ſays, that his Annotations are a complete ſyſtem of *Socinianiſm.*

CHR. He has a better perſpective than I can ſee thro', for I cannot find any ſuch thing in his Annotations, but I think the direct contrary.

SOC. Indeed my Author ſays, *they are written ſo artificially, and interwove with ſo many different quotations, that he has covered himſelf, and his ſenſe of that portion of Scripture, from ſuch as do not read him carefully.*

CHR. I am ſure he has covered himſelf in that place from being ſo much as ſuſpected of *Socinianiſm*, for he interprets *John* I. 1. *In the beginning*, to be the beginning of all things, and to mean *Eternity*; *ſicut mos eſt* Hebræis *Æternitatem populariter deſcribere, that it was a common and familiar expreſſion among the* Hebrews, *whereby to deſcribe Eternity.*

This is point blank deſtructive of the *Socinian* principle, which allows *Chriſt* no Being before he was born of the Virgin; and therefore they are forced to interpret theſe words, *In the beginning*, to mean only the beginning of the Goſpel.

Then *Grotius* does moſt learnedly tell us the acceptation of the term *Logos*, agreeably to what we have already diſcours'd, *viz.* that it was firſt with the *Jews*, and he ſuppoſes it taken firſt from *Gen.* I. where God's creating is expreſs'd by, *God ſaid, let there be light, let there be a firmament*, &c. Thence the notion of the Word of God. From the *Jews* the *Chaldeans* had it, and from them, the *Greeks:* And that it was by this Word that God created all things. He tells you how *Philo* the *Jew* calls this Word the Image and Son of God; how the *Jewiſh Cabaliſts*, and the *Pythagorean* and *Platonick* Philoſophers had invented many other emanations from God beſides his Word, or *Logos.*

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* Hiſt. p. 32.

These emanations they called *Æones*, and reckon'd the *Logos* as one of them: And this doctrine the *Gnosticks* follow'd. And *Grotius* says, that it was expressly against this that St. *John* wrote, and proves that all the appellations which they gave to their several *Æones*, as *Maker of the World*, *only Begotten*, and *Saviour*, did belong only to *Christ*, who was the *Logos*. And this Learned Annotator observes, that our *Saviour* is call'd by these names in St. *John*'s Writings, and not in the other holy Writers, tho' they deliver'd the same thing in effect.

And this account of St. *John*'s using the term of *Logos*, and vindicating it from the other fanciful *Æones* or emanations, which the Heathens, *Cabalists*, and from them the *Gnosticks* join'd with it, and preferred some of them before it, is a confirmation of what I have already said upon that point.

And *Grotius* says, that St. *John* by these words, *In the beginning was the Word*, rejects the figment of the *Gnosticks*, who said, that from the *Proarchs*, after many ages, the *Nous*, or Mind, was born; then from the *Nous* the *Monogene*, or only Begotten, and from that the *Logos*: All which St. *John* confutes, by rejecting all these but the *Logos*, making that *from the beginning*, that is, as *Grotius* explains it, from Eternity, and applying to it the term of *Monogene*, only-Begotten, and all the other epithets of their several *Æones*, and shewing that they belong only to the *Logos*.

And here I cannot but take notice how *Grotius* (upon *Mat.* XXIV. 11.) joins *Cerinthus* and *Ebion* together, as those who perverted Christianity, by mixing *Judaism* with it, not only as tolerating the *Jewish* rites, (which we know the Apostles did at first) but by acknowledging *Judaism* to be the only way to salvation, which was preached, as by other Prophets, so also by *Christ*. And he says, that St. *John* wrote much against these, and that these and the like are those whom *Christ* calls the false Prophets: *St.* Paul, *Men speaking perverse things* (and these *shall arise of your own selves*, they shall be *Christians.*) *False Apostles, deceitful Workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of* Christ, *by whose opinions the Faith of many is overthrown.*

Acts xx. 30. 2 Cor xi. 13. 2 Tim. ii. 18.

This is *Grotius*'s judgment of *Ebion* and the *Ebionites*, whom our Historian has set down as the true *Socinians* of the first age.

But to see farther how good a *Socinian Grotius* was, upon *John* I. 14. he says, that the *Logos shewed himself in our human Nature, that he might advance us Men to the divine Majesty:* And applies to this 1 *Tim.* III. 16. *God was manifest in the Flesh:* And what *Irenæus* says, *Verbum ait, unitum suo plasmati*—— *The Word being united to his own Workmanship, was made a passible Man.*

Upon these words, *The Word was God*, *John* I. 2. *Grotius* tells us plainly how that Word was made synonymous with God, and quotes *Justin*, calling *Christ the God who was before ages:* And *Theophilus*, that *the Word is God, and born of God*, and much more to the same purpose.

But to end this matter, *Grotius* having given the reason beforetold why St. *John* treats more expressly of the *Logos* than the other holy writers, says thus, " *Cæteri Scriptores Evangeliorum*—— The other Evangelists thought " it sufficient to express *Christ's* divine Nature from his admirable conceptiо" on, his infinite power in working Miracles, his knowledge of other mens " hearts, from those things which happen'd concerning his Death, Resurrection, " and Ascension into Heaven, finally, from the promise of his perpetual " Presence, of sending the Holy Ghost, forgiving Sins, judging Mankind. " But *John*, according to the necessity of his times, and in the beginning " would give him the name of God, and the power flowing from the eter" nal Fountain:" Thus *Grotius*. And how this agrees with the *Socinians*

who hold that *Chriſt* had no Being before he was born of the Virgin, I leave you to judge, and what reaſon your Hiſtorian had for his great boaſt, that * Grotius *was* Socinian *all over*; *that he has interpreted the whole Bible according to the mind of the* Socinians: *And that there is nothing in all his Annotations which they do not approve and applaud, and that his Annotations are a complete ſyſtem of* Socinianiſm, *not excepting his Notes on John* I. 2.

SOC. I am ſure no *Socinian* can either approve or applaud what you quoted out of *Grotius*, eſpecially his notes upon *John* I. 1. But our Author perhaps means that he is only a *Socinian* as to the Trinity; for as to the Incarnation and Pre-exiſtence of *Chriſt* before his Birth from the *Virgin*, I think we have no title to *Grotius*.

CHR. The Incarnation and Trinity are cloſely link'd together, ſo that you cannot ſuppoſe the Incarnation, without firſt ſuppoſing the Trinity; for you cannot ſay that *Chriſt* is God, without more Perſons than one in God.

But *Grotius*, *de Verit. Rel. Chriſt.* l. 5. §. 21. vindicates the doctrine of the Trinity from the objection of Polytheiſm, and ſhews that it was not unknown to the *Jews*. He ſays, that "*Philo* the *Jew* oftentimes makes "three to be in God, and calls the Reaſon or the Word of God by the name "of God, the Maker of the World, neither unbegotten, as is God the Father "of all, nor begotten ſo as Men are. That the *Cabaliſts* diſtinguiſh God "into three Lights, which ſome of them call by the ſame names that "Chriſtians do, *viz.* of the Father, of the Son, or the Word, and of the "Holy Ghoſt. And he ſays, that it is confeſſed by all the *Hebrews*, that "the Spirit by which the Prophets were inſpired, is not any thing created, "and yet it is diſtinguiſh'd from him that ſent it; like as alſo that which "they commonly call *Shechinah*. Now many of the *Hebrews* have taught, "that that divine Power which they call Wiſdom ſhall dwell in the *Meſſias*; "whence the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe calls the *Meſſias* the *Word of God:* And "he is called by that auguſt name of God, and alſo, of Lord, by *David*, "*Iſaias*, and others:" Theſe are the words of *Grotius*. And nothing can ſpeak the Trinity more plainly, in contradiction both to the *Arians* and *Socinians*. The Spirit not being any created thing, is againſt the *Arians*, and Mr. *Biddle*'s *Socinians* who hold that it is created; and being diſtinguiſh'd from the ſender thereof, does confound all the other parties of the *Socinians*, who hold that the Spirit of God is not diſtinguiſh'd from the ſender thereof. And the *Jews* diſtinguiſh *Shechinah* from the Spirit, and make the *Meſſiah* to be this *Shechinah*, for which you may ſee more authorities in the Annotations upon this place in *Grotius*'s works, printed in *London*, 1679. Tom. 3. and this both proves the Trinity, and that the *Meſſiah* is one of the Perſons.

SOC. † But what ſay you to that which my Author objects of *Grotius*, attacking the *Socinians* in his younger years, in a principal article of their doctrine? But being anſwer'd by *J. Crellius*, he not only never reply'd, but thanked *Crellius* for his anſwer; and afterwards publiſhing ſome Annotations on the Bible, he interpreted the whole according to the Mind of the *Socinians?*

CHR. You have had a taſte of theſe Annotations, and whether they be wholly according to the mind of the *Socinians*; and from hence you may gueſs at the truth of the other part of his allegation: But if you would have full ſatisfaction, conſult *Grotius*'s works of that edition I have juſt now nam'd, and there before his defence of the Catholick Faith as to the ſatiſ-

* Hiſt. Unitar. p. 32, † ibid.

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faction of *Chriſt* againſt *Fauſtus Socinus*, you have his Letter to *Ger. Voſſius*, clearing himſelf as to this matter of his anſwer to *Crellius*, and his Faith both as to the Trinity and the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*, and vindicating himſelf from the imputation of *Socinianiſm*.

It is a ſtrange thing that you will make a *Socinian* of a Man who writes againſt *Socinus* by name; and throws it off as an aſperſion to be thought to be a *Socinian:* Nay he not only clears himſelf, but ſays of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frieſland* that *none there did defend* Socinus. *Nemo ibi hactenus inventus eſt qui* Socinum *defenderet.* (Tom. 3. *Lond.* Edit. p. 112.)

Petavius. SOC. Let us go to the next. My * Author ſays, that *D. Petavius*, the moſt learned of the *Jeſuits*, has granted that generally the Fathers who liv'd before the *Nicene* Council, and whoſe writings are preſerv'd, agree in their doctrine concerning God with the *Nazarens* or *Socinians*, and concerning the Son our Lord *Chriſt*, and Holy Spirit, with the *Arians*.

CHR. This is a condemnation of the *Socinians*; for, as before is told, they differ exceedingly from the *Arians*, both as to *Chriſt* and the Holy Ghoſt: The *Arians* make the Holy Ghoſt a Creature; the *Socinians* ſay that he is nothing different from God, but is God: The *Arian*'s are for *Chriſt's* Pre-exiſtence before he was born of the Virgin; the *Socinians* ſay, that he had no Being before he was born of the Virgin, *&c.*

And if the *ante-Nicene* Fathers were for the *Arians* in theſe points, then it is a demonſtration that they were againſt the *Socinian* opinion: So that that ſtands condemn'd on all hands.

But your Author has quoted no particular Father, only ſays it in the general; and I have ſhewn you in *Euſebius*, the names of ſeveral of theſe Fathers, whom he quotes againſt the like allegation of the *Socinians*; and I have before ſhew'd you, that the tenets of the *ante-Nicene* Fathers were fully on our ſide in the examination of the ſeveral texts which prove the Trinity. But your Author does not quote the place where *Petavius* ſays what he alledges from him, and conſidering your Author's ingenuity in other quotations which I have examin'd, he may be juſtly ſuſpected in this: But I do not think it worth the while to ſearch over *Petavius*'s works for it, becauſe I know it is a common topick with the *Papiſts* to diſcredit the ancient Fathers, and run all into the authority of what they call the preſent Church: And therefore if your Author could find a *Jeſuit* ſaying ſo, it would be no great argument; for I allow the *Papiſts* and you to agree in a great many things, even when you ſeem to be moſt contrary to one another, as your dear friend *Grotius* has obſerved, who makes the like difference betwixt *Popery* and *Socinianiſm*, as betwixt *Tyranny* and *unbridled Licentiouſneſs*, (oper. *Grotii Londini*, 1679. Tom. 3. p. 112.) this he ſays in anſwer to *Sibrandus*, who obſerv'd that *the* Socinians *had rather take part with the* Papiſts *than with the Reformed.*

Epiſcopius. SOC. The next my Author quotes for a *Socinian*, is of the *Reformation*, it is *Epiſcopius*; who is, he ſays, ſo much eſteem'd by the *Engliſh* Divines.

CHR. And deſervedly for a learned Man. But now for your proof.

SOC. My Author quotes the Book and Chapter in him, *Epiſco. Inſtit. Theol.* l. 4. c. 32, 33, 34. and he ſays that *Epiſcopius* ſeems to be *Arian.*

CHR. He is more modeſt with *Epiſcopius* than he was with *Grotius* by much: *Grotius* was *all over*, and *abſolutely Socinian*; *Epiſcopius* only *ſeems to be:* Then he does not ſo much as pretend to him as a *Socinian*, but what he *ſeems to be* is only *Arian:* That is, he would have us to looſe him, tho' he cannot gain him to the *Socinian* party; and if his ſo poſitive

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* Hiſt. p. 32. † p. 34.

boasts of *Grotius* come off as you have seen, we can expect little from his fearful, *seems to be*, of *Episcopius*. But however, let us hear what he says? What does he charge upon *Episcopius* from these Chapters he quotes.

*SOC. That he said the Father is so first, as to be first in Order (*i. e.* in Time.)

CHR. Let me stop you, does he say that *Episcopius* said these words, *(i. e. in Time.)*

SOC. I suppose not; for they are in a different letter, and in a Parenthesis: But they are in exposition of the preceding words *(in Order)* because my Author supposes that whatever is first in Order, must be likewise first in Time.

CHR. You have seen the contrary to that, in the relation 'twixt Father and Son, and it might be shewn in many other instances. But your Author wou'd slip it in, in a short Parenthesis, whereby it might pass for *Episcopius*'s, or otherwise being heedlesly granted might carry his cause. Therefore in answer to him, we say, with *Episcopius*, that the Father is first in Order, but not in Time. And *Episcopius* says nothing in this, distant from the Catholick Church.

SOC. But he says, that to make three equal Persons in God, or in the Godhead, is to make three Gods.

CHR. That is, so equal, as to have no superiority of relation among them, which we do not say: We say, they are equal in their natural perfections; but not so in their natural relations: And in this *Episcopius* does not differ from the Church.

SOC. He denies that the Lord *Christ* is the Son of God by substantial generation, from the Father's Substance and Essence.

CHR. He does not deny it; he does indeed find fault with defining the *modus* or manner of it, according to all the extravagant invention of the Schools, which he reckons up. c. 33. and they are indeed extravagant and most dangerous, as *Episcopius* there sets forth, but determines nothing, only that such questions ought not to be started, are not necessary to be believ'd, because not reveal'd, and have bred much trouble in the Church, whose Creeds at first were plainer and shorter than of after ages: But if the starting of Heresies impos'd that fatal necessity upon the Church, where will the blame lie? It is a great misfortune to be forc'd to fight at all, but if my life be assaulted, I must chuse the lesser evil.

I think it a very great hurt to the Church, and a Judgment sent from God, that this question we are now upon shou'd be broach'd among us: But pray who began? If you throw your Books about, and boast of them as unanswerable, and overthrow the Faith of many, you force us to enter the Lists, tho' with grief of heart at the occasion of the quarrel, and then you make the very quarrel an argument against us: Why do ye dispute of these things? Can you not let them lie in their primitive simplicity? O that you cou'd have done so! Was there ever any Creed or Canon made but against a Heresy that was then in being, and spread before such Creed or Canon was made: To be under Physick is a disconsolate life, but the remedy shews that the disease was first; yet you charge your Physician as the cause of your disease. God in his mercy heal the breaches of our *Sion*, for they are many.

But to return to *Episcopius*, if it were my task I cou'd shew abundantly his Principles as to the Trinity and Incarnation. But I think it sufficient to have answer'd your Historian's Objections.

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* Hist. Unitar. p. 35

I will only tell you that *Epiſcopius* did not only believe the Trinity, but that it was clearly and plainly, and moſt perſpicuouſly reveal'd in Scripture. And he diſputes this againſt *Bellarmine*, who wou'd have the Scripture obſcure in this point, that he might bring us to the authority of the Church. *Epiſcopius* does indeed find fault with the unneceſſary School-diſtinctions, as to the manner or *modus* of theſe divine Myſteries, which is not reveal'd, and that this has prov'd an offence and ſtumbling-block to the *Jews*, and other enemies of Chriſtianity; and all good Chriſtians do join with him in this, and that we ſhould keep as cloſe to the Scripture as poſſible, eſpecially in thoſe Myſteries which we had not known but by the Scriptures. And he gives for a reaſon of this, that the *Scriptures themſelves are ſufficiently clear and full as to the Trinity, Incarnation*, &c. which are expreſs'd in Scripture, *non ſolùm perfectè, not only perfectly*; *ſed etiam dilucidè, but clearly*; *adeo ut neque Eccleſiæ deciſione—— ſo that we need neither the deciſion of the Church, the concluſion of doctors, nor the decrees of Council in this matter. (Concio ſecunda de Conf. Incredulit. Judæorum.)* That God is one, is of it ſelf evident in Scripture, and, ſays he, *(Inſtit. Theol.* l. 4. c. 18.) that he is Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, is no leſs clear from the Scripture; and from hence you may judge what ſort of *Arian* this *Epiſcopius* was, and what advantage it is to your cauſe to have nam'd him. Indeed he refuſes to tell the manner, how theſe three are one, as not neceſſary, becauſe not reveal'd; and we all join with him.

Sandius.

SOC. The next he names is *C. Sandius*.

CHR. This is he whom you have already quoted as an *Arian*: The *Arian* opinion, ſays our Author (p. 34.) *may be ſeen on their part in their Hiſtorian* Chr. Sandius. And now you bring him into the number of the catholick Writers: You wanted one to make up the number: But tho' he cannot be produc'd as a Catholick, yet if he ſays any thing material, tho' an *Arian*, we may hear him.

SOC. My Author ſays that *C. Sandius* wrote on purpoſe to prove that all antiquity was *Arian**.

CHR. But does he ſhew any of his proofs?

SOC. No: He only ſays that *Sandius* wrote with that deſign.

CHR. Then I will oppoſe to him *Euſebius* and the Fathers he quotes who were before the Council of *Nice*, and were not *Arians*: But if by all antiquity being *Arian*, he only means, as in truth he can mean nothing elſe, that the ſeeds of the *Arian* Hereſy, were ſown even in the Apoſtles time, and ſo were from antiquity, we do readily grant it, and have prov'd it.

SOC. He ſays, this *Sandius* under the borrow'd name of *Cingallus* wrote a Treatiſe call'd *Scriptura Trinitatis Revelatrix*; where†, under pretence of aſſerting the Trinity, he has as much (as he could) defeated all the ſtrengths of the catholick cauſe, and ſhews that there is no conſiderable texts objected to the *Arians* or *Socinians*, but is given up by ſome or other of the *Trinitarians* themſelves: So that among them, they have given away the victory to their adverſaries.

CHR. This if true, ſerves only to ſhew that your *Sandius* was a treacherous enemy, betraying under the ſhew of friendſhip. And for his ſaying that ſome *Trinitarian* or other has given up every text, it makes no more if granted, (which it is not) than this, that one text may appear ſtrong to one, and another text may appear more convincing to another: But tho' I lay aſide ſuch a text, and chuſe rather to inſiſt upon another, it does not follow that I give up ſuch a text, becauſe I wave it: Yet after all, I muſt

* Hiſt. p. 35. † p. 36.

abſolutely deny the aſſertion, whether it be your Author, or *Sandius* makes it, and I put it to the proof, and ſay that there are many texts, as to the Trinity which no learned *Trinitarian* will give up. But I will retort this upon our Author, that there is no point of the *Unitarian* Doctrine, as diſtinguiſh'd from the *Trinitarian*, but what is given up, as I have already ſhewn, not only by *Arians* againſt *Socinians*, and *Socinians* againſt *Arians*; but by ſub-diviſions of *Arians* againſt *Arians*, and *Socinians* againſt *Socinians*, *Bidleites*, *Anthropomorphites*, &c. And all againſt the *Nazarens*, *Ebionites*, and others taken in for the primitive *Unitarians*, as you call them; and even by theſe ancients among themſelves, hardly two of them agreeing almoſt in any point, wherein they broke off from the Church. So that *among them* (to uſe your Author's words) *they have given away the victory to their adverſaries*, with a witneſs.

As for the advantage he expects from Dr. *Burnet*'s relation of *Van Parr* the *Dutchman* *, with which he ends his firſt Letter; I ſhall ſay nothing at this time: I will not anticipate what a living Author ſhall think fit to ſay in his own defence; leſt I miſtake his meaning.

Thus you have ſeen his ſtrength from Hiſtory, and his ſucceſs in gaining ſome Men of name to favour his Party.

THE FIFTH DIALOGUE.

A general View and Application of what has been ſaid.

CHR. LET us now from the ſeveral heads upon which we have diſcours'd, take a general view of the ſtate of the Controverſy on both ſides; and ſee where the difficulty lies of believing, and the prejudices that detain you or us.

SOC. Our prejudice lies in the ſeeming contradiction to reaſon there is in your Faith. And we wonder that does not byaſs you to come to our ſide.

CHR. I will not repeat what has been ſaid upon that head: But then you ought to conſider, that it muſt be ſome very ſtrong and powerful evidence that ſways us againſt that byaſs of ſeeming reaſon; for every Man wou'd make his Faith as eaſy to him as he cou'd: No Man loves difficulty; but in ſome caſes it cannot be avoided; and the greateſt matters are not to be attain'd without it.

* Hiſt. Unitar. p. 37.

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This evidence is the holy Scriptures, as underſtood and generally receiv'd in thoſe ages wherein they were wrote: And the ſame ſenſe deduc'd and carry'd down to us, through all the following ages to this day.

And your prejudice againſt receiving theſe Scriptures in the ſame ſenſe, is, the ſeeming contradiction you fanſy there is in Reaſon againſt the chriſtian Doctrine, of which he have diſcours'd.

1. The word *God* in holy Scripture is taken moſt commonly in a complex ſenſe, as including all the three Perſons. And ſometimes it is taken perſonally for the Father.

But I wou'd ſay a word more concerning a prejudice you have taken up, as if the word *God* in holy Scripture was always meant of the Father only; and ſo you apply whatever you find ſaid of God, as belonging only to the Father, and urge ſuch texts to inferr the excluſion of the other Perſons, the Son and the Holy Ghoſt.

Now I grant that the word *God* is often in holy Scripture uſ'd to mean the Father particularly, or in a perſonal ſenſe, he being the fountain (as I may ſay) of the Deity, whence the other Perſons do proceed: But moſt commonly it is taken in a complex ſenſe, to expreſs the Deity or divine Nature, wherein all the Perſons are included: So that God is three Perſons, and the three Perſons are God. And thus we find it expreſs'd in Scripture. *(viz.)* The three Perſons without the name of God at all; to take away the cavil about that word, and to ſhew that as God is a proper word to expreſs the whole Trinity, or any of the Perſons; ſo the Trinity may be expreſs'd without the word *God* at all. We find the three Perſons nam'd where *God* is certainly meant; and yet the word *God* not there, nor any diſcrimination or exception of any of the Perſons: And what God has put together, how can we take aſunder? God is expreſt by three Perſons: And ſhall we take upon us to except any of the Perſons? Or ſhall we ſay that one of theſe Perſons is God, and that the other are Creatures? Shall we ſay this, tho' the Scripture ſays no ſuch thing? Or ſhall we ſay that Creatures, are part of the deſcription of God? We may as well ſay that they are part of God.

When *Chriſt* commiſſion'd his Diſciples to baptize in the name of *God*, he does not uſe the word God; but expreſſes and deſcribes him thus, *Go and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*; again, *There are three that bear record in Heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt.*

Mat. xxviii. 19.
1 John. v. 7.

If you will make the two other Perſons to be Creatures (as one Party of the *Socinians* do) then you join Creatures into the deſcription of God, and baptize Men in the Faith and Worſhip of Creatures, (As Mr. *Biddle* in his *Confeſſion of Faith touching the Holy Trinity*, above quoted, does expreſſly own) and ſet up a Trinity which conſiſts of God, and two Creatures, the firſt Perſon God, the ſecond and third Perſons were Creatures. And it will in no ways ſolve the horrid blaſphemy, to ſay that theſe two are very excellent Creatures; for the diſtance 'twixt God, and the moſt excellent Creature that is, or can be, is infinite; and the blaſphemy the ſame to join one Creature as another into a Trinity with God; and to baptize Men into the Faith and Worſhip of Creatures, jointly with God.

And this Trinity, in Mr. *Biddle*'s *Confeſſion of Faith*, which he aſſerts by the expreſs name of *the Holy Trinity*, muſt be more abhorrent than the chriſtian Trinity, to the other ſet of *Socinians*, who own what we call the ſecond and third Perſons to be nothing different, but the ſelf ſame thing with the firſt Perſon; becauſe, ſo, the Chriſtians join nothing with God, nor adore any thing but God in the holy Trinity: And ſuppoſe the Chriſtians ſhou'd be miſtaken in their notion, or explanation of the Trinity, they ſtill avoid the blaſphemous idolatry of joining Creatures with God, or ſharing his honour to them; which (by virtue of the diſtinction of *Latria*, and *Dulia*, of a ſupreme and inferior, divine Worſhip) was the only foun-

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dation and excuſe of the *Pagan*, *Arian*, and *Roman* idolatry; and excuſes all alike.

But now in the ſenſe of thoſe *Socinians*, who make the Word and the Spirit to be only qualities, then you give this excellent ſenſe of theſe texts; *(viz.) There are three in Heaven.* Firſt the Father; the ſecond, his Power or Wiſdom; and the third, his Power or Wiſdom. Which is not only to make a Man and his Spirit to be two, without being two Perſons; but to make his Spirit to be a ſecond and a third thing from itſelf: For, as we have ſaid before, this ſcheme makes God's Word and Spirit to be the ſame thing, to mean no more than his Power or Wiſdom, which are not diſtinct from him.

Thus you have God commanding to baptize in the name of himſelf, and of himſelf, and of himſelf.

And whoſoever ſhall blaſpheme againſt himſelf ſhall be forgiven; but he that blaſphemes againſt himſelf ſhall not be forgiven.

Our Author ſays * we are out in counting when we ſay three Perſons and one God, which he, in his courtly way, calls brutal in us.

2. The *Socinians* hold a Trinity more unaccountable than what is held by Chriſtians.

I would deſire to know by what rule of arithmetick he reckons one God into three, without diſtinction of Perſons, for this is a Trinity; but whether it be more rational than our Trinity, do you judge. We both hold three in Heaven, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt: This is a Trinity; herein we agree, but in the account we give of it we differ mightily.

We ſay there are three in Heaven, really diſtinct from one another; and therefore reckon them three, tho' they agree in the ſame nature; which he makes the difficulty: But at the ſame time he ſays there are three in Heaven: Which three are not diſtinguiſhed at all from one another; but are only one in every reſpect. We ſay they are three in one reſpect, that is, in reſpect of their three Perſons; and in another reſpect are one, that is, in reſpect of their Nature, which is but one. On the other hand, the *Socinians* ſay they are one, and yet reckon them three in the ſelf-ſame reſpect; *i. e.* in reſpect of their Nature, without any difference of Perſons. We ſay one is three, by being diſtinguiſhed into three: They ſay one is three, without being diſtinguiſhed at all: Which of theſe is the beſt reckoning and beſt reaſon is left to the Reader's judgment.

And every Scripture bears the ſame argument where theſe three are reckoned: Of which there are multitudes of texts that we have not quoted: It is in the preface and ſalutation of almoſt every Epiſtle; with St. *Paul* frequently, as we have remember'd: And thus St. *Peter* begins, to the *Elect* ſome of which *according to the Fore-knowledge of God the Father, thro' ſanctification of the Spirit unto obedience, and ſprinkling of the Blood of* Jeſus Chriſt. 1 Pet. i. 2.

3. The *Socinians* own their interpretations to be contrary to the Church.

And our Author gives a very fair confeſſion againſt himſelf as to all his interpretations: For after he has done with the Scripture texts, he owns ingeniouſly, p. 158. *That they differ from the Church in tranſlating ſeveral, and in interpreting all the before-cited texts.*

SOC. I do remember this, and it has much offended me, that we ſhould confeſs out of our own mouths, that we take a way of our own, contrary to the Church of *Chriſt*.

CHR. Sure he muſt give ſome very extraordinary reaſon for this; nothing leſs than expreſs Revelation or Demonſtration itſelf can ſupport a Man in a war againſt the whole chriſtian Church.

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* Hiſt. p. 25.

SOC. He repeats the old difficulty of three being one, and thence concludes that *their interpretations and tranſlations ought to be admitted, and thoſe of the Church and* Trinitarians *rejected.*

CHR. And you have ſeen him run himſelf into greater abſurdities than theſe he pretends to avoid.

4. Pretended obſcurity in Scripture not the cauſe.

And this brings us juſt where we began, which was, that the *Socinians* would admit of the tranſlations and interpretations of Scripture, which the Church recommends, and would own the Trinity to be ſufficiently reveal'd in Scripture, if it did not appear to them to be contrary to their own Reaſon, if there were not difficulties in it which they cannot ſolve. And therefore it is not any abſurdity in the Scripture which hinders them to believe; for while they go upon this argument, if the Revelation were never ſo expreſs, they would never ſubmit to it, but ſcrew and gloſs while words would bear it, of which we have ſeen very fair examples: And he declares in expreſs terms, that * *whatever doctrine appears abſurd and contradictory ought to be rejected, how agreeable ſoever it may ſeem to the mere chime and jingle of the words of ſome few texts,* as he reverently expreſſes it.

SOC. He gives two parellel inſtances; one of the † *Anthropomorphites*, and Mr. *Biddle:* That God has human parts and paſſions; *which we reject,* (ſays he) *becauſe it is again Reaſon, though many texts ſpeak of God after this manner.*

5. The rule of interpretation in caſe of the *Anthropomorphites*, will not ſerve in caſe of the Trinity.

CHR. There was a neceſſity to ſpeak of God after this manner, becauſe otherwiſe we ſhould not underſtand him: For we can apprehend nothing but after the manner of Men. But the reaſon was quite contrary why God ſhould ſpeak of himſelf as three one: You will not ſay that this was to condeſcend to our capacities: And therefore if this had not been a neceſſary truth, God would not, as I may ſo ſay, have troubled our underſtandings with it, ſeeing there was no other neceſſity in the whole world for revealing it to us.

Secondly, Theſe expreſſions, to be delivered into the Hands of God, to be hid under his Wings, *&c.* are common and known figures of ſpeech, nor are taken literally, even when apply'd to Men. If I ſhould ſay, I will hide you under my wings, no body would underſtand it as if I had real wings and feathers, but only that I would protect you and keep you ſafe, as Birds do their brood under their wings.

But *the Word was God,* and *there are three in Heaven,* have no relation to theſe ſort of expreſſions.

Thirdly, Other Scriptures tell us, that God is a Spirit, inviſible, impaſſible, *&c.* and therefore where he is ſpoke of after the manner of Body, we muſt underſtand it figuratively.

But there are no Scriptures which ſay, that God is not *Tri—une*; and therefore thoſe which ſay he is ſo, muſt ſtand in their plain literal ſenſe, and are not parallel to theſe Scriptures which ſpeak of God after the manner of Body.

Fourthly, The Scriptures alledged by the *Anthropomorphites* are plainly figurative, as has been ſaid, even when apply'd to Men. But the Scriptures which are brought for proof of the Trinity, are not ſo much as pretended to be taken in any figurative ſenſe, as *The Word was God*; *Baptizing in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*; *He that ſins againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhall not be forgiven*; *There are three that bear record in Heaven,* &c.

The *Socinians* do not pretend to eſcape theſe texts by making them figurative, for there is no figure in them, they take other ways to anſwer

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*Hiſt. p. 160. † p. 159.

them which we have ſeen: Therefore this inſtance of the *Anthropomorphites* is not parallel to that of the Trinity.

Let me here take notice, that Mr. *Biddle*, whom our Author quotes here as an *Anthropomorphite*, is notwithſtanding own'd by him, and other the *Socinians* as a brother *Socinian* and a great *Rabbi* of theirs, whoſe works they have re-printed, with his life prefix'd, making him both a Saint and a Martyr for their Religion.

Concerning whom I only now obſerve how tender Men are to the miſtakes of their own party. Mr. *Biddle* and his followers are own'd as *Socinians*, as very good *Unitarians*, tho' they will take the figurative expreſſions, which ſpeak of God after the manner of Body, in a literal ſenſe; that is only a ſmall miſtake in them, it is nothing but the old hereſy of the *Anthropomorphites*, and deſtroys the firſt notion of a God, to make him a Body, and Matter, which makes it impoſſible for him to be God: All this ſhall be pardonable in a *Socinian!*

But on the other hand, when we take theſe texts of the Trinity literally, which the *Socinians* themſelves confeſs cannot be taken figuratively, this is brutal in us, as our Author civilly treats us.

To digeſt *Anthropomorphitiſm*, and boggle at the Trinity, is ſtraining at a gnat, and ſwallowing a Camel; it is a perſpicuity of Reaſon worthy a *Socinian!* But go on with your Author.

SOC. He gives another parallel: *What can be more expreſs*, ſays he, *than this is my Body? Yet we reject the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, becauſe it is contradictory and impoſſible that the ſame body ſhould at the ſame time be in more places than one**.

6. Nor in the caſe of Tranſubſtantiation.

CHR. Here he plays both the *Socinian* and the *Jeſuit*: He implies, that we think Tranſubſtantiation is contain'd in theſe words, *This is my Body*, and that moſt expreſſly: *What can be more expreſs?* ſays he: And that tho' it be ſo expreſſly contain'd in theſe words, yet that we reject it only becauſe it ſeems contradictory, *&c.* Herein he inſinuates two manifeſt falſhoods, *Firſt*, That we think Tranſubſtantiation is expreſſly contain'd in theſe words, *This is my Body*: Whereas we ſay, that it is ſo far from being expreſſly contain'd in theſe words, that it is not contain'd in them at all.

The *Lutherans* take theſe words as literally as the *Papiſts*, and yet our Author cannot but have heard, that they utterly reject Tranſubſtantiation.

This miſtake of his occaſions a ſecond, which is, that the reaſon of our rejecting Tranſubſtantiation, is the ſeeming impoſſibility of one Body being in two places at once.

This indeed is a great objection: And God never commanded any thing contradictory to human ſenſe. But this is not our chief reaſon; our chief reaſon againſt Tranſubſtantiation is, that it is not reveal'd in Scripture; but that it is againſt many expreſs Revelations of Scripture; for example, 1 *Cor.* XI. 27. *Mat.* XXVI. 29. 1 *Cor.* X. 17. As for theſe words, *This is my Body*, we ſay Tranſubſtantiation cannot be infer'd from them; and we put the iſſue upon this.

SOC. You ſay, that God never commanded any thing contradictory to human ſenſe: We do often inſiſt upon the parallel betwixt Tranſubſtantiation and the Trinity, and ſay that the Trinity is as contradictory as that or more.

CHR. I know you do, and it is a common place of the *Papiſts* too: But as much without ground as any thing ever either of you ſaid; becauſe Tranſubſtantiation is wholly againſt ſenſe, and the Trinity is not at all: As I have already ſhew'd.

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* Hiſt. p. 160.

SOC.

SOC. But let me repeat. Is not the Trinity againſt ſenſe at all?

CHR. No: Tell which of the ſenſes it is againſt. Is it againſt your ſeeing, or taſte, or ſmell?

SOC. I cannot ſay it is againſt them: But our ſenſes could not have found it out.

CHR. Who ever ſaid they could? Every Spirit is without the reach of our outward ſenſes: But that is the reaſon why a Spirit is not againſt our ſenſes, or contradictory to them.

But Tranſubſtantiation is flatly againſt them all.

And I do inſiſt upon it, that God never requir'd any Man to believe any thing that did contradict any of his outward ſenſes.

So very poor is your parallel betwixt the Trinity and Tranſubſtantiation.

Again, we have ſeen parallels in Nature, as to the Trinity; but there is none as to Tranſubſtantiation. Can you tell us any other caſe where accidents appear without inherance in a Subſtance proper for ſuch accidents? Nothing like it was ever heard of, to lead us to any poſſible idea of it.

7. Concerning myſteries.

SOC. We reject both, becauſe we will have no myſtery in our Religion; and all the Sacraments, their operation, and their effects, what they typify, and what they exhibit, is, in the modeſteſt explanation very myſterious: I mean your way of explaining them, for we make them as familiar and plain as the high-way.

CHR. You do ſo indeed: Till they deſerve the name of Sacraments no more than what you have named: And ſo you do with all the reſt of Religion: But you have ill luck at it, for while you endeavour to make it ſo very plain, to avoid all Myſtery, you have entangled it to the degree of contradiction itſelf, and forcing words out of all the meaning that ever Mankind put upon them, of which we have ſeen liberal inſtances: You have advanc'd idolatry beyond the notion even of Heathens, while you own a Perſon not to be God, and yet pay him divine worſhip: This takes in the moſt ancient, honourable, and greateſt part of the *Unitarians*. Then to make God a Body, with your *Biddleit-Unitarians*, to revive the moſt noiſom of the ancient hereſies, and moſt nonſenſical, the *Anthropomorphites*, and countenancing the idolatry of making pictures of the inviſible God, which, if God be a body of the ſhape of a Man, with Hands, Feet, Eyes, *&c.* can be no great fault: And all this to make the Scripture plain, and to ſhun all myſtery in our Religion!

SOC. But how do you anſwer our arguments? *How can any thing that is reveal'd be a myſtery? It was a myſtery or ſecret before the revelation of it; but ſince it was reveal'd, it ceaſes to be a myſtery or ſecret; unleſs a ſecret diſcover'd be a ſecret ſtill.

CHR. That is to ſay, ſo far as it is diſcover'd, it is no ſecret; which is, that no ſecret is no ſecret. But pray, may not a thing be diſcover'd in ſuch obſcure terms, that tho' I underſtand ſomething of it, yet I cannot clearly apprehend it all? And ſo I may have many ſearchings and reaſonings to know farther of it, and to underſtand the Revelation of it more perfectly. Do you pretend to know all the Book of the *Revelations*? Is it not therefore reveal'd? And is there therefore no myſtery in it? I ſuppoſe you do not deny but our Saviour was reveal'd, *Gen.* III. 15. where it was told that *the ſeed of the Woman ſhall bruiſe the Serpent's Head*: And in ſeveral other places of the Old Teſtament, wherein he was propheſied of in very expreſs terms. But you confeſs this to have been a myſtery till the farther Revelation of it in the Goſpel: Upon which I deſire you to anſwer your own queſtion; how it was a myſtery after it was reveal'd in the Old Te-

* Def. Hiſt. c. 9. p. 49.

ſtament, *unleſs a ſecret diſcover'd be a ſecret ſtill?* But laſtly, Is not Heaven plainly reveal'd to us in the Goſpel? Is there no Myſtery remaining in it? *We now ſee thro' a glaſs darkly*, ſays St. *Paul, but then face to face.* 1 Cor. xiii. 14. And to ſee darkly is a true deſcription of Myſtery: I know an ingenious *Socinian* may call this an abſurdity, and ſay, how can you ſee darkly? For ſo far as you ſee, it is not dark. And I will not take pains to anſwer it.

THE

SIXTH DIALOGUE.

Of the Satisfaction made by Chriſt *for our Sins.*

CHR. THERE is one great point yet behind, which is built upon the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Divinity and Incarnation of *Chriſt*, and that is the Doctrine of Satisfaction; of which your Author likewiſe ſpeaks: And this work will not be compleat, without conſidering that main foundation of the chriſtian Religion.

SOC. Let us then go on with our Author; he ſays, whereas beſides the above cited texts, the orthodox object: That if *Chriſt* were not God as well as Man, he cou'd not ſatisfy the juſtice of God for our ſins, or be a full atonement for them. The *Socinians* anſwer, *Firſt*, That *Chriſt* is a propitiation and atonement for ſin, is a demonſtration that he is not God; for God doth not give or make, but receive ſatisfaction for our ſins.

CHR. God gave his Son to be a propitiation for ſin; and receiv'd from him ſatisfaction for our ſins; and this proves him to be both God and Man: God becauſe none elſe cou'd pay infinite ſatisfaction for infinite goodneſs offended: And Man, becauſe that which offended muſt make the ſatisfaction: But human Nature cou'd not make this ſatisfaction, *In that it was weak thro' the fleſh, therefore*, ſays St. *Paul, God ſending his own Son in the likeneſs of ſinful fleſh, and for ſin*, or by a ſacrifice for ſin (as our margent reads it) *condemned ſin in the fleſh.*

1. Objection of God, by this, having made the ſatisfaction to himſelf. Rom. viii. 3.

SOC. If God gave or ſent his Son, then it was God who paid the ranſom to himſelf.

CHR. In that ſenſe no doubt, he did, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *God was in* Chriſt, *reconciling the world to himſelf:* It was God who found out, and afforded us this admirable means. 2 Cor. v. 19.

He exalted the Manhood into God, united human Nature into one Perſon with the divine Nature, whereby Man might become worthy to expiate for his offence.

And, to compare this with cases which are familiar among our selves, nothing is more common than for a Man to endeavour to enable his Debtor to make satisfaction for his debt, by adding to his stock, putting him into the method of gain, obtaining for him offices, preferments, *&c.* And, in this case, when a Debtor has recover'd himself, by the kindness and munificence of his Creditor, and when he has with thankfulness, paid his debt; no body objects it as an absurdity, that by this method the Creditor has paid himself: It is so far true, that if it had not been for the Creditor's goodness and his management, his Debtor wou'd never have been able to have paid him; and in this sense, he may be said to have satisfied himself; because the satisfaction given himself, mov'd from himself, and was carry'd on upon his stock: But, because it was paid by the Debtor, being thus inrich'd, it is not strictly call'd satisfying himself.

And thus it was, that Man paid his debt to God, tho' he was wholly enabled to it by God, and without God cou'd never have done it.

All his sufficiency is of God: And after this manner it is that Men are said to bestow upon God, and that God accepts it as such, and rewards them for it. You know the free-will-offerings in the Law, and the contribution for building the Temple are call'd their offering willingly to God: Tho' *David* acknowledges to God, that all this store that we have prepared, *cometh of thine hand and is all thine own*, yet this hinders not what *David* there says, that he had offer'd them *of his proper goods*: And at the same time confesses to God, *of thine own have we given thee.*

1 Chr. xxix. 6, 16. 3, 14.

And now be judge your self, whether my giving, or bestowing, does not argue that I have less dependence upon the Person who receives a boon from me, than I have upon my Creditor to whom I am bound to pay my debt?

Yet you can well enough digest our giving to God, who gives us all; and at the same time cry out upon our paying any thing to God, as an absurdity, tho' he requires it from us, and calls it a debt upon us.

But take another reason. It was God the Son who was incarnate, and paid the satisfaction to his Father. Here it is one Person making satisfaction to another Person, and so your objection is wholly over.

By this you see how necessary the Doctrine of the Trinity is to the satisfaction of *Christ*: *Christ* himself did sanctify his human Nature; *For their sakes I sanctify my self.* And then offer'd it up as an acceptable and sufficiently worthy sacrifice to his Father. He rais'd from death his human Nature, freed it from Prison, as having discharg'd one debt; and *by his Power*, he took his life again, as, of himself, he had laid it down: * Thus in all things, *out of his own stock*, he paid our whole Debt to his Father.

Joh. xvii. 19.

Joh. x. 19.

Soc. The *Socinians* answer, *Secondly*, They wonder that *Christ*, tho' a Man only, shou'd not be judg'd a sufficient satisfaction and propitiation for sin, when the sacrifice of Beasts, under the Law, was accepted as a full atonement and satisfaction, *in order to forgiveness*, Lev. vi. 6.

2. How the legal sacrifices were accepted as satisfaction.

CHR. I wonder much more, that they shou'd be so wilfully blind as not to see that the legal sacrifices were not accepted *for their own worthiness*, but only as types of the sacrifice of *Christ*, which only is sufficient to make atonement and satisfaction as to the justice of God for us. And St. *Paul* gives this for the reason why there was a necessity of *Christ*'s sacrifice, *in order to forgiveness. For*, says he, *It is not possible that the blood of Bulls and Goats shou'd take away sins*, Heb. x. 14.

3. The necessity of a satisfaction from the nature of Justice.

Soc. This is all our Author says, as to this point; but I would gladly ask why there was a necessity to make satisfaction to the Justice of God?

* Hist. Unitar. p. 136.

It

It is not call'd injuſtice in me, if I forgive a debt without any ſatisfaction.

CHR. What is it call'd then? Is it called Juſtice?

SOC. No: It cannot be call'd Juſtice; for Juſtice would exact to the uttermoſt farthing: It it called Mercy; to forgive is Mercy, and not Juſtice.

CHR. Right, and in Men there is a mixture of both, and ſometimes we exert our Juſtice, and ſometimes our Mercy: We have our proportions of each: And in ſome Men their Juſtice is greater than their Mercy; and in others their Mercy does exceed their Juſtice.

But in God it is not ſo: He is both to the utmoſt, that is, infinitely. His Juſtice muſt not take any thing from his Mercy, nor his Mercy from his Juſtice, every one of his Attributes muſt be full and complete, and entire in it ſelf.

Therefore God is not only juſt, that is, has ſome Juſtice in him, or a certain meaſure of Juſtice; but he is Juſtice itſelf; Juſtice in the abſtract; and whatever agrees to Juſtice, to the Nature of Juſtice, that muſt be in God.

Does Juſtice require full ſatisfaction?

SOC. Yes: That is the Nature of Juſtice.

CHR. Then God muſt require it; for he is Juſtice.

SOC. Where then is his Mercy? If he be all Juſtice, there is no room for Mercy.

CHR. He ſhews his Mercy in finding that full Satisfaction for us; which is *Chriſt*, whom he gave and ſent to us: And this ſatisfaction being infinite, conſequently his Mercy is infinite; and ſo all his Attributes ſtand in their full extent, and the one is not crippled to eaſe another: His Mercy is not exalted, by the leſſening of his Juſtice; but in the fulfilling of it: His Juſtice is exalted, by his finding an infinite Satisfaction for ſin: And his Mercy is exalted, in that his Juſtice cou'd take no leſs a Satisfaction, which brought his Mercy to a neceſſity of finding ſuch a Satisfaction, if it wou'd ſave Man. Thus his Attributes exalt and magnify one another, but they do not cramp, nor incroach upon one another: There is harmony, not a ſtruggle 'twixt the Attributes of God; and what ſeems to be a difference between them, unites them the more ſtrongly. *One deep calleth another*: The Abyſs of his Juſtice, calls upon the Abyſs of his Mercy: His Juſtice requires Satisfaction; his Wiſdom finds it; and his Mercy beſtows it: Here are the three Perſons of the Trinity before deſcrib'd, *viz.* Power, Wiſdom, Love. And let me obſerve to you, that, as the Will acts from the laſt dictate of the Underſtanding: And the holy Spirit of Love proceeds from the Wiſdom, which is the ſecond Perſon of the bleſſed Trinity, as before has been explain'd: So, in the preſent diſquiſition we are upon, the Satisfaction due to the Juſtice of God for our ſins, his Love or Mercy does act, not arbitrarily, *i. e.* without Reaſon; but according to the ſtrict rules of his Wiſdom and Juſtice; with which his Goodneſs and Mercy muſt keep even pace; otherwiſe there muſt be a fraction and diviſion in God, that is, among his Attributes, and one get the better of another. But according to the Doctrine of Satisfaction, they recommend and glorify each another: They all concurr to the ſame end, tho' in different manners, tho' they ſeem to be oppoſite, to go againſt one another; which they often do among Men; for want of Wiſdom to find out a method to ſatisfy both Juſtice and Mercy: And therefore one is forc'd to yield to the other; one to oppoſe, to be againſt the other; but in God, they are all one.

SOC. St. *James* ſays, *Mercy rejoiceth againſt Judgment*, ch. II. 13. Jam. ii. 13. explain'd.

CHR. That may be ſaid in compliance with our manner of apprehenſion, which, as has been obſerv'd, is often us'd in Scripture; and in our for-

giveneſſes, *Mercy rejoiceth againſt Judgment*: We cannot reconcile them, therefore this was ſpoke *ad captum*.

But Secondly, our Margent reads it *glorieth*; and the vulgar has it, *Miſericordia ſuperexaltat Judicium*; *Mercy exalts Juſtice*, or as the *Greek* will bear it, *Mercy glorieth of Juſtice*.

And this appears plain from the part of this verſe, which goes before; for theſe words are deduc'd as a conſequence from an inſtance of Juſtice, and even of Juſtice *without Mercy*; *for he ſhall have Judgment without Mercy, that hath ſhew'd no Mercy, and Mercy glorieth of Judgment*.

But if you mean that *Mercy glorieth againſt Juſtice*, by way of getting the better of Juſtice, of taking off from the Satisfaction which Juſtice wou'd require: How is that done in executing Judgment without Mercy, which this text ſpeaks of?

But if you mean that this ſevere and exact Juſtice does recommend Mercy to us ſo much the more: Then the force of the argument appears plain becauſe this Juſtice was threaten'd to thoſe *who had ſhewn no Mercy*. So that this Juſtice recommends or exalts Mercy to us: And Mercy here glorieth of Judgment, of this Juſtice done to thoſe who have no Mercy.

To glory or boaſt of a thing, ſhews that we have a kindneſs for it, that we are pleas'd with it, or as the common ſaying is, proud of it: And this ſuppoſes a concern for it, and not an enmity againſt it: And thus it is that the Mercy of God glorieth of his Juſtice; but by no means againſt it, in this ſenſe, as if his Mercy does thwart his Juſtice in the redemption of Man by *Chriſt Jeſus*. But as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *His Righteouſneſs* (or *Juſtice*, δικαιοσύνη) *was declared, in his being juſt, and the juſtifier of him who believeth in* Jeſus. Mercy ſatisfying Juſtice, exalts Juſtice, and, in that ſenſe may be ſaid to glory even againſt it, *viz.* That the Debtor is not ruin'd by Juſtice, which Juſtice does not require, ſo full ſatisfaction be made otherwiſe; but it is not ſo if Mercy will ſave the Debtor without ſatisfying of Juſtice, for then Juſtice muſt be reſtrain'd and curtail'd and driven from its right, forc'd to be ſatisfy'd, without ſatisfaction given to it: And Mercy glorying, or rejoicing againſt Juſtice, in this ſenſe, is being an enemy to Juſtice, conteſting againſt its right, and overcoming it: And this cannot be betwixt the Attributes of God, without ſuppoſing God to be at enmity, and contradictory to himſelf.

Rom. iii. 26.

But pray tell me, ſince you will not have *Chriſt* a Satisfaction or Propitiation for your ſin, what is it that you make of him?

4. Of *Chriſt* as Mediator only.

SOC. We think he is our Mediator and Interceſſor; and that it is for his ſake that God forgives our ſins, and gives us Heaven.

CHR. And you think this more rational, than that God ſhou'd need any Satisfaction to his Juſtice: But now upon the point of Reaſon, does God need any to mediate or intercede? Does not he know and conſider whatever any body elſe can ſuggeſt to him? For, *who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his Councellor?* Rom. II. 34.

SOC. That is true: But if God pleaſe to ordain a Mediator.

CHR. And if he pleaſe to ordain a Satisfaction; why do you reject this as being againſt Reaſon; and yet ſet up a Mediation, which you confeſs has as little reaſon?

5. Reaſons the *Socinians* give for the death of *Chriſt*. To confirm his Doctrine.

But how do you ſolve the Juſtice of *Chriſt*'s death, who can find no uſe in the World for his death? For he might mediate and intercede without dying.

SOC. He dy'd to confirm the truth of his Doctrine.

CHR. Many Men have dy'd for an error. Dying proves no more than that a Man is ſtrongly perſuaded of the truth of what he ſays.

In hatred to ſin.

SOC. God took *Chriſt*'s life, to ſhew God's hatred to ſin.

CHR. This proves flatly againſt you, for *Chriſt* had no ſin of his own, and therefore it muſt be, that he took our ſin upon him, and ſuffer'd for it, which you will not allow.

But let us leave our own reaſonings and gueſſing, they are very fallible, and let us come to matter of fact, and ſee what God has done, not what we may fanſy proper for him to do.

6. *Chriſt* conſider'd in his types.

The ſtrongeſt argument to perſuade you in this great point of the propitiation of *Chriſt*, is to view him in his types of the Old Teſtament: And theſe will give you the eaſy ſenſe of thoſe texts of the New Teſtament, which ſpeak of him as fulfilling thoſe types of his.

Himſelf tells you, that *one iota of the Law cannot paſs till all be fulfilled.* Mat. v. 18.

And St. *Paul* is ſo exact in the parallel betwixt him and his types, that he gives this for the reaſon of that ſeeming ſmall circumſtance in the Sufferings of *Chriſt*, which otherwiſe, I ſuppoſe, no body had obſerv'd, and that was, that he ſuffer'd *without the gate of the city*. But the Apoſtle tells us, that this was order'd by Providence, on purpoſe that he might fulfil his type of the Sin-offering, or expiatory Sacrifice, whoſe body was to be *burnt without the camp*. Heb. xiii. 11, 12.

And it is notorious, that theſe Sacrifices were expiatory or propitiatory for atonement and ſatisfaction for Sin: That they were to ſuffer in our ſtead, and for us: Our Sins were confeſſed over the Scape-goat, and put upon his head, and he was to bear upon him all our iniquities: This was another type of *Chriſt*, which he was to fulfil to the leaſt tittle. Lev. xvi. 21.

This was more than bare interceding: Nay we are plainly told, that there *is no remiſſion without ſhedding of Blood:* There muſt be death: Death was threatened to Sin before it was born: And this muſt be made good: And this did conſecrate or devote our life to God; that is, lay it under the curſe of God's Indignation, or Juſtice, and for its ſake, the Blood (its vehicle) which therefore was forbidden to be eaten; it was not ours, it was forfeited to God by our Sin, it was a debt due, and muſt be paid. This Blood thus forfeited to God, he gave to us again, not to eat, or to our own common uſe, but to a new uſe, to be a type of the Blood of *Chriſt*, which only has virtue to make atonement for our Sin: And in its virtue only, its type, the Blood of the legal Sacrifices, was ſaid to make atonement for our Souls. Heb. ix. 22. Gen. ii. 17.

The life of the fleſh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the Altar, to make an atonement for your Souls: For it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the Soul. Lev. xvii. 11.

Here we are told what it is that maketh the atonement, not the naked interceſſion, or mediation, no, nor merit of the Sacrifice: *For it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the Soul.* There muſt be payment—— another Man's riches will not ſatisfy for my debt, unleſs he pay the debt for me. Thus *Chriſt*'s merit or riches had not ſatisfied without his Death; it was his merit made his Death to be ſatisfactory, which otherwiſe it had not been for Sin: But his actual dying was the actual payment of the debt: And hence it is that our Redemption is attributed to the Death of *Chriſt*, his Blood, the Sacrifice of his Life for us.

Do not miſtake me, as if this took away his Mediation and Interceſſion: No, it was this which render'd them effectual.

7. Our Redemption is by the Death of *Chriſt*.

Be pleas'd to conſider with me ſome of the texts which attribute our Redemption to *Chriſt*'s Death.

He came to give his Life a Ranſom for many—— My Blood is ſhed for the remiſſion of Sins—— Except ye eat his Fleſh, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life—— Whom God has ſet forth as a Propitiation, through Faith Mat. xx. 28. xxvi. 28. Joh. vi. 53. Rom. iii. 25.

iv. 25. v. 10, 11. 2 Cor. v. 15, 21. Gal. i. 4. iii. 13. Ephes. i. 7. Col. i. 20. Heb. ix. 12. x. 19. ix. 14, 15. Heb. i. 3. 1 Pet. ii. 24. 1 John i. 7. ii. 2. iv. 10. 1 Cor. xv. 3.

Faith in his Blood—— He was deliver'd for our offences—— Reconcil'd to God by the Death of his Son—— By whom we have received the atonement. He died for all—— God made him to be Sin for us, who knew no Sin; that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him. He gave himſelf for our Sins. He hath redeem'd us from the curſe of the Law, being made a curſe for us; We have Redemption through his Blood, the forgiveneſs of Sins, having made peace through the Blood of his Croſs. Not by the Blood of Goats and Calves, but by his own Blood, he enter'd once into the holy place, having obtain'd eternal Redemption for us—— Having therefore boldneſs to enter into the holieſt by the Blood of Jeſus—— *The Blood of* Chriſt *ſhall purge your conſcience—— And for this cauſe he is the Mediator of the New Teſtament: That by means of Death, for the redemption of tranſgreſſions—— We might receive the eternal inheritance. He by himſelf purged our Sins—— His own ſelf bare our Sins in his own Body on the Tree—— By whoſe ſtripes ye were healed. The Blood of* Chriſt *cleanſeth us from all Sin. He is the Propitiation for our Sins—— God ſent his Son to be the Propitiation for our Sins.* Chriſt *died for our Sins according to the Scriptures.*

SOC. What Scriptures does the Apoſtle there mean?

CHR. All of the Old Teſtament which relate to the Sufferings of *Chriſt*; all the Sacrifices and Inſtitutions of the Law which are applied to *Chriſt*; particularly of that remarkable chapter the LIII. of *Iſaiah*: Where it is ſaid that he was "*wounded for our tranſgreſſions, he was bruiſed for our iniquities, the chaſtiſement of our peace was upon him, and with his ſtripes we are healed—— The Lord hath laid on him the Iniquity of us all—— And made his Soul an offering for Sin—— He ſhall ſee of the travel of his Soul, and be ſatisfied—— Becauſe he hath poured out his Soul unto Death—— And he bare the Sin of many.*"

And there you have the expreſs word *ſatisfied*, that *Chriſt*'s Sufferings were a ſatisfaction to God for our Sins.

1 Cor. v. 7. And again, *Chriſt our Paſſover is ſacrificed for us.* Here you have the very word *Sacrifice*, tho' the former quotations did in effect prove the ſame: And every one knows that the Sacrifices were appointed to ſuffer in lieu, or in the ſtead of the Perſon offending.

8. God's Covenant with *Chriſt* not arbitrary.

SOC. But all this may be ſolv'd on the account of God's Covenant, to ſend *Chriſt* to die for us, redeem us with his Blood, *&c.*

And this is an eaſier way than to talk of ſatisfying God's Juſtice.

CHR. God tells us that he is ſatisfied and appeas'd by the Sufferings of *Chriſt*.

SOC. That is ſtill on account of his Covenant: Becauſe that was his Covenant, that he would be ſatisfied by the Sufferings of *Chriſt*.

CHR. God makes not Covenants by chance, or at a venture: His Covenant was declaratory, and in purſuance of his own inherent Rectitude in Juſtice and Mercy.

In your ſcheme there was no more reaſon for God's ſending *Chriſt*, than if he had covenanted to pardon Man upon turning of a ſtraw, or the moſt inſignificant action in the world.

SOC. Yes, *Chriſt* was more an example of good Life than a ſtraw, or any other Man could be, and had ſeveral other Endowments uſeful to us.

CHR. But as to the point of appeaſing God's Wrath toward us, that you make only upon the account of the Covenant, and ſo, in that reſpect, the ſtraw might have done as well.

SOC. And if God had appointed it, ſo it might, for the Covenant of God is arbitrary, and he cannot appoint inſufficient means; becauſe his appointing it makes the means ſufficient; the natural efficacy of the means is not conſider'd at all.

CHR.

CHR. Then indeed the ſtraw would have done as well; But St. *Paul* was of another opinion; for he argu'd that the old Law could not ſtand becauſe of the weakneſs of the means: For it is not *poſſible* (ſays he) *That the blood of Bulls and of Goats ſhould take away Sins.*

SOC. That is becauſe God did not appoint them for that end.

CHR. You quoted juſt now, *Lev.* VI. 6. to prove that God did appoint them for that end, and accepted them as full atonement and ſatisfaction in order to forgiveneſs, and that he might do ſo as well as accept the ſacrifice of *Chriſt*: But if it was poſſible for God to have appointed them for that end, then St. *Paul* argu'd wrong; which muſt be, or elſe you muſt be in the wrong.

SOC. Did God ever appoint means which were not ſufficient for the end for which he ordain'd them?

CHR. No ſure; becauſe God will not appoint ſuch means.

Therefore St. *Paul* argu'd from the inſufficiency of the means of the Old Covenant, that *in order to forgiveneſs there muſt be a New Covenant, upon better and more ſufficient means than thoſe which were in the Old Covenant.* Which in your Scheme, had been abſolute nonſenſe and blaſphemy againſt God, calling his means inſufficient: Nay, that it was not poſſible to make them ſufficient, for St. *Paul* inferrs the neceſſity of *Chriſt*'s blood being ſhed in order to forgiveneſs, becauſe it was not poſſible the blood of Bulls and Goats cou'd take away ſin.

SOC. Was it not poſſible, if God had appointed it?

CHR. It was not poſſible God ſhou'd appoint it: Becauſe it was not a ſufficient means for remiſſion of ſin: Therefore the Apoſtle inferrs, that if God deſign'd remiſſion of ſin, he muſt appoint other means; and make another Covenant: And that there was need and neceſſity for this. For, ſays he, *If perfection were by the* Levitical *prieſthood, what need was there for another Prieſt, and after another order*——*And there is a diſannulling of the commandment going before, for the weakneſs, and unprofitableneſs thereof*——*for if that firſt Covenant had been faultleſs, then ſhou'd no place have been ſought for the ſecond*——*It was therefore neceſſary, that the patterns of things in the Heavens ſhou'd be purified with theſe; but the heavenly things themſelves with better ſacrifices than theſe. And it is of neceſſity that* Chriſt *offer: Becauſe the legal Prieſts, his types, did offer.* Heb. vii. 11. 18. viii. 7. ix. 33. viii. 3.

So that you ſee God did not make new Covenants, for Covenant ſake: And that if bare Covenant wou'd have done, one Covenant was as good as another: But that the Covenant had regard to the means, and to the end: And the Covenant of the Law cou'd not do it: It is impoſſible, ἀδύνατον. Rom. VIII. 3. *in that it was weak.* Therefore *God ſent his Son*, &c.

Gal. III. 21. *If there had been a Law given which could have given life, verily righteouſneſs had been by the Law.* But ſays the Apoſtle (*Heb.* X. 1, 2.) *the law being but a ſhadow of good things to come, cou'd never with thoſe ſacrifices make the comers thereunto perfect*; *for then*, as he argues, *wou'd they not have ceaſed to be offer'd*——and therefore their ceaſing was, becauſe they were not means proportionable to ſo great an end as the remiſſion of ſin.

In ſhort, God's Covenant in ſending *Chriſt* was with reſpect to his Juſtice, which cou'd not without full payment, be ſatisfied: And if the blood of Bulls and Goats cou'd have done, by virtue of a Covenant, it had not been Juſtice in God (according to any notion we can have of Juſtice) it cou'd not have *pleas'd the Lord*, as the Prophet ſpeaks, to bruiſe *Chriſt*, and put him to grief, and to make his Soul an offering for ſin, when the offering

Isai. liii. 10.

offering of a Bullock wou'd have done as well: *If righteouſneſs* cou'd have *come by the law, then* Chriſt *is dead in vain*, Gal. II. 21.

9. *Obj.* That the Doctrine of Satisfaction obſtructs Piety.

SOC. *Crellius* in his book touching *one God the Father*, in the concluſion of the work treats of the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*, and ſays, it is a great hindrance to Piety: For if *Chriſt* has paid the whole Debt, what need we do any more? Nothing can be required of us.

CHR. Yes: *Chriſt* does require from us a lively and ſtedfaſt Faith, in that Satisfaction he has made for us, (which he cannot have who does not believe it) together with ſincere repentance and amendment of life: And then his Satisfaction will be apply'd to us, by our Faith: This is the condition, that is, Faith and Repentance: And this is offer'd to all: And full Satisfaction is made for the ſins of the whole World: Yet all have not the benefit of it; becauſe all will not accept of the conditions. Let me give a familiar example: Suppoſe you ſhou'd pay all the debts of the Priſoners in a Goal, and open the Doors, on condition that all who acknowledg'd your kindneſs, and wou'd go out, ſhou'd be free; and there were ſome among them deſpis'd your kindneſs, and wou'd not go out, preferring the lazy and ſordid life of a Priſon, before the true liberty: Cou'd you ſay that their debt had not been paid? And yet it wou'd be true, that they were never the better for it, but the worſe: It wou'd be an aggravation of their future bondage.

Difference 'twixt the debt of ſin and of money.

What a groſs conception had *Crellius* of the nature of ſin? He look'd upon it only as a lump of Money to be paid down: That we run in debt to God as a Man does to his Creditor; ſo that God wou'd loſe his Money if it were not repaid to him, and ſo being paid by another, God is no loſer, and the Debtor has no more to do, he owes nothing to God his Creditor; but may now defy him as out of his reach; need be pious no more, love, fear, or truſt in God no more! This is the *Socinian* argument againſt the Satisfaction! It wou'd hinder Piety! And all this, becauſe ſin is call'd a debt. But the Sophiſtry conſiſts in not diſtinguiſhing aright 'twixt the debt of ſin and of money. God does not loſe by ſin, as a Man loſes his Money; that is a groſs thought.

Sin a debt to love.

But ſin *is* an offence againſt love and goodneſs, that is againſt God, for God is *love*.

And the greater the goodneſs againſt which you offend, your offence is the greater. The greater love has been ſhewn to you, the more your ingratitude, if you be not ſenſible of it.

10. The Satisfaction which love muſt require, by the neceſſity of its nature; and for our happineſs

And the greater miſery to your ſelf too: For love is happineſs, and conſequently the want of love muſt be miſery, it is envy, malice, and all torment.

Now it is not in the power, that is, in the nature of love, ever to forgive till you grow ſenſible of your fault: Love cannot be brib'd to a reconciliation with pride, envy, malice, or what is contrary to its own nature: It muſt hate theſe, by the ſame neceſſity that it is itſelf.

And there is an exact Juſtice in love; it will require that your ſenſe of your fault, hold full proportion to the goodneſs offended. If I be but a little ſenſible for a great fault, love will reject it, it will be a freſh provocation. On the other hand, if I be as ſenſible as I can, and deſire to be more, and humble my ſelf, and repent, love will accept, and improve the ſmalleſt ſincerity, the ſmoaking flax, or bruiſed reed. Whereas all the torments of Hell will never move its pity, or one kind thought towards hypocriſy, or any treachery of love. Behold the goodneſs and ſeverity of love!

SOC. You ſay love will accept the ſmalleſt ſincerity, the ſmoaking flax, and bruiſed reed, that is, our contrition, tho' it be not proportionable to our offence; what need then of any other Satisfaction?

CHR.

CHR. This is no Satisfaction at all, being, as you ſay, not proportionable to our offence. Therefore God cannot accept it as a Satisfaction. I will tell you preſently how he accepts it. But firſt you may conſider, that what is righteous and pure in the eyes of Man, is not ſo before God; he ſays, That *we are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteouſneſſes are as filthy rags: Quaſi pannus Menſtruatæ:* The moſt impure and filthy thing in the World, that defil'd whatever it touch'd: Now God is purity it ſelf; who *chargeth his Angels with folly, yea, the Heavens are not clean in his ſight.* How then can he accept of our impurities? He ſees inſincerity and ſin in our beſt performances, in our very righteouſneſſes: And inſincerity is a ſin againſt love; love cannot accept of inſincerity; it is a freſh offence againſt love; it is hypocriſy, which love muſt hate by the neceſſity of its own Nature.

Isai. lxiv. 6.

Job iv. 18. and xv. 15.

SOC. By this argument, God muſt hate the Angels too, for he ſees folly in them.

CHR. It is ſaid folly, not ſin; the Angels that ſinned are caſt out of Heaven.

SOC. But God cannot love folly more than ſin.

CHR. No; he loves not folly: But all created Wiſdom is folly in compariſon with the eternal and infinite Wiſdom: And he loves that Wiſdom he has given to Creatures, though it bears no proportion to his infinite Wiſdom, and is folly in reſpect to that; but it is not ſin; for tho' all ſin be folly, yet all folly is not ſin.

The Angels of Heaven are reconcil'd and accepted thro' *Chriſt*. Col. i. 19, 20.

But farther, we are told, that the very Angels of Heaven are reconcil'd and accepted through *Chriſt*; to ſhew, that nothing created is worthy before God, upon its own account. Thus we read, that *it pleas'd the Father, that in* Chriſt *ſhou'd all fullneſs dwell. And having made peace through the blood of his Croſs, by him to reconcile all things unto himſelf, by him, whether things in Earth, or things in Heaven.*

Eph. i. 10.

And again, *That in the diſpenſation of the fullneſs of times, he might gather together in one all things in* Chriſt *both which are in Heaven, and which are on Earth, even in him.*

Now if the folly, though not ſin, of the Angels of Heaven needs a reconciliation; how much more all our groſs and grievous ſins! And if all their righteouſneſs cannot be accepted, for its own ſake, becauſe of the mixture of their folly and imperfections, which makes them unworthy to appear in the preſence of God, but as they are accepted thro' *Chriſt*, who is their head and reconciler, as well as ours; how then can our righteouſneſs be accepted, upon its own account, which is *all impurity and filthy rags?*

SOC. What then is the meaning of not quenching the ſmoaking flax, or breaking the bruiſed reed, or, as you infer from thence, accepting of our ſmall ſincerity?

CHR. That is, as to what is to be perform'd on our part; our repentance, and ſenſe of the infinite goodneſs of God to us, in the wonderful Oeconomy of our redemption by *Chriſt:* In this God will pardon our imperfections, and accept of our ſmoaking flax and bruiſed reed; but he accepts it not, as any part of the Satisfaction made for our ſin. *We muſt let that alone for ever,* as *David* ſays, *for it coſt more to redeem their Souls.* And *no Man can by any means redeem his Brother, nor give to God a ranſom for him.* This is perform'd wholly and ſolely by *Chriſt*, and we muſt put in for no ſhare of it, none of the merit: But pay our moſt dutiful acknowledgments, in adoring his goodneſs, who has given to God a ſufficient ranſom for us, and has redeemed our Souls, by the blood of his Croſs; and this, tho' very imperfect on our part, God will accept in and

Pſal. xlix. 8.

through the Merits and Satisfaction made for us by *Chriſt*; and in that only.

And to this my argument drawn from the nature of love perfectly agrees, For it is neceſſary towards compleating the full and abſolute notion of the Juſtice of love, that there be a ſenſibility of the fault, proportionable to the offence: This is impoſſible for Man to do; for an offence againſt infinite love, requires an infinite ſenſe of ſuch offence: This *Chriſt* performs, and taking upon him our nature, and our ſin: He offers to God a ſenſe of ſin, fully proportionable to the whole offence: And then he intercedes for his younger Brother, who is as ſenſible as he can be in his fal'n ſtate, and in his deſires, even proportionable to his offence, that is, infinitely.

And is accepted in the fullneſs of *Chriſt*'s Satisfaction, and the ſincerity of his own deſires.

And it is natural, even among Men, thus to accept one Perſon in behalf of another, eſpecially one Brother for another, or near relation, the ſame fleſh and blood.

But this ſtill ſuppoſes the offending Perſon to be as ſenſible as he can: On the contrary, if he perſiſt obſtinate, and will not be reconcil'd, he redoubles his offence, and his friends interceſſion is a freſh aggravation of his wicked perverſeneſs, and ill nature: Thus *Chriſt*'s Satisfaction is the ſtrongeſt obligation to Piety that is imaginable; and he who thinks otherwiſe, and practiſes accordingly, will never receive any benefit by it.

And love and happineſs being reciprocal, conſequently he can never return to happineſs till he become ſenſible of love: So that this Method is even natural; and no other way cou'd poſſibly either reſtore a ſinner, or make atonement for his ſin.

I know this neceſſity of ſatisfying God's Juſtice is generally argu'd upon from another topick, which is, the Greatneſs and Majeſty of God: And conſequently ſin is conſider'd as an offence againſt, and a contempt of God's Government, and ſovereign Authority: And therefore that the honour of his Government requires full and abſolute Satisfaction.

And all this is exceeding true: But I chuſe rather to explain it by the Nature of God, which is love; for from hence flows his ſovereign Authority, and all his other Attributes: And by conſidering the very Nature of God, we diſcover more plainly the Nature of ſin, and of that ſatisfaction, which, even by Nature, due for ſin, and which only can make atonement for it.

II. *Ob.* That *Chriſt* had deſpair.

SOC. You ſay that the ſenſe which *Chriſt* had of ſin was proportionable to the offence, which is meaſured by the goodneſs offended, which is infinite. Hence it will follow that the ſenſe which *Chriſt* had of the demerit of ſin did exceed that of the damn'd, for theirs is not infinite. And then it will follow, that *Chriſt* did deſpair, or ſomething worſe, if worſe can be, becauſe the damn'd have ſo ſtrong a ſenſe of ſin, as to drive them even into deſpair.

Anſ. CHR. Deſpair of God's Mercy does not proceed from a ſtrong ſenſe of ſin, tho' it ſuppoſes it. It proceeds from a weak, which is a falſe notion of God. Hence it is that one Man who hopes in God, may yet have a ſtronger ſenſe of ſin than another who deſpairs; but then he that deſpairs has not ſo ſtrong and true a notion of God.

Thus *Chriſt* had a ſenſe of ſin infinitely exceeding that of all the damn'd, even to eternity; becauſe he had an adæquate notion of God, and conſequently of the infinite demerit of ſin: But, from the ſame reaſon, he cou'd not deſpair, which, as has been ſaid, proceeds only from a low and inſufficient notion of the Nature of God; tho' in the great caſe of dereliction upon the Croſs, when he cry'd out, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſa-*

ken me! He submitted himself even to that infirmity of our corrupted Nature, as much as cou'd possibly be distinguish'd from sin, and consist with a right apprehension of God; which tho' we may suppose in a great measure clouded thro' the anguish of sufferings, and the load of sin in its full weight which merited the eternal desertion of the comforts of God's blessed influence from the sinner, and which therefore *Christ* endured to an unexpressible degree, exceeding in weight, even the despair of the damn'd; yet formal despair, cou'd never befal him, because it proceeds from a false notion of God.

12. *Ob.* That he must have suffer'd eternal punishment.

SOC. You say, that eternal punishment is the reward of sin; therefore if *Christ* did undergo the whole punishment due to sin, he must have suffer'd eternally.

CHR. The eternity of the punishment is only because satisfaction can never be made by the damn'd: Whom Justice detains till they have *paid the uttermost farthing:* Which they not being able to pay, consequently are prisoners for ever. But as Justice requires the *uttermost Farthing*, so when that is paid, Justice is oblig'd to release. That *uttermost farthing*, which the nature of Love requires, as well as of Justice, (as I have shew'd) is a sense of the sin proportionable to the offence: Which *Christ*, in our Nature, having offer'd in full tail, he purchased the release of that Nature; and gives the benefit to all who will accept of it: Whereas if he had suffer'd eternally, he had only been a prisoner with us, but had purchas'd no Redemption for us.

SOC. In answer to your arguments drawn from the Nature of God, as explain'd by the Nature of Love, I think them too notional.

CHR. It is the notion God has given us of himself: 1 *John* IV. 8. and 16. *God is Love.* And therefore it must be the most certain topick from whence to argue of his Nature: And to say that this is notional, is finding fault with Scripture.

SOC. I like the other topick better, that is, to consider of God only as a great Governour: and not to argue from his Nature, but only to consider what may be consistent, that is, safe to his government.

XXII. Of the eternity of Hell.

And in this sense I take all his threats, even of Hell, to be no more but threats in order to secure his Government over us: And that therefore he is not bound in justice, or any way, to inflict those punishments farther than to secure his Government: And that this is no breach of promise, or of his word, more than it is in a Prince to remit that punishment which he, by his Laws, has denounc'd against such an offence: The security of his Government is all he has to look to: It is no Injustice, or falsifying his Word, to pardon such an offence, or to mitigate it, to what degree he pleases.

And therefore, tho' God has threatened Hell to be eternal, he may remit that either in part or in the whole, without any impeachment to his Justice, or his Veracity, as he spar'd the *Ninevites* after he said he would destroy them.

CHR. His threatening of the *Ninevites* was in order to their repentance, *Jonah* III. 10. and so are his temporal threatenings to other Nations and Kingdoms, as we are assur'd *Jer.* XVIII. 7, 8. And therefore when they do repent, the end of that threatening is obtained.

But it is quite otherwise in the punishment of Hell; for the sufferings there are not intended for the amendment of the offenders, (which is in order to pardon) but as a satisfaction to Justice, the time of forgiveness being over: As when a malefactor is brought to Justice, to die without Mercy for his offence.

SOC. This is only to secure the Government against the like offenders for the future: And therefore I said that God does, and ought to punish, so far

as

as to ſecure his Government; but farther than that conſideration he is not oblig'd either in Juſtice or Honour.

CHR. Why? Is God afraid? Is he in danger of having his Government overturn'd? What a poor notion have you advanc'd of God's Juſtice!

Beſides, this argument only takes place as to this World; for no body ſays that the puniſhments of Hell are only for example ſake: Therefore it muſt be from ſome other conſideration; and I can ſee no other but that of ſatisfying the Juſtice of God. But why was eternal puniſhment threatened by God?

SOC. It was of uſe to have eternal puniſhments threatened at leaſt; becauſe leſs than that would not deter Men from ſinning; ſince we ſee that that itſelf does not do it. For,

" The ſting of ſin is the terror of eternal puniſhment, and if Men were " once free from the fear and belief of this, the moſt powerful reſtraint from " ſin would be taken away *—— And therefore if any thing more terrible " than eternal vengeance could have been threatened to the workers of ini- " quity, it had not been unreaſonable, becauſe it would all have been little " enough to deter Men effectually from ſin†. And whoever conſiders how " ineffectual the threatening even of eternal torments is to the greateſt part " of ſinners, will ſoon be ſatisfy'd that a leſs penalty than that of eternal " ſuffering would to the far greateſt part of Mankind, have been in all pro- " bability of little or no force—— ‡ The eternal rewards and puniſhments of " another life are the great ſanction and ſecurity of God's Laws. **And in " the laſt place, that if we ſuppoſe that God did intend that his threaten- " ing ſhould have their effect, to deter Men from the breach of his Laws; " it cannot be imagin'd that in the ſame Revelation which declares theſe " threatenings, any intimation ſhould be given of the abatement or non- " execution of them: For by this God would have weakened his own Laws, " and have taken off the edge and terror of his threatenings; becauſe a " threatening hath loſt its force, if we once come to believe that it will not " be executed: And conſequently it would be a very impious deſign to go " about to teach or perſuade any thing to the contrary, and a betraying " Men into that miſery, which had it been firmly believed might have been " avoided."

CHR. This is aſtoniſhing beyond any thing ever I heard; for I pray anſwer me, whether your making Hell doubtful, be not, in your own words, *a very impious deſign, to take away the great ſanction and ſecurity of God's Laws? To make them of little or no force to the greateſt part of Mankind?* And if the firm believing that miſery (*viz.* the eternity of Hell) be the means, as you ſay, to avoid it; then *quære*, whether making Hell doubtful, be the means to make us firmly believe it? You confeſs that in Scripture there is not any intimation, or any to be expected of the abatement or non-execution of the eternal puniſhment of Hell. It would be asked here, how then you came by the diſcovery? You prove very well that it was God's deſign that Men ſhould think Hell to be eternal.

But it ſeems you are ſtill to be excepted, who are a Man of Reaſon, and will not be over-reach'd. God could not keep it from you! But ſuppoſe you have been admitted into God's Cabinet Council, and this great ſecret has been reveal'd to you; how came you to blabb it, and fruſtrate God's deſign? Who intended that Men ſhould believe Hell was eternal.

SOC. I have told you of the folly of truſting to this: For may be Hell may be eternal to ſome, tho' not to others; and it would not be prudence to run the hazard, tho' God ſhould not inflict it: And if Hell ſhould be but

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* Hiſt. p. 4. † p. 11. ‡ p. 29. ** p. 20.

for

for ſome time, what wiſe Man would venture ſuch terrible puniſhments, tho' for never ſo ſhort a time?

CHR. But if leſs than Mens believing the certainty of Hell's eternal puniſhment will not, as you ſay, deter Men from ſinning; if that itſelf does not do it, how will they be perſuaded by telling them, that perhaps Hell may be but for ſome ſhort time; or, may be, that God will remit it altogether: That neither his Juſtice, his Wiſdom, nor other conſiderations does require it from him to make good his threatenings, but it is ſtill perfectly in his own Power and free Liberty to inflict them, or not, at his pleaſure.

SOC. Will you ſay that it is not in God's Power?

CHR. I like not the expreſſion, that it is not in God's Power to do this or that. We ſay he cannot lye, he cannot ſin, *&c.* and we know the meaning of theſe, and the like expreſſions: and perhaps you think to take advantage, and to tie me up with that ſort of expreſſion.

But if it does appear that God will not do ſuch a thing, or that he will certainly do ſuch a thing; I think we need not word it in that irreverend and provoking ſtyle, that God cannot, that it is not in his Power to do this or that, as if we were putting him to defiance, or had catch'd him at an advantage.

Now why I think it moſt certain that Hell is eternal, and that God will inflict it, is becauſe he has ſaid ſo, and ſworn to it.

Secondly, Chriſt did not promulgate this only as a Lawgiver, whereby it might be taken as a bare threatening, and, as ſuch, diſpenſable at the pleaſure of the Legiſlator; but *Chriſt* taught it as a Doctor of his Church, and ſays, not only that ſuch things were threatened, and conſequently that it was a hazard they might be inflicted; but he ſpeaks of them as things that will moſt certainly come to paſs, that the *worm will not die in Hell*, nor the *fire be quenched*. And therefore, whatever you ſay of the Legiſlator, or his Prerogative, *Chriſt* is here to be conſider'd as a true Teacher, or a true Prophet, which would not be ſo *if the worm ſhould die, or the fire be quenched.*

1. Of the puniſhment being proportioned to the offence.

SOC. I will give you a farther reaſon, which expoſes the vulgar notion Men have of the nature of Juſtice, and which leads them wrong in all this matter. People have been taught heretofore, that it belongs to the nature of Juſtice to proportion the puniſhment to the crime: Whence an exact proportion is called a juſt proportion: And from hence they argue, from the infinite demerit of ſin an eternity of puniſhment.

CHR. I muſt confeſs my ſelf to have been in the number of theſe miſtaken people; for I always thought that it did belong to Juſtice to proportion the puniſhment to the crime: I would gladly know your reaſon to the contrary.

SOC. You might have ſeen that in what I have already told you, *viz.* that the end of Juſtice was only for the ſupport Government.

For, "* what proportion crimes and penalties ought to bear to each other, " is not ſo properly a conſideration of Juſtice, as of Wiſdom and Prudence " in the Lawgiver: And the reaſon of this ſeems very plain; becauſe the " meaſure of penalties is not taken from any ſtrict proportion betwixt crimes " and puniſhments; but from one great end and deſign of Government, " which is, to ſecure the obſervation of wholſome and neceſſary Laws. And " therefore, if the appointing and apportioning of penalties to crimes be not " ſo properly a conſideration of Juſtice, but rather of Prudence in the Law- " giver; then whatever the diſproportion may be between temporal ſins " and eternal ſufferings, Juſtice cannot be concerned in it. And I deſire

* Hiſt. p. 11.

" that this conſideration may be more eſpecially obſerv'd, becauſe it ſtrikes " at the very foundation of the objection."

CHR. Indeed it does at the very foundation of the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*, and makes it wholly unneceſſary.

SOC. *God is not oblig'd to execute what he hath threatened any farther than the reaſons and ends of Government do require*; and therefore *he may remit and abate as much as he pleaſeth of the puniſhment that he hath threatened**. And that declaration, *Mat.* xxv. 26. that *the wicked ſhall go away into everlaſting puniſhment*, † does not reſtrain God from doing what he pleaſes. *We are all bound to preach, and you to believe the terrors of the Lord*; not ſo, *as ſaucily to determine what God muſt do in this caſe: For after all, he may do as he will, as I have* ‡ *clearly ſhewn.* But no doubt they are to be blam'd, *who will deſperately put it to the hazard, whether and how far God will execute his threatenings upon ſinners in another world.* It is but a hazard, and that not ſo great as ſome of you would make us believe; for I do aſſure you that the miſery of Hell is ſo terribly ſevere, that *at preſent we can hardly tell how to reconcile it with the Juſtice and Goodneſs of God***.

CHR. This is a fair inuendo, that the eternity of Hell is againſt both the Juſtice and Goodneſs of God: At leaſt againſt his Goodneſs.

SOC. *We may reſt aſſur'd that if it be any wiſe inconſiſtent either with Righteouſneſs or Goodneſs, which he knows much better than we do, to make ſinners miſerable for ever, that he will not do it.*

CHR. Since then you cannot at preſent reconcile it with God's Goodneſs, it is plain that you do not at preſent believe the eternity of Hell, but on the contrary that you reſt aſſur'd (as your ſelf words it) that God will not make ſinners miſerable for ever: And that for another reaſon, becauſe (as you ſay) to puniſh crimes, or at leaſt to proportion the puniſhment to the crime, is not the work of Juſtice, but only a deſign of Government, to ſecure the obſervation of wholſome Laws: And there being no ſuch obſervation of wholſome Laws ſuppos'd in the damn'd, conſequently there muſt be no Hell; not in reſpect of Juſtice, for that you aſſure us is not concern'd in the matter; and not in reſpect of the obſervation of ſuch Laws, which are not ſuppos'd to be obſerv'd there.

Unleſs you mean to turn Hell into a Purgatory, where repentance and amendment are allow'd, and conſequently pardon and releaſe, which would be of ſervice to ſome who find it very inconvenient to repent here: Eſpecially to make reſtitution: And this is fairly hinted in our Hiſtorian's Expoſition of 1 *Pet.* III. 19, 20. Hiſt. *Unitar.* p. 149.

But you tell us not all your hypotheſis at once: It is new, and would ſurprize the world too much on the ſudden. But I am afraid that you will improve this notion, and end in no Hell at all, which I cannot but think to be your opinion, from what I have already obſerv'd of it.

I deſire you will give us a definition of Juſtice, or if you believe there is any ſuch thing, other than ſome politique of ſtate, to ſecure Government by terrifying unthinking People, as the Heathen ſaid, *Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor!*

And we know the principles of ſome of our own, and late ages, who took the name of Chriſtians and Philoſophers, and yet made the authority, even of Scripture, and the very notion of Right and Wrong to depend upon the civil Magiſtrate.

And what is Right and Wrong but Juſtice and Injuſtice? And what is the civil Magiſtrate but the civil Government? And your making that the

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* Hiſt. p. 13. † p. 15. ‡ p. 21. ** p. 22.

end and meaſure of Juſtice, has but a little alter'd Mr. *Hobbs*'s phraſe; his meaning is exactly the ſame.

You make Religion ſuch a perfect tool to the civil Government, as if it were intended for no other end in this or the World to come, than to keep in quietneſs People's outward poſſeſſions or lives, and to diſpoſe the minds of Men to the Peace of this World.

2. The chief end of Religion.

Soc. "*And for God's ſake what is Religion good for, but to reform the man-*
"*ners and diſpoſitions of Men, to reſtrain human nature from falſhood and*
"*treachery, from ſedition and rebellion? Better it were there were no re-*
"*veal'd Religion, than to be acted by a Religion—— that is, continually*
"*ſupplanting Government, and undermining the welfare of Mankind.*
"*And the Doctrine of the lawfullneſs of deſpoſing Kings, and ſubvert-*
"*ing Government, is as bad, or worſe than Infidelity and no Religion**.

Chr. This may be perhaps like a Polititian, but not ſo very like a Chriſtian; becauſe in the conſideration of Religion, you totally forget the other World; and wou'd rather have no Religion than to diſturb the Government with it, that is, *rather than be diſturb'd by any Government for it.*

The Religion of this World is Peace and Plenty in this World. This you make the ſtandard of your Religion; and better have no Religion than diſquiet this. Sure you think *Joſhua* to have been wicked, and his Religion wicked to diſturb the poor *Canaanites*.

3. If Religion may be preach'd without leave of the civil Government.

Soc. As to that expedition of *Joſhua*, I will not meddle with it. But (till I be better inform'd, which I am always ready to be) I cannot think it lawful ſo much as to preach the Goſpel againſt the command of the civil Government, unleſs we had ſuch an extraordinary Commiſſion as the Apoſtles, or as *Joſhua* had, and cou'd vouch it with Miracles as they did.

Chr. Not to preach the Goſpel without leave of the civil Magiſtrate is making the authority of Scripture depend upon the civil Magiſtrate as much as Mr. *Hobbs* himſelf wou'd deſire, or *Eraſtus*, or the grand Signior.

So many friends have you made to your ſelf with this Doctrine of *Mammon*, who when you fail may receive you into their Habitations: Nor need you fear to diſpleaſe the Pope by this; for where he is the ſupreme civil Magiſtrate, which he is own'd to be at *Rome* (and others contend for him all over the World, at leaſt in what they call catholick Countries, even to depoſe Kings, to create and beſtow Kingdoms at his pleaſure) there you will allow that the Goſpel ſhall not be preach'd without licence from his holineſs, nay that the very notion of Juſtice, and of right and wrong muſt be taken from him; which is making him infallible, and even God, in the moſt ſtrict and proper ſenſe; and he muſt, in your ſcheme, not only judge always right; but it is right and juſtice becauſe he does judge it: And ſo of truth and falſhood; for what is that but right and wrong?

But notwithſtanding all theſe efforts, the World is ſtill poſſeſt, and I hope in God ever will be, that there is ſuch a virtue as Juſtice, that there is right and wrong among among Men, tho' there was no political Government in the World; or tho' the Government was ſo ſecur'd, that it could not be ſhaken with any attempts of ill deſigning Men, yet that wicked Men ought to be puniſh'd, for the evils they have done, without reſpect to what more they might do: And that there ought to be difference made 'twixt greater and leſſer crimes, and their puniſhments proportionable even in Juſtice, without regard to Politicks.

Soc. Let us return to the ſubject we were upon which is the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*.

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* Hiſt. p. 21.

Chr.

4. All this apply'd to the Doctrine of Satisfaction.

CHR. What has been ſaid of the nature of Juſtice was neceſſary to that ſubject; for if Juſtice be nothing elſe but an intrigue of Politicks, as you have diſputed, then indeed it infers no neceſſity of Satisfaction; there is no ſuch thing as Satisfaction, it can be nothing but prudence and foreſight, for that is the relative to Juſtice, if it be taken only for a caution in Government: But on the other hand, if Juſtice be a poſitive virtue, if it be one of God's Attributes; and conſequently God himſelf, of his very Nature and Eſſence, ſo that God is Juſtice, in the abſtract, then it muſt require full and adequate Satisfaction, for that as is ſaid, is the Nature of Juſtice, and conſequently of God, who is not God becauſe he is Governor of the World (which is all the notion ſome Men have of him) but he is chief Governor becauſe he is God; it is a conſequence of his Nature; and therefore we muſt compute of his Government from his Nature, not of his Nature from his Government; and from the neceſſity of his Nature, as he has reveal'd it to us, we infer the neceſſity of a Satisfaction to his Juſtice, which is his Nature: And conſequently his Government muſt of neceſſity proceed purſuant to his Nature; that is, his Juſtice, and we muſt not meaſure it by that mean and worldly notion of Government, under poor Politicks and tricks of ſtate, to keep up their Government and ſecure the Execution of their Laws. If we be good, what do we add to God? And if we be wicked what do we hurt him? No; he puniſhes wickedneſs out of his inherent Juſtice; and neither to fear, nor flatter ſinners: Therefore he puniſhes, when the time of repentance is over, that is, in Hell.

And, from the ſame neceſſity, all ſinners muſt go thither, if full Satisfaction be not made to his Juſtice: Juſtice not being ſatisfy'd, does always ſuppoſe that Juſtice is not done, and conſequently, that there is Injuſtice; for, coming ſhort of Juſtice, is contrary to Juſtice.

For theſe reaſons, we gladly and without contradiction receive the moſt rational and gracious diſpenſation of the Goſpel; wherein we find a full and adequate Satisfaction (for other than a full and adequate Satisfaction is no Satisfaction) to Juſtice for our ſins; without which there cou'd never have been any remiſſion, by the ſame neceſſity that Juſtice muſt be Juſtice, and that God is Juſtice: And this is the true account we give, and proper end of *Chriſt*'s coming into the World.

5. Of *Chriſt* introducing the Covenant of repentance.

SOC. I have heard ſome of our Authors ſay, that the end of *Chriſt*'s coming, was to ſhew us a new condition, or Covenant for remiſſion of ſin, that is, repentance, which was more effectual than the legal ſacrifices.

CHR. He might have taught us this without dying, and being crucify'd. Secondly, repentance was no new Condition or Covenant. It was the import of all the legal ſacrifices, and, as ſuch, fully explain'd by the Prophets, *I will have mercy and not ſacrifice. Bring no more vain oblations——waſh ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doings. The ſacrifices of God are a broken Spirit,——at what time ſoever a ſinner repents, he ſhall ſave his Soul. Rent your Heart and not your Garments.* And many more places: This is the ſtrain of all the Prophets.

Hoſ. vi. 6.

Iſ. i. 13, 16. Ez. xviii. 17. Joel ii. 13.

And *Chriſt* came not to deſtroy, or alter any thing of the Law, but to fulfil it: Therefore he taught no new Doctrine, but fulfill'd his types, which were in the old Law, and brought them to their fullneſs and completion.

6. The Law and the Goſpel the ſame Covenant.

The Law and the Goſpel are call'd two Covenants or Teſtaments; becauſe the one was before the other, one weaker, or more imperfect than the other.

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* Hiſt. p. 27, 51.

But in regard that one was the ſhadow or type of the other, and was fulfill'd and perfected in the other, they were both but one and the ſame Covenant. It was one and the ſame *Chriſt* who was figur'd in the Law, and plainly exhibited in the Goſpel.

He was meant, when the Prieſt was commanded to eat the ſin-offering that he might *bear the iniquity of the Congregation to make atonement for them before the Lord.* Deut. vi. 29. ch. x. 17.

This ſin-offering was ſo holy; or devoted to bear God's indignation for ſin; that none *muſt touch it but who was holy, the Garment muſt be waſht, on which any of its blood had been ſprinkled; and the earthen Veſſel wherein it was ſodden, muſt be broken; and the braſen pot ſcour'd and rinſed.* Lev. vi. 27.

7. *Chriſt* taking our ſins upon himſelf was typify'd in the ſin-offering.

Yet this devoted and curſed thing, loaded with the ſins of the whole People, the Prieſt muſt eat, and turn it into his own fleſh and blood, that he might bear their iniquity, as it were incorporated in his own Body.

And thus it was that *Chriſt* was made a curſe and a ſin for us, and bore our iniquities; they were incorporated in him, made his own, and he bore them in his own Body on the Croſs; and ſuffer'd for them, as if they had been his own.

8. *Chriſt* our Surety.

He made himſelf liable to our debt, by becoming our Surety for the debt, and ſo made it his own: And then he was bound to ſatisfy the whole debt, becauſe it was his own.

And no Man calls it unjuſt to become a Surety for a friend, or for the Surety to pay the debt, eſpecially when the principal is not able.

SOC. That is true, as to perſonal actions, debt, or the like: But can we find any ſuch thing us'd among Men, as Sureties for life?

CHR. Yes: It is common to be bound life for life: You have ſeveral inſtances of it in Scripture. 1 *Kin.* xx. 39, 40, 42. 2 *Kin.* x. 24. and hoſtages are us'd in all Nations, and ever have been, nor can War and publick Faith be manag'd without it. Our Hoſtage.

SOC. Can you find any place in Scripture, where *Chriſt* is call'd by the name of a Surety?

CHR. The name ſignifies nothing: You have ſeen the thing, under other names of as much import as that, *viz.* redemption, ranſom, propitiation, atonement and ſacrifice: But if the very word will perſuade you more, you have it too, *Heb.* VII. 22. Jeſus *was made a ſurety.*

SOC. *Chriſt* there is not call'd our Surety, but the Surety of a better Teſtament.

CHR. That is, of the New Teſtament, or Covenant: And are not we a Party in this Covenant? Therefore he is our Surety: As he that is bound in a Bond with me, is my Surety; ſo that being Surety of a Covenant, is being Surety for the Perſon on whoſe behalf the Covenant is made. Heb. vii. 22. explain'd.

What if we perform our part of the Covenant?

SOC. No queſtion he that is Surety of the Covenant, is Surety to you for the performance of what is due to you, by the Covenant from the other Party.

CHR. And is it not reciprocal? That if I break my part of the Covenant of grace, then the Surety of the Covenant is bound to God for me, that I ſhall pay according to the Covenant.

SOC. This is ſtill only upon the account of the Covenant.

CHR. Let it be upon what account it will, *Chriſt* is our Surety: But that of the Covenant we have diſcours'd already, and upon what account it is; I now only ſhew you, that *Heb.* VII. 22. *Chriſt* is call'd our *Surety*, by being call'd Surety of the Covenant made 'twixt God and us; of which

David ſpake, when he pray'd to God: Be *Surety for thy Servant*, Pſal. CXIX. 122. And *Job* was not ignorant of this notion, when he ſaid to God. *Put me in a Surety with thee*, Job. XVII. 3. So that there are no names nor expreſſions wanting, whereby to ſignify the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*, even the very word *Satisfaction*, Iſai. LIII. 11.

9. The *Socinian* interpretation of *Iſ.* liii. 11.

SOC. I have heard from our Authors, an expoſition of that text, *Iſai.* LIII. 11. in another ſenſe than you have taken it. *He ſhall ſee of the travel of his Soul, and be ſatisfied*; that is, *Chriſt* after he is gone to Heaven, ſhall reflect upon his paſt Sufferings, and ſhall be ſatisfied; that is, pleas'd with it.

CHR. This is like one of the fore-mentioned interpretations: The buſineſs is, this text muſt be got over, and this is one way! But this is a long paraphraſe inſtead of an interpretation. Is there any thing in the context of *Chriſt*'s going to Heaven? And that this was to be underſtood not till his Aſcenſion.

SOC. No: But in our ſenſe, we cannot find another time when *Chriſt* ſhould look with pleaſure upon his own Sufferings.

CHR. That whole Chapter is treating of *Chriſt*'s Sufferings, and deſcribing his paſſion: And the very verſe next verſe before that text, tells us how it pleas'd the Lord to bruiſe him, and put him to grief; and ſo goes on, recounting the Sufferings which the Lord laid upon him, of which theſe words are a part, *He ſhall ſee of the travel of his Soul and be ſatisfied.*

Now if this were no inconvenience to your opinion, wou'd it not be eaſier to mean thoſe words in this ſenſe, that God who put *Chriſt* to grief, *ſhou'd ſee of the travel of* Chriſt's *Soul and be ſatisfied with it*; rather than to make ſo great and unſeen a tranſition from the paſſion of *Chriſt*, to him in glory looking back upon him, meaning himſelf: He ſaid to him, or he lookt upon him, being Phraſes never us'd in *Engliſh* for a Man's ſaying, or looking to himſelf.

SOC. I confeſs if it were not for the difficulty appears in that text to our opinion, your interpretation is what offers at firſt view from theſe words, and ſeems moſt natural and agreeable to the context, and ſcope of that Chapter.

But all this is a digreſſion from our Author*, and the ſubject we are at preſent upon. If you pleaſe let us return: He ſays, the diſtinction of two Natures in *Chriſt* (a divine and a human) is clearly overthrown by the 8, 9, 10 and 11 arguments mention'd in the firſt Letter.

CHR. And I refer to the anſwers given to them.

18. A notable turn againſt the Divinity of *Chriſt*.

SOC. He ſays farther, that if a thing, otherwiſe true of *Chriſt*, may be deny'd of him, becauſe it is only in one of theſe (pretended) Natures, and not in the other: If our Saviour, ſaith he, can do nothing of himſelf, only becauſe he can do nothing of himſelf according to his human Nature, and can do all things of himſelf according to his (pretended) divine Nature, then it is lawful and allowable to ſay, *Chriſt* is no Man, was never born of the Virgin, never was crucified, dead or buried, *&c.* And on the other hand, no fault can be found with a *Socinian*, † when he ſhall ſay *Chriſt* is not true God, was not generated of the eſſence of his Father, was not from eternity, for all this may be ſaid of him, according to his human Nature, for according to that, he is not true God, was not generated of the Father's eſſence, was not from eternity, *&c.*

This is his argument and he thinks it invincible.

CHR. And to ſurprize him the more, I will anſwer it by granting it all; and ſhew his Sophiſtry by a plain and familiar example.

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* Hiſt. p. 164 † p. 165.

Suppoſe any ſhou'd queſtion my legitimacy, and ſay I was not ſuch a Man's Son? And when he came to the proof ſhou'd ſay, that my Soul was not begotten by my Father; and he only ſpoke in relation to that, and not of my Body, which he allow'd to be legitimately begotten by my Father? Wou'd this ſave him from being a pitiful Sopiſter, and paying me juſt damages? And yet I do grant all that he ſaid to be true: But his condemnation lies in ſpeaking with deſign to be miſunderſtood.

Thus it is with the *Socinians:* If they will explain themſelves, and tell what they mean, *viz.* That *Chriſt* is not God, nor eternal according to his human Nature: That he did not ſuffer, or die according to his divine Nature: No good Chriſtian will be offended, becauſe he alſo ſays the ſame.

But when we know the *Socinian* principle, and hear them deny *Chriſt* to be God, we have reaſon to take it in the ſame ſenſe they meant it, and and to judge them accordingly: And to think this ſhift as poor and contemptible, as if a Man ſhould deny I eat, ſlept, or talk'd, and ſay, that he meant only that my Soul did not eat, *&c.*

SOC. Now we have done with our Author; but a Friend of the *Publiſher's, of excellent learning and worth, adds a Letter of his own, to prove three things. 1. That the doctrine of the *Trinitarians* is no neceſſary or fundamental doctrine of Chriſtianity. 2. That the *Socinians* are not to be put under any penalties of the Law. 3. That the *Trinitarians* ought to own the *Unitarians* as chriſtian brethren.

Arguments of the *Socinians.*

CHR. Give his reaſons as to the firſt point, that the doctrine of the Trinity is not fundamental.

1. That the doctrine of the Trinity is not fundamental.

SOC. The firſt reaſon is, that it is difficult to be underſtood.

CHR. So is the Nature of God: The moſt learned have very obſcure and imperfect notions of it, and ſome common People have even blaſphemous and contradictory apprehenſions of God; yet you would not exclude the belief of a God from being a fundamental article. God reveals himſelf as he thinks fit, and we are to learn all that we can; and God will require no more than he has given. The Angels know him not perfectly. But is it not therefore fundamental, whether *Chriſt* be God, whether what we worſhip be God, or no God?

SOC. His ſecond reaſon is, that to make the doctrine of the Trinity fundamental, is to join hands with the Papiſts, in contradiction to the Proteſtant doctrine; owning with them, that the Scriptures are obſcure and inſufficient even in fundamentals†.

CHR. What he dare not prove he ſlily inſinuates, *viz.* that the Proteſtants think the Trinity is not ſufficiently reveal'd in Scripture: The contrary to which we aſſert, and think it has been ſhewn.

SOC. He ſays the Papiſts have in reality the advantage of the Proteſtants in that matter‡.

CHR. That is, he would have it ſo, becauſe it makes for the *Socinian* principle: But we muſt maintain the truth, tho' Papiſts and *Socinians* are join'd againſt us; and that Lord too of whom he tells the fine ſtory.

SOC. His third reaſon is, that the firſt ages of the Church had none but the Apoſtles Creed; and that the Apoſtles Creed does fully agree with the *Socinian*, but by no means with the *Trinitarian* doctrine of fundamental Faith**.

CHR. We have ſeen already that the Apoſtles Creed does expreſs the Trinity, and cannot be reconcil'd to ſenſe without it; and the after Creeds were only farther illuſtrations of it.

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* Hiſt. p. 168. † p. 169. ‡ p. 170. ** p. 171.

SOC.

SOC. His fourth reaſon is, that the ſixth article of the Church of *England* ſays, that nothing is to be requir'd of any Man as an article of Faith, but what is in the Scripture, or may be proved thereby.

CHR. What does this prove againſt the Trinity?

SOC. Nothing, unleſs you will confeſs, that it cannot be prov'd from Scripture.

CHR. This was his fetch in his ſecond reaſon, and it was dull to bring it in again.

SOC. Will you hear his reaſons to the ſecond point? *viz.* that the *Socinians*, or *Unitarians*, ought not to be put under any penalties by the Law *.

— 2. That the *Socinians* ought not to be proſecuted.

CHR. I think none have a Right to claim a toleration, or immunity to their Religion, whoſe principle it is not to allow the ſame to other Religions; and who do not practiſe it, when they themſelves have the Power: And whether the *Socinians* or *Unitarians* be of this number, the bitter perſecution of the *Arian* againſt the orthodox will ſufficiently witneſs.

Your Friend *Grotius de Jure Belli.* lib. 2. c. 20. S. *ult.* whom you quoted on your ſide, obſerves out of *Athanaſius* [Ep. ad Solitar. Vit. agentes ep. Tom. 1. Vide Hilarium Orat. ad *Conſtantium*] that the *Arians* were the firſt of any who called themſelves Chriſtians, that perſecuted others for Religion. *In* Arianam *Hæreſin acriter invehitur* Athanaſius, *quod prima in contradicentes uſa eſſet judicum poteſtate, & quos non potuit verbis inducere, eos vi, plagis, verberibuſque ad ſe pertrahere anniteretur; whom they could not perſuade by fair means they endeavoured to bring over to their ſide by force and perſecution:* Of this you will be ſatisfied abundantly not only in the reigns of *Conſtantius* and *Valens*, but of the *Gothick* Kings in *Spain*, and the *Vandal* Kings in *Africa*, whoſe perſecutions are writ by *Victor Vitenſis*.

If we ſhould tell them that they ſhould have the ſame quarter they gave to *Athanaſius*, what objection could they make againſt the juſtice of the ſentence? And what ſecurity could they give, or reaſon to make any one believe, that if they had a *Socinian* Prince (which God avert) they would not perſecute as bloodily as they did formerly? Or that *Socinian* Biſhops in this age would be more chriſtian and merciful than thoſe in the ages paſt; and would not make uſe of the temporal power, as they did before, to deprive the orthodox Biſhops, and ſeize upon their Sees for themſelves; and proſecute thoſe for Schiſmaticks who refus'd to join with them in communion; and as obnoxious to the temporal Law, who ſhould dare to own their depriv'd orthodox Fathers? When they can ſecure us that, in this caſe, the orthodox ought not to be put under any penalties by the Law; then, and not till then, it will be time for them to plead that the *Socinians* ought not to be under any penalties by the Law: Of which they are under no apprehenſions at preſent, nor can they ask more liberty than they have, unleſs to be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament as the national Religion; of which I will not ſay whether they have hopes or not; or whether now, or in a little longer time, when their principles ſhall be more generally ſpread, and as publickly own'd in the Countrey as they are in and near the city. For what other end ſhould they deſire a repeal of the penal Laws I cannot ſee at preſent, for they are in fact as much ſuſpended towards the *Socinians*, as towards other Diſſenters. The *Socinians* have now for a long time had an open Meeting-Houſe in *Cutlers-Hall* in *London*; their Preacher one *Emlin*, formerly a Diſſenting Preacher in *Dublin*, but forc'd to fly

* Hiſt. p. 172.

out

out of *Ireland* for his open and notorious *Socinianiſm*. I have ſeen a very long catalogue of the many volumes of *Socinian* Tracts printed ſince this *Brief Hiſtory* we are now upon: And they have been diſpers'd with great diligence all over *London*, without caution or ſecreſy, and are ſtill to be bought openly in the Bookſellers Shops: Yet no enquiry or proſecution! I have heard *Socinianiſm* by name openly defended in publick Coffe-houſes, and the perſons own themſelves to be *Socinians*, and no notice taken! What liberty would they have? Or what perſecution do they fear? They all paſs under the name of good Proteſtants! For they are not Papiſts.

3. That we ought to own them as our chriſtian brethren

SOC. This brings me to the third point, which is, that the *Trinitarians* ought to own the *Unitarians* as chriſtian brethren.

CHR. You charge us with Polytheiſm and Idolatry; and that *Chriſt* whom we worſhip as God, you ſay is but a Creature: What greater difference can there be in Religion? As ſoon may contradictions be reconcil'd, and God and no God mean the ſame thing, as we be chriſtian brethren.

The *Jews* and Heathens confeſs *Chriſt* to be a Man, and a good Man; the *Turks* own him to be a true Prophet, and the *Meſſiah* ſent from God: Theſe too muſt be chriſtian brethren upon the ſame ſcore.

Beſides, you reject the only way we know to Heaven, which is, by the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*. How then can we be chriſtian brethren? We go not ſo much as the ſame road together.

None ſav'd but by the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*.

SOC. Muſt every body be damn'd that does not believe the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*?

CHR. I will not ſay that, but I do firmly believe, that no Man can be ſav'd but by the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*: Infants, Fools, Mad-men, and thoſe who never heard of it, are excus'd from believing it, but yet are ſav'd by the virtue of it.

SOC. Why then does *Athanaſius* ſay, that *except we believe we ſhall be damn'd, and without doubt periſh everlaſtingly?* Are not theſe words too poſitive?

Mark xvi. 14, 16.

CHR. They are no more than our Saviour ſaid, *Go preach the Goſpel to every creature. He that believeth ſhall be ſav'd, but he that believeth not ſhall be damn'd.*

Obj. Of *Athanaſius* ſaying *without doubt ſhall periſh.*

SOC. But why does *Athanaſius* put in ſuch poſitive words, as to ſay *without doubt they ſhall periſh*, &c. as if he were ſo ſure of it?

CHR. Is not what *Chriſt* ſays true without doubt?

SOC. Yes ſure.

CHR. Then without doubt they who believe not ſhall be damn'd.

SOC. This is a hard ſaying.

CHR. But lay it not upon *Athanaſius*, who but repeated it after our bleſſed Saviour, and ſpoke the ſenſe of all the reſt of the Fathers of the Church: And, in the true ſenſe, I think it goes no farther than this; that thoſe who refuſe or neglect the preaching of the Goſpel, that is, reaſonable conviction of theſe reveal'd truths, ſhall be condemn'd. But I do not think at all, that thoſe are included whoſe unbelief proceeds from an impoſſibility of conviction; either thro' want of capacity, or want of means: And my reaſon is, *Chriſt* bids them go and preach, and then who do not believe—— So that where there is no preaching, or ſufficient publication of the Goſpel, there this ſentence does not take place; for it is only pronounc'd againſt thoſe who refuſe to believe upon the preaching of the Goſpel.

Secondly, No Man is requir'd to believe farther than his capacity can reach; for that is not in his power, and is impoſſible, and a contradiction in nature. And God has ſaid, that he will require no more than he has given; but then Men may improve their parts, and ſtrength will encreaſe

by labour, and decay by idleneſs; and to him that hath, more ſhall be given; and he will be condemn'd who hides his talents.

Theſe are ſtrong incitements to the utmoſt diligence and ſincerity, but by no means to deſpair.

And it is in this ſenſe that I recommend to you the doctrine of the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*: For if Faith in him, as ſuch, as our Surety and Satisfaction to God's Juſtice and Wrath againſt ſin, if this be the ſaving Faith, as we ſay it is, then the Turks and Barbarians will enter into Heaven before you, and have a better title to the name of Chriſtians.

The *Alcoran* allows of *Chriſt* as an interceſſor with the divine Majeſty, as you have heard: And they ſpeak as great and honourable things of *Chriſt* as any *Socinian* can do; and a great deal more in ſome reſpects, as I have ſhewn almoſt to the height of the *Arians* themſelves.

The nearneſs of their faith may be the reaſon why the *Hiſt. Unitarians* tells us*, That the *Socinians* in the Turkiſh and other Mahometan and Pagan Dominions are very numerous, but that their Doctrine is not profeſt in Chriſtendom, except in a few very obſcure and little places.

The *Socinians* Faith.

But pray let me ask you in good earneſt, for I do not well underſtand, how you expect to be ſav'd by *Chriſt*?

SOC. By that new Covenant he has made with God for us.

CHR. What is the condition of that Covenant?

SOC. Our true obedience, and upon failure, ſincere repentance and amendment.

CHR. Is any of our repentance and amendment as true and ſincere as it ought to be?

SOC. No: We muſt not preſume to that, for the Scripture ſays, that *all our righteouſneſs is as filthy rags.*

Iſa. lxiv. 6.

CHR. Was the condition of the Covenant, that God ſhou'd accept of theſe filthy rags.

SOC. Thro' the interceſſion of *Chriſt.*

CHR. God hates ſin, with an irreconcilable hatred. And he is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity. Wou'd *Chriſt* intercede with him, to act contrary to his Nature, and to love what he hates? Does not *Chriſt* himſelf hate ſin? Does he deſire it to be accepted?

Compar'd with the Chriſtian.

SOC. That will not bear: But do not you ſay the ſame?

CHR. Far from it: We ſay, that God accepts only the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*, as being full and adequate to his whole Juſtice. And the condition and privilege of *Chriſt*'s Covenant is, by our being incorporated into him, to make his righteouſneſs ours, that as *he was made ſin for us who knew no ſin, ſo we* (who have of our ſelves no righteouſneſs) *might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him.* And being thus cloathed in the Garments of our elder Brother; we are accepted *in him only*: And thoſe only are accepted, who in profound humility and ſenſe of their own unworthineſs rely wholly on the righteouſneſs of *Chriſt.*

2 Cor. v. 21.

We muſt work, becauſe God works in and with us.

SOC. If we lean ſo wholly to the merits of *Chriſt*'s righteouſneſs, then we need not work our ſelves: So ſay the *Solifidians.*

CHR. That has been ſufficiently anſwered already, and it is reſolv'd, *Phil.* II. 12, 13. *Work out your own ſalvation—— becauſe it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleaſure.*

God gives us power to work, that we might work: We muſt work becauſe God commands it, and we muſt do all we can, becauſe he gives us ability, and it is, that we might uſe that ability: But when we have done all we can, we are unprofitable Servants; we muſt truſt nothing to any

* Hiſt. p. 30.

thing

thing we do; it is all unclean, and cannot appear before God, nor can ever, for its own ſake, be accepted by him; it muſt be hid and cover'd, and cloath'd with the righteouſneſs of *Chriſt*; that nothing of it ſelf may appear at all in the preſence of God, (as has been ſaid) who ſees folly in his Angels, and the Heavens are not clean in his ſight; *how much leſs them that dwell in houſes of clay, whoſe foundation is in the duſt, who are cruſh'd before the moth?* And *who can bring a clean thing out of an unlean?* Job. iv. 19. xiv. 4.

Yet muſt be uncloathed of them all, and cloathed in the Righteouſneſs of *Chriſt*.

You that truſt in your own works, appear to me as a Man cloath'd in filthy rags, (for ſuch is our righteouſneſs) and brought into Court, rubbing and ſcrubbing, and patching theſe naſty clouts, ſtriving to make himſelf clean and fine and well dreſt as the Courtiers he ſees there.

Who may commend his skill and induſtry in darning or cobling, but muſt withal pity his ignorance, if he thinks ever to make his dreſs faſhionable by ſuch means: But if he ſhou'd preſume to make one, in that garb, at a ſolemn Feaſt, made upon the moſt glorious occaſion, the Marriage of the King's Son, he muſt not only be thought mad, but expect to be ſeverely puniſht, and thrown out of Court with diſgrace, for ſuch impudence.

If none cloath'd in Sackcloth (the weed of Mourners) muſt enter into the King's Palace, much leſs ſhall one beſmeared, and in filth come into his preſence, ſit down to Table with him, nay be admitted to his Bed, made one with him and marry'd to him, and *ſit with him in his Throne*. For ſuch high prerogative has *Chriſt* obtain'd for all true believers: Who when they come to Heaven, are not, for *Chriſt*'s ſake admitted in their filthy rags, nor is his Covenant with his Father to patch and ſcour their rags; no they can never be made fit for that place: But as the Serpent leaves all his Skin behind him, they are ſtripp'd and diveſted of all their Earth, ſtain'd, ſinful Weeds. And as the cuſtom is in ſome Courts, they are new cloath'd in the faſhion of that Court to which they come, as God ſaid to *Joſhua* (Zech. III. 4.) *Behold, I have cauſed thine iniquity to paſs from thee, and I will cloath thee with change of Raiment.* New botching the old will never do; we muſt have all new, a new Wedding Garment put upon us; we muſt throw off the old Man, not ſeek excuſes for him, or to reconcile him to God, who hates him and all wickedneſs, by the ſame neceſſity that he loves himſelf: Nor can *Chriſt* plead for ſuch; that wou'd make him wicked too; he hates ſin as much as God does. Eſther iv. 2. Rev. iii. 21. Mat. xxii. 12. Col. iii. 9, 10.

An appeal to the *Socinians*

Give me leave to ſuppoſe, that you had now all your death-bed thoughts about you; place your ſelf, in your own imagination, in the utmoſt ſcene of your life, and juſt ready to breathe out your laſt, and be carry'd to hear the irrevocable ſentence paſs upon you: Wou'd you delight to bring the ſincerity of your own performance before the moſt extream ſcrutiny of infinite Juſtice, ſo as to ſtand or fall by it to all Eternity? Or wou'd you think it greater comfort, if you cou'd believe that *Chriſt* wou'd appear, not to plead for God's acceptance of your provocations, for ſuch have been all your performances: But that having made you a *Member of his own Body, of his Fleſh, and of his Bones*, and conſequently given you a title and a right to all that was his; as every Member, even that which is grafted, partakes of the nature and privileges of the Body: And that is truly a Member, which is enliven'd and actuated by the ſame Spirit, and receives nouriſhment from the ſame head; whence the Apoſtle inferrs the neceſſity of our reſurrection, becauſe that Spirit which rais'd up *Chriſt* from the dead, muſt raiſe us up, being Members of his Body, and acted by his Spirit: I ſay if you cou'd believe, that the merit of *Chriſt*'s righteouſneſs were thus made yours, ſo that you might plead it as your own, as a full Satisfaction to the utmoſt demand of Juſtice, paid by your Surety, ſuch a Surety as has made Epheſ. v. 30. Rom. viii. 11.

your debt his own, by making you one with himſelf: If you cou'd believe this, wou'd it not give you more comfort and delight, more light and aſſurance to your mind, than any excuſe you cou'd fancy to be made for all your failings, ſo as to make God in love with them, and accept them upon whatever arbitrary and fancy'd Covenant you may ſuppoſe 'twixt him and *Chriſt*, which is contrary to the nature of them both? And that upon the only reaſon of an innocent perſon being murther'd by thoſe ſinners, without any need or neceſſity for it at all, upon account of ſatisfying the Juſtice of God for our ſins, for ſo you *Socinians* ſay: But yet give no other reaſon at all for the death of *Chriſt*. But ſuppoſe a Covenant for it, without any why or wherefore, when all might have been done as well without it; which is oppoſite to all ſenſe and reaſon; while you reject as irrational the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*, which is ſtrictly conſequential, and neceſſary to the nature of Juſtice, which is God: And the Covenant of remiſſion grounded upon it, flows neceſſarily from it, carries its own light and aſſurance with it, and leaves no doubt or ſuſpenſe in that heart which can believe it. He that thus follows *Chriſt*, walketh not in darkneſs, but I will be judg'd by your ſelf whether your way be not dark and ſlippery; whether you can lean your Souls abſolutely, and without heſitation upon that foundation of your being accepted without any Satisfaction, made for your ſins, truſting only to the ſincerity and perfection of your own performance of thoſe conditions which *Chriſt* hath enjoin'd, as the terms of that arbitrary Covenant you ſuppoſe he made with God, without any Covenant of Satisfaction. Which of theſe Covenants wou'd you deſire to plead before your Judge, before the face of the utmoſt Juſtice, unerring eſſential Juſtice in the abſtract, which cannot forgive, or remit the leaſt farthing, more than it can ceaſe to be what it is, that is Juſtice? Wou'd you appear there pleading your own righteouſneſs, or ſincerity of your repentance, as an atonement for your ſins? That wou'd be cleaning of your filth with a filthy cloth: Wou'd you not rather (to end in the words of Scripture) have the *filthy rags* of your own righteouſneſs taken quite away, and to be cloath'd in the *Wedding Garment* of the righteouſneſs of *Chriſt*?

SOC. There is no diſpute but the latter wou'd be choſen, if it were in our choice, that is, if it were in our power to believe it: It has comforts in it beyond all imagination.

The grace of God neceſſary to work true Faith in us.

CHR. We are told by St. *Paul*, Eph. ii. 8. that this *Faith is the gift of God.* All arguments will prove ineffectual without the influence of God's bleſſed Spirit; his Grace, like the Sun, is that which muſt inſpire the ground of our heart, to make it capable of receiving the good ſeed of his Word, and bringing forth fruit into Salvation; without this, all our own manuring and cultivation is but loſt pains: Yet we muſt prepare the ground, and and cleanſe our heart, but that is only to render it ſuſceptible of the influence of this bleſſed Sun of righteouſneſs, which only giveth life: Therefore all the glory, all the praiſe is not to him that ſoweth or watereth, but to him that giveth the increaſe: To him the Doctrine of Satisfaction reſtores the whole of our ſalvation, without taking any thing from the obligation of our own endeavours, not as partners in the merit, but as the natural and bounden duty of Creatures, and ſinners receiv'd to Pardon and Grace; which therefore to neglect is Rebellion and contempt of God, and renders us incapable of the influence of his bleſſed Spirit, which will not deſcend into an impure or polluted, nor into a ſtubborn and diſobedient heart; much leſs into an heart fraught with the conceit of its own ſincerity, ſo as to think it has no need of any Satisfaction for its ſins, more than the integrity and perfection of its own repentance; upon which your ſelves are forc'd to

to confeſs, you cannot lean your Souls confidently when you come to die, but wiſh for that Satisfaction againſt which you diſpute.

A perſwaſive inference from the whole.

Judge then with your ſelf whether you had reaſon to avoid all the plain texts which ſpeak of the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*, and of his Divinity, upon which it is grounded, and conſequently that of the Trinity, without which the other cannot be: And to ſtrain your wit to find *Salvo's* to turn them to another ſenſe, which may be done to the plaineſt words can be ſpoken in any language.

And conſider, that by the adorable providence of God, there are no Doctrines wherein all chriſtian Churches are ſo much united, as in the Trinity, the Incarnation and Satisfaction of *Chriſt:* And therefore judge if to deſtroy this Doctrine, you had reaſon to decline the evidence and authority of the catholick Church in all ages, which declar'd the meaning of theſe Scriptures, we have debated, as the Church this day does interpret them.

And whether you conſulted your own advantage, when you choſe for your guides, the moſt wretched Hereticks in the ſeveral ages, who oppos'd their lewd fancies to the receiv'd Doctrine of the Orthodox, wherein themſelves had been educated and ſtand to this day condemn'd in all the Churches of the chriſtian World.

And all this, only to carry you off from that foundation of Faith which once deliver'd to the Saints, is moſt according to the Letter of the Scripture, gives moſt glory to God and takes leaſt to our ſelves: Which only can give you comfort or aſſurance in the hour of death; or dare be pleaded on the day of Judgment.

All Glory be to the one only God, the Eternal Power, Wiſdom, Goodneſs, Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one God; Creator of all things, Redeemer of Mankind, Sanctifier of the Elect, whoſe is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

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Years of *Chriſt.*

S. *Barnabas* the Apoſtle — — *Oxon.* 1685.
S. *Ignatius.* —— —— 101 { *Uſher's* Edit. *Oxon.* 1644. Gr. Lat. / *Iſ. Voſſ.* Edit. *Lond.* 1680. Gr. Lat.
S. *Juſtinus* Martyr. —— —— 140 *Pariſiis.* 1636. Gr. Lat.
S. *Irenæus.* —— —— —— 167 *Pariſiis* 1639.
Clemens Alexandrinus. —— 192 *Pariſ.* 1641. Gr. Lat.
Tertullianus. —— —— —— 192 *Pariſ.* 1664.
Origen. —— —— —— —— 230 *Rothomagi.* 1668. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2.
S. *Cyprianus.* —— —— —— 246 *Oxoniæ.* 1682.

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AN ANSWER TO REMARKS ON THE FIRST DIALOGUE AGAINST THE SOCINIANS.

An ANSWER *to the* REMARKS *on the Firſt* DIALOGUE, *&c.*

SINCE the Firſt Dialogue was printed, there is come out a *Socinian* Sheet againſt it, intituled, *Remarks on Mr.* Charles Leſlie's *Firſt Dialogue on the Socinian Controverſy.* And I think it proper to take notice of it here, for it may help to illuſtrate more at large what is there ſaid in ſhort: And becauſe I hear ſome ſay, it is well wrote, and that many lay ſtreſs upon it.

1. Firſt I obſerve that this Remarker has not kept up to that Character the *Socinian* Writers give themſelves (but without much Reaſon, as I have ſhew'd in theſe Dialogues) of being the faireſt Adverſaries, and an example to all others of managing Controverſy without heat or paſſion, or perſonal reflexions: For he has treated me in a very rough manner, calling the inſtances I bring ridiculous, p. 1. And that I am *Paganiſh* in my Notions, p. 6. And ſays, p. 1. *If ſuch poor Philoſophy, ſuch ſhallow Reaſoning, and ſuch groſs Divinity, muſt baffle the* Socinians, *I confeſs they ought to be the laſt who pretend to the Character of Men of Reaſon.*

But notwithſtanding all this contempt of what I have ſaid, I cannot but think it has given him ſome trouble, becauſe it has made him ſo angry: For it is loſers that have leave to talk at this rate; and as you ſhall ſee him talk afterwards.

2. My argument was, that we cannot charge any thing to be a contradiction in one Nature, becauſe it is ſo in another, unleſs we underſtand both Natures. Becauſe a Nature we underſtand not cannot be explain'd to us but by alluſion to ſome Nature we do underſtand: And there is that difference in Natures that no alluſion will lie betwixt them; that is, none that is proper, that will come up to the thing, or give a Perſon who knows not the Nature a true idea of it, or even reconcile it from contradiction, while he conſiders the Nature he does not underſtand, by way of alluſion to another Nature which he does underſtand.

3. To illuſtrate this I gave ſeveral inſtances, of which this Remarker has p. 1. pick'd out two to ſhew his wit upon: One is, *That if a Man cou'd be ſuppos'd to be without Thought, it wou'd be impoſſible to make him ap-*

prehend what it was, or the progreſs of it, as from hence to Rome *in an inſtant*, &c. It is common to ſay to a Man that is muſing, where are you? and to anſwer, I was at *Rome*, or ſuch a place. Now ſuppoſing any one (if it were poſſible) not to know what Thought was, he wou'd apprehend your Body was remov'd to *Rome* and back again as ſoon as you cou'd ſpeak. And by alluſion to the motion of Body, this cou'd not be reconcil'd to him from being a flat contradiction, that any thing cou'd move a thouſand Miles as ſoon as a Yard.

In anſwer to this the Remarker tells you p. 1. *That when you think of* Rome *or any other place, 'tis only the idea of it in your imagination which you contemplate, and not a leap or local motion of your Thoughts to it.*

Who knows not this that has any Thought? But upon the ſuppoſition that a Man did not know what Thought was, he cou'd have no apprehenſion of it but as of a local motion. And what you call Idea he wou'd fanſy to be ſome Horſe or Coach that carry'd you very ſwiftly; which yet wou'd not ſolve the contradiction as to him, becauſe the ſwiftneſs of the motion, ſuppoſe it a common Bullet, cannot go two Yards as ſoon as one.

4. But becauſe it may be too extravagant to ſuppoſe a Man without Thought, tho' ſome have very little; and ſuppoſitions are allow'd in argument even of what never was; yet I inſiſt not on this, but have given another inſtance which is fact, and daily before us, that is, of a Man born blind: And how you cou'd give him any notion of ſight, or explain to him how the Eye can reach a Star as ſoon as the top of the Chimney. He can feel his Eye with his Hand, and that it is there fixt and does not go out of his head; how then can he imagine it gets a thouſand Miles off in an inſtant, while he feels it does not ſtir at all? He can have no notion of this, but by alluſion to ſome other of his ſenſes which he has: And by the word *reach*, how the ſight can reach a Star, he fanſies Arms or Legs, that being all the way by which he can reach to any thing. And then knowing that the motion of Legs or Arms muſt go one Yard before it goes two, he takes your deſcription of ſight to be not only ſome ſtrange and wonderful thing, which he will readily grant; but he will inſiſt that it is a flat contradiction; and therefore that he muſt not believe it: And it is impoſſible to explain it ſo to him as to reconcile it from being a contradiction to him.

To this ſays the Remarker very ingeniouſly, *when we ſee the Stars, our Eyes move not up to them, but their extended Rays ſtrike upon the Eye.* But the Man born blind wou'd ſay, nothing ſtrikes upon my Eye, for then I ſhou'd feel it. And he knows nothing what you mean by Rays or by Seeing: Nor cou'd think of any other way but that the Eye muſt get up to the Star, or the Star come down to the Eye. And your talking of Rays will not ſolve the contradiction one bit as to him. Nor can he be any otherwiſe convinc'd than by perſuading him that what is a contradiction in one Nature he underſtands, muſt not be concluded to be ſo in another Nature he does not underſtand; and that the Nature of ſight is ſuch as that no alluſion from any other of his ſenſes can make him apprehend what it is. Nothing but this can ſilence his murmurings about contradiction.

Is it not reaſon then that our murmurings about contradiction in the Nature of God ſhou'd be ſilenc'd, ſeeing it can be told us no otherwiſe than by ſuch words and alluſions as are proper to Man; and that the divine Nature is infinitely more diſtant and diverſe from the Nature of Man than one of our ſenſes is from another? And as the contradiction the Blind-Man conceives in the Nature of ſight is caus'd by his comparing it with the motion of his Legs or Arms, and that occaſion'd by improper words we muſt uſe to him, all others being unintelligible to him but what have alluſion to ſome of the ſenſes he has: So in like manner thoſe contradictions we con-

ceive in the Nature of God are all occaſion'd by the improper words which muſt be us'd to us in expreſſing of his Nature, all words being totally unintelligible to us, which have not alluſion to ſomething we underſtand. And thus we conceiving of God after the manner of Men, make all thoſe things to be contradictions in God which in our conception of the words are a contradiction to Men: As that ſeveral Perſons ſhould not be ſeveral Men, and that the Father ſhould not be before the Son, *&c.* Whereas theſe terms of Father, Son, Perſons, *&c.* are not proper to the Nature of God, (tho' the moſt proper we can uſe or underſtand) and therefore we are not to conceive of them in the manner they are us'd and apply'd to Men, nor draw conſequences from them as we do when theſe words are apply'd to Men: Otherwiſe we ſhall run into the like contradictions as the Blind-man about ſight.

This will throw off all that the Remarker ſays of inferring three Gods from the term of three Perſons, becauſe it is ſo among Men. He talks like a Blind-man of Colours, of things which he muſt confeſs he does not underſtand; yet will be inferring contradictions in them: He owns he cannot ſpeak properly of them, yet finds fault with the terms we uſe, becauſe they are not proper, tho' he can find none more proper.

5. He may as well ſay, that God is not eternal, becauſe we have no word to expreſs duration higher than the word Beginning, and there can be no Beginning in Eternity.

He may ſay it is a contradiction that all things ſhould be preſent with God, (which yet he will not deny to be an undoubted verity) becauſe it is a contradiction to Men, that the paſt or future ſhould be preſent, becauſe then a thing would be paſt and not paſt, future and not future at the ſame time.

Theſe and other things I mentioned in my *firſt Dialogue*, but the Remarker takes no notice of them, nor will own the abſurdity of inferring contradictions in God from contradictions in Man, occaſion'd by the improper terms we are forc'd to make uſe of to expreſs God after the manner of Men.

6. But he has laid his ſtreſs upon this inſtance I brought of the Blind-man: And here he thinks he has an advantage of me: And I am willing to join iſſue with him upon it, that if he can find out any words that are proper, whereby to expreſs the nature of ſight to a Man born blind, and that he will give the Blind-man leave to draw conſequences and infer contradictions from ſuch words according as he underſtands them; then I will undertake to ſolve all the contradictions that he pretends to muſter up in the terms whereby we expreſs the Holy Trinity: And let him ſhew any difference betwixt theſe caſes if he can, only this, that far greater diſparity ought to be allow'd as to the propriety of words when terms belonging to Men are ſpoke of God, than when what belongs to one of our ſenſes is apply'd to another.

7. And now let the Reader judge what occaſion he had of thus inſulting me, p. 1.

" But are you indeed *(ſays he to me)* ſo very weak as to think you move " all the way to *Rome*, and are got thither as ſoon as you think of it? No, " Sir, whatever haſte you may be in thither, you go no faſter than your " Legs can carry you: And ſhould you challenge all the Philoſophy in the " world, who have ſo little as not to know, that when you think of *Rome*, " or any other place, 'tis only the idea of it in your imagination which you " contemplate, and not a local motion of your thoughts to it. In like man- " ner, when we ſee the Stars our Eyes move not up to them, but their ex- " tended Rays ſtrike upon the Eye. I ſee you have a Head much fitter for " entertaining and coining Myſteries, than for explaining or defending 'em.

" It's

" It's a wonder you did not think rather, that *Rome* or *Conſtantinople*
" ſhift and come into your Head: And then ſince in other caſes a leſſer veſ-
" ſel cannot contain a greater, nor a Nutſhel hold an Houſe, you might
" wonder how your little Head ſhould hold ſuch great Cities; and with the
" ſame Philoſophy infer, that what is a contradiction to Nutſhels is none to
" Heads, and challenge all Philoſophy to reconcile it.

Now, Reader, has he not fully underſtood me, do you think, and anſwer'd me ſmartly?

8. But will you ſee him freely confeſſing what he thus ridicules? He ſays in this ſame p. 1.

" Indeed there may be ſomething attributed to one Nature, where there
" is nothing inconſiſtent, or contradictory to it; while if attributed to an-
" other it might meet with ſomething inconſiſtent, whence a contradiction
" will ariſe in the one and not in the other.

Now this is the whole of what I have been contending for: I deſire no more of him: And having granted this, how can he deny that what is a contradiction in one Nature, that is, of Man, may not be ſo in another Nature, that is, of God? Or are there any two Natures more diſtant and more different than the Nature of God and of a Creature? Or do we underſtand the Nature of God more perfectly and clearly than our own Nature? Is it not reaſonable then what I ſaid, as he quotes my words, p. 2. *That we muſt not object contradictions in the incomprehenſible Nature of God, from comparing it with our own; becauſe we underſtand not his Nature.* To which the Remarker ſays,

9. " I ſhould grant this in an object of which we have no knowledge at
" all; but ſurely if I have ſome, tho' a partial knowledge of the infinite
" God, I may diſcern what is contradictory to that little knowledge of
" him: Nor is any thing more uſual or juſt than to deny ſuch or ſuch a
" doctrine, becauſe incompatible to the divine Attributes, to his Spirituality,
" Eternity, Goodneſs, *&c.*

To which I reply, that the Nature and Attributes of any thing are different: We may know the Attributes, when we cannot know the Nature; as we may ſee the River, but cannot reach the Spring whence it flows. And this diſpute of the Trinity is not about any of the Attributes of God, but concerning his very Nature and Eſſence, and how his Being is compos'd, (if I might uſe that word) of which I may ſay we are totally ignorant; it is a Light inacceſſible to us, we know nothing of it at all; and therefore cannot charge contradiction in the revelation that is given to us of it. If we look directly upon the Sun in its ſtrength, we ſee nothing at all, it ſtrikes us blind; but if we turn our backs, we diſcern the light that comes from it. The Attributes of God are the Rays of the Sun, but his Nature is the Sun itſelf, we cannot look upon it; it is utter darkneſs to us, through the exceſs of the Light; we can diſcern nothing at all in it, or ſay it is thus or thus, or that this or that is contradictory to it. Alas! how little do we know of our own Nature? We know it only by the effects and the qualities we find in our ſelves: But what it is in it ſelf we cannot tell, we are exceedingly in the dark: And ſo as to the Nature of Trees, Flowers, Plants, *&c.* We find by experience ſuch effects, and virtues in them, but we know not the Nature or Eſſence of them, no not of a pile of graſs, why of that colour, ſhape, or virtue: How then can we know what the Nature of God is? Or can we ſay it is not rightly reveal'd to us in the holy Scripture? Do we know of what compoſition our own Souls are made? Or how they act in us? Do we know any thing at all of the Soul but by the effects? We know we think, therefore we conclude we have a Soul,

but what that Soul is in it ſelf, we know not: Yet we wou'd know the Nature of God!

10. This brings me to a Criticiſm of the Remarker upon the parallel I made uſe of concerning the three faculties of the Soul. He ſays, p. 3. *That the Memory is not another Faculty, but only an act of the Underſtanding.* Now I thought that the Underſtanding was only converſant about what was then preſent before it; and that the Memory brought back paſt things, and ſo made them preſent to the Underſtanding: Whence a Man may have a good Underſtanding, and yet a bad Memory. Do we ſay of the Underſtanding that it forgets? I take truth or falſhood to be the objects of the Underſtanding; but is love or hatred ſo? A Man may have an averſion, and not know the reaſon of it:

Non amo te, Sabidi, nec poſſum dicere quare:
Hoc tantum poſſum dicere, non amo te.

Are there Antipathys in the Underſtanding? I think this is generally attributed to the Will, and it is agreed that it is a diſtinct Faculty from the Underſtanding, And if there be different Faculties in the ſame Soul, it anſwers all the purpoſe for which I brought that parallel. Nay, if it be but ſo thought, it does as well for me, to ſolve the Objection about contradiction, that Men ſhou'd not think a plurality of Perſons in God to be a contradiction when the ſame difficulty ariſes from a plurality of Faculties in the Soul: For three Faculties can no more be one Faculty, than three Perſons can be one Perſon; and yet theſe different Faculties make up but one and the ſelf ſame Soul.

11. But I have ſufficiently caution'd that I intend not to bring any proof from theſe parallels, nor lay the ſtreſs of the cauſe upon them; yet I thought them not altogether uſeleſs, to ſhew Men how far they may miſtake in charging contradictions from one Nature to another.

12. I have likewiſe told, that no parallel in created Natures can anſwer exactly, or come up to the Nature of God, only point him out at a great diſtance, and with infinite diſproportion; and therefore that we muſt not argue ſtrictly from the one to the other: Yet the Remarker will not obſerve this, but he argues of the Perſons of God as of human Perſons; and ſays, p. 4. *If three divine Perſons be the three human Perſons—— And if three divine Perſons ſhould as properly be accounted three Gods, as three human Perſons can, in ſtrict Speech, be accounted three Men——* Thence he infers *three Gods*, &c.

He cannot I think but ſee the fallacy of this argument, after all that I have ſaid; but he will not ſee it; he will ſtill argue ſtrictly from the word Perſon, and apply it to God in the ſame manner that it is us'd among Men. If he wou'd apply the word Father ſo (which himſelf gives to God) or God's being ſaid to repent, to grieve, *&c.* what work wou'd he make? What contradictions might he infer? His Brother *Socinian* Mr. *Biddle* (as I have ſhew'd) turn'd *Anthropomorphite* by this ſort of argument, and from Man being ſaid to be made after the Image of God, held God to have a Body, and of human ſhape. And he might as well have made him a Bird too, becauſe there is mention made of his Wings and Feathers! This favours not of the ſagacity the *Socinians* think peculiar to themſelves. Pſal. xci. 4.

13. From the like groſs conceptions the Remarker p. 7. raiſes difficulties how a begotten Being can be God; thinking of begetting after the manner of Men; and then the Father muſt be in Time, as well as in Nature before the Son. And it having been told him that ſuppoſing the Son to be eternal, its light wou'd be as eternal, he replys, p. 7. that this parallel will

do, for that the Light which (ſays he) *You call an effect of the Sun, is indeed the very Sun it ſelf, ſo may well be as old.* By which the very Sun we ſee in the Firmament, and is many times bigger than the whole Earth, can creep through a Cranny, and be all of it in this room, and in a thouſand other places at the ſame time! This will help Tranſubſtantiation not a little: But is it ſo indeed that this ſubtile *Socinian* can ſee no difference betwixt the very Sun it ſelf, and the Light that flows from it? it is then time to have done diſputing with him: And he runs into as great abſurdities to get rid of theſe parallels as he charges upon me for making uſe of them.

He ſays, (as before quoted, *Sect.* 4.) *That when we ſee the Stars, our Eyes move not up to them, but their extended Rays ſtrike upon the Eye.* But if the Rays or the Light be the very Star it ſelf, then the very Star it ſelf ſtrikes upon the Eye. Let him conſider whether there is any thing ſo very groſs as this in any of the parallels I have produc'd; and on whoſe ſide lies the poor Philoſophy, and ſhallow Reaſoning.

14. Therefore leaving this ſubject, I will now only anſwer an Objection he makes from Scripture, wherein he ſays, p. 2. *God Almighty is perpetuatually expreſs'd in the ſingular Number, under one, He, Me, Thou,* &c. Now leaſt the Reader of theſe *Remarks* ſhould be carry'd away with this, I muſt mind him, that this *Socinian* ſays this, without taking any notice of the texts I have given to the contrary in the *Second Dialogue* p. 264, *&c.* beginning with the firſt of *Geneſis* where God is ſpoken of in the plural as well as the ſingular Number, according to the *Hebrew*; he is there called *Gods*, and *Us*, as well as *God*, and *Me:* And is he not ſpoken of in the plural Number in the form of Baptiſm in the *Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt?* The Remarker ought to have mark'd this, and ought not to have put the Objection over again, without ſaying ſomething to the Anſwer had been made to it.

If this Sheet gives him not full ſatisfaction, I ſhall be willing to hear from him again.

A

REPLY

TO THE

VINDICATION

OF THE

REMARKS

UPON THE

FIRST DIALOGUE

ON THE

Socinian Controverſy.

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He ſays, (as before quoted, *Stat.* 4.) *That when we ſee the Stars, our Eyes move not up to them, but their extended Rays ſtrike upon the Eye.* But if the Rays or the Light be the very Sun it ſelf, then the very Star it ſelf ſtrikes upon the Eye. Let him Anſwer me but where there is any thing ſo very groſs as this in any of the parallels I have produced, and on which ſide lies the poor Philoſophy, and ſhallow Reaſon.

A REPLY TO THE VINDICATION OF THE REMARKS UPON THE FIRST DIALOGUE ON THE Socinian Controverſy.

A REPLY *to the* VINDICATION *of the* REMARKS *on the first* DIALOGUE, *&c.*

SIR,

1. YOUR complements to me of *poor, weak arguments, foolish, abſurd, ridiculous*, &c. wou'd have made me believe you had been very angry with me, but that at the cloſe of your Letter you aſſure me, *That you are acted herein by no paſſion.*

2. Yet you ſeem mov'd at what I ſay of Mr. *Biddle*, who reviv'd the old exploded hereſy of the *Anthropomorphites*, who held God to have a Body, and of the ſhape of a Man; for ſo they underſtood our being made after the Image of God, to be meant of the ſhape of his Body. Was your concern for Mr. *Biddle* becauſe he was likewiſe a *Socinian*, and one of your principal Writers? But this looks the more ſuſpicious and leſs to your advantage, becauſe of what you ſay, p. 5. *I may doubt whether God be a pure Spirit, or be only a groſs Body.*

3. But now, Sir, as to your *Vindication*, I might give this ſhort *Reply*, that it is one general miſtake of my *Anſwer* from top to bottom. You begin p. 1. with ſuppoſing, *That I admit there are irreconcilable contradictions in my ſcheme of Faith; and therefore, in order to ſupport my notions, I endeavour to ſupport the credit of plain contradictions; intimating, that we conceive of God no otherwiſe than as a Blind-man of ſight*, i. e. *with a mind full of contradictions.* And you go on with this notion, and repeat it often every Page, That I allow of contradictions in the holy Trinity, and defend them.

4. If you had ſaid I had fail'd in reſcuing our Doctrine of the holy Trinity from thoſe contradictions charg'd upon it by the *Socinians*, you had only found fault with my performance: But to ſay, that I allow of theſe contradictions and defend them, when I expreſſly oppoſe them, and you cannot but know was the very purpoſe and intent of my undertaking, has ſomething in it for which I want a proper name. All I ſhall ſay, is, that if this miſtake was not wilful, I have no dangerous Adverſary.

5. But how came you to ſuppoſe that a Blind-man thinks ſight to be a contradiction? If he thought ſo, he cou'd not believe there was or cou'd be any ſuch thing. There is no Blind-man but believes there is ſuch a thing as ſight, becauſe others tell him ſo who have it: But he knows not what

it is, nor can we explain it to him; for we can explain it no otherwiſe than by alluſion to ſome of thoſe ſenſes which he has: And the ſenſes are ſo different from each other, that the perception of one cannot be apprehended by the perception of any of the others; and if we apply the one ſtrictly to the other, we ſhall fall into contradictions, like that I mention'd of explaining the progreſs of ſight by that of Legs: Which is a contradiction to a Man born blind, while he conceives of ſight after the manner of the motion of Legs; and it wou'd be the ſame contradiction for the Eyes, as for the Legs to move two yards as ſoon as one. Therefore the Blind-man does not ſuppoſe that the Eyes move as the Legs do, for then ſight wou'd be a downright contradiction to him, and he cou'd not believe it; but he knows this is made uſe of only as an alluſion to him: And he ſuppoſes that the perception of ſight is quite of a different Nature from the motion of Legs, and that there is no contradiction in it, tho' he knows not what it is.

6. And thus it is that we conceive of the holy Trinity: We know it is of a quite different Nature from three Men, or any three upon Earth; yet we muſt ſpeak of it after the manner of Men, for we can talk no otherwiſe. But if we will therefore apply ſtrictly every thing of three Men to the three Perſons in the Deity, we ſhall fall into manifold contradictions, like the Blind-man who wou'd meaſure ſight by the motion of Legs: But then, as the Blind-man believes ſight, and that there is no contradiction in it, and is ſenſible that the ſeeming contradiction ariſes only from purſuing the parallel of Legs and Eyes too ſtrictly; ſo we believe that there is no contradiction at all in the holy Trinity of God, but that the ſeeming contradiction ariſes only from our applying too ſtrictly what is ſpoke of God, after the manner of Men: For we have no words whereby we can ſpeak properly of God; as we have none whereby to ſpeak of ſight or colours to a Blind-man.

7. I once diſcours'd with a Man born blind, and having explain'd ſight to him as well as I cou'd, I at laſt ask'd him what he thought it was like: And after conſidering a little, he ſaid he thought it was like a Wheel: A Wheel! ſaid I; why a Wheel? Becauſe, ſaid he, you tell me that ſight perceives ſeveral things at once, and things diſtant as ſoon as things nearer hand: Now when a Wheel turns ſwift round, I feel all the parts of it almoſt at the ſame time, and the fartheſt part of the rimm is preſently next to me. I profeſs I cou'd not mend his notion, nor find any word whereby to expreſs ſight more to his apprehenſion. Now then ſuppoſe the word Wheel were pitch'd upon to expreſs ſight to Men born blind; yet they wou'd not think ſight to be a Wheel, nor think there were thoſe contradictions in ſight which might evidently be infer'd from its being a Wheel; becauſe they wou'd know at the ſame time, that it was but a borrow'd word, by way of alluſion, and not ſtrictly and properly belonging to ſight, nor fully expreſſive of it.

8. And may we not make the like allowance as to the word Perſon when apply'd to God? We have not a word more proper: And yet if we apply it to God, with all the properties and qualifications belonging to Men, what miſtakes and even contradictions may we fall into? Which yet will not imply any contradiction in God: But what ſo ſeems ariſes only from our conceiving of God after the manner of Men.

9. If you then ask me, why we make uſe of ſuch words? I anſwer, becauſe we have no better: And (as you ſay p. 7. of God's being ſaid to repent, grieve, *&c.) I ſhou'd not dare to uſe them of God, if the Scripture had not done it.* If the Scripture had not told us of three in Heaven, we had never ſpoke of a Trinity: But when theſe things are reveal'd to us, we

are oblig'd to receive them, and not to be pert in charging contradictions upon them; which after all ariſes only from the weakneſs and over-weening of our own Underſtanding, and our miſtakes in meaſuring the Nature of God proportionable to our own.

10. Now, Sir, I hope you will find reaſon to alter the ſtate of the queſtion, as you put it upon me, p. 2. where you ſay to me, *You are not to ſhew that a ſeeming contradiction may be none (for who knows not that?) but that a real contradiction may, in ſome caſes, be none.* Sir, I utterly except againſt this ſtate of the queſtion; it is none of mine: I never undertook to prove that a contradiction is not a contradiction; that wou'd make me as ridiculous as you have call'd me; and you might triumph over me as you pleas'd, if you cou'd fix this upon me. Did I ever ſay, that three Perſons in God was a contradiction? Have I not taken pains to ſhew that there is no contradiction in it? And that the ſeeming contradiction ariſes only from our explaining it after the manner of three Perſons among Men? And have I not given reaſons againſt thus explaining it? Whether my reaſons are good or bad is not now the queſtion: But this is ſufficient to clear me from your charge of maintaining, *That a real contradiction may, in ſome caſes, be none.* There is no caſe wherein a contradiction is not a contradiction; but there may be a real contradiction in one caſe, which in another caſe may be but a ſeeming contradiction: And I hope theſe ought to be diſtinguiſh'd.

11. I endeavour'd to illuſtrate this by the inſtance of the Blind-man; which you thus retort upon me, p. 2. where you repeat theſe words as mine, " *Tis impoſſible to explain to him what ſight is, ſo as to reconcile it from* " *being a contradiction to him.* I anſwer (ſay you) that a true and juſt " explication of it will not contain any real contradiction; 'tis from his mi- " ſtake alone.

Now pray, Sir, how is this an anſwer to me? Have not I ſaid the ſame? *'Tis from his miſtake alone.* That's true: But whence came this miſtake? Was it not from the explication was given him of ſight? But you ſay, *that a true and juſt explication of it will not contain any real contradiction.* I have try'd my hand, and I confeſs I cannot give a true and juſt explication of ſight to a Man born blind: Neither have you, which you ought to have done when you found fault with mine. But it is not yet too late; pray, Sir, do it; and give ſuch a true and juſt explication of ſight as will not contain any real contradiction to the blind Man: I mean a contradiction in your explanation, not in the nature of the thing; for the Blind-man himſelf does not think ſight to be a contradiction, for he wiſhes for it, and bemoans the want of it. But he will find real contradictions in whatever explanation of it (I dare ſay) you can give by alluſion to any of his four ſenſes: Yet he will not think the fifth ſenſe, which he wants, to be any contradiction, only that it cannot be explain'd to him: And he believes what he does not underſtand. Yet the *Socinians* make this abſurd and ridiculous when we apply it to the like humbling of our Underſtanding as to the incomprehenſible Nature of God! The Blind-man believes, what he knows not nor can underſtand, from the teſtimony of other Men, who tell him they have ſight; which yet they cannot explain to him without manifold contradictions as to him: All which hinders not his belief of it; for he conſiders his own defect. But we will not receive the teſtimony of God in the revelations he has given us of his holy Trinity, becauſe we underſtand it not; nor can explain it ſo as to be free from all difficulty according to our apprehenſion of things! We will conſider nothing of our own defects, in ſeeking to comprehend what we own to be incomprehenſible!

If

If you ſay, that the doctrine of the Trinity is not reveal'd in the holy Scriptures, and that this is the diſpute; then let it be the diſpute: That is the ſubject I have undertaken in theſe Dialogues; and that the holy Scriptures were ſo underſtood in the firſt and pureſt ages. But as to your objections about contradiction, I hope I have given ſufficient ſatisfaction; and that it is made yet plainer by theſe repeated objections of yours.

If I have us'd too many words, it is from that difficulty you put upon your own Underſtanding to miſtake my meaning, for I believe it was plain enough to others before: But I grudge not my pains to you.

12. Was it from this willingneſs to miſtake that you charge me, p. 3. with ſaying, *that a contradiction is ſometimes no contradiction, which is what you ſaid*, ſay you to me? Now I dare ſay I never ſaid it, becauſe I never thought it: Nor can any one think it. Why did you not quote where I ſaid ſo? Or elſe tell how you did infer it? Tho' your inferring and my ſaying are two things. Is this the way you take to make me ridiculous?

13. In the ſame p. 3. you expoſtulate, "Why God ſhould impoſe upon a "generation of Men born blind, a long Creed, of the Nature of Light and "Refractions, and Colours, and a ſyſtem of Opticks, *&c.*

I ſuppoſe, Sir, you do not mean this for an argument: And as to the reflexion upon our Creed, you will find more ſpite than ſenſe in it. The doctrine of the Trinity was neceſſary towards that of the Satisfaction, which is the heart of Chriſtianity, as I have ſhew'd in the *ſixth Dialogue*, p. 353, *&c.* And it is reveal'd ſhort and plain, as a great Myſtery, not to be too nicely enquir'd into: And it had remain'd in the plain native Scripture terms to this day, but for the *Arians* and other hereticks, who invented new diſtinctions to evade this article of Faith, and forc'd the Church to follow them herein, in order to confute them, and preſerve the Faith: Yet theſe now charge thoſe terms and diſtinctions upon the Church!

14. You ſay to me, p. 4. "You need not pretend to wonder, *how I can* "*deny, that what is a contradiction in one nature, may yet be none in* "*another:*" I ſhould wonder more, if I did not deny ſuch an abſurdity.

And yet in the ſame page you ſay to me, "You know they (the *Uni-* "*tarians*) don't deny that ſome things may be contradictions if affirm'd "of Men, which are none when ſaid of God.

Is not this the very abſurdity you wonder you ſhould not deny? Yet don't you confeſs it? *That what is a contradiction in one Nature, may be none in another.* This is abſurd in me! But when you ſay it, it is eaſy!

15. I had ſaid, that it was a contradiction to Men that paſt or future ſhould be preſent, but that it was not ſo with God, to whom all things are preſent. To which you reply, p. 4.

"That it is no contradiction for a paſt thing to be objectively preſent in the "idea—— And that ſo it is with God, who does not behold the *Chaos* as "now exiſting void of form, nor does he judge *Adam* and *Eve* to be now "in their firſt innocency: I doubt ſome are fond of making abundance of "needleſs contradictions, on purpoſe to keep ſome darling abſurdities of "their own in countenance.

Sir, this was entring upon your triumph too ſoon, for you are not yet quite eſcap'd from me: You by this make no more of all things being preſent with God, than that he has a good Memory, and forgets nothing. But is there no more in the caſe? Is his duration then by ſucceſſion of time, like ours? Is part of his duration loſt, and irrecoverably gone, like our yeſterday? And does it now remain only objectively preſent in his Memory? Does he now only remember what he was many years ago? If he can remember, or has a Memory, then ſome of his time is paſt. We ſay Eternity is but one inſtant; but how it comprehends time within it we cannot

tell; for we can ſpeak of it no otherwiſe than in words of time: But it will be the ſame when time ſhall be no more, as it was before time had a being; there is no paſt or future with God, and things are preſent to him otherwiſe than by way of Memory. And if we ſay the ſame of Men, it will be contradiction upon contradiction: And ſo it will be if we meaſure his Eternity by our time. And as daring is it to meaſure his Nature by our Nature, or his Perſons by our Perſons; and to ſay this or that muſt be contradictory in him, becauſe it is ſo with us: When we know, that the words by which we expreſs him are proper only to us, and apply'd to him but by way of alluſion; and as improper as when we ſpeak of his Eternity in our words of time.

16. Your fifth page is taken up with arguments, ſhewing, that tho' we know not the Nature of God perfectly, yet we know ſo much of it, at leaſt negatively, that we may diſcover contradictions to it in ſeveral particulars, which would argue Imperfection or Mutability in God, as that he ſhould lie, or ceaſe to be, *&c.* All which I readily grant. But then you inſiſt that this makes againſt my poſition, that we are not to object contradictions in a Nature we do not underſtand, that is, wherein we do not underſtand it; as in a Blind-man's judging of Colours, by which I explain'd it. I grant there are general contradictions may be ſaid of any thing, as that the ſame thing ſhould be and not be at the ſame time, *&c.* But theſe are not contradictions that reſpect any particular Nature more than another; And my ſubject was concerning a contradiction in a particular Nature, and this infer'd from a ſeeming parallel inſtance in another Nature. In which caſe I ſay we muſt underſtand both Natures, elſe we cannot draw an inference from the one to the other; as a Blind-man cannot argue from Legs to Eyes, nor infer contradictions from the one to the other, becauſe he underſtands not the nature of ſight, and therefore cannot judge: Far leſs can we judge of the Perſonalities of God by the Perſonalities of Men, becauſe of the infinitely greater diſtance and diverſity of their Natures.

To this you ſay, *(ibid.)* " that tho' we cannot argue from the reſemblance " of the one to the other, yet thus much we may conclude in the general, " that three Perſons cannot be but one Perſon:" Which I never deny'd.

" Eſpecially (ſay you to me) when your ſelf had granted to the *Socinian*, " *that it is a contradiction to ſay, three Perſons* (in God) *are but one* " *Perſon* which I repreſented to you was what the *Socinians* charg'd your " ſcheme with; and therefore you were bound (but would not attempt it) " to ſhew, that this contradiction is not chargeable upon you.

But, Sir, how could you ſay I did not attempt it? when at the ſame time you inſiſt that I granted it to be a contradiction, that three Perſons (in God) are but one Perſon: Then ſurely I did not ſay, that three Perſons were but one Perſon, nor thought our ſcheme chargeable with this. In the *firſt Dialogue*, p. 224. you will find the contents on the margin to be, *That there is no contradiction in thoſe terms by which we expreſs the holy Trinity.* Did I not then attempt to ſhew, *that this contradiction is not chargeable upon us?* And your *Socinian* does very little underſtand the chriſtian ſcheme, when he charges it with holding three Perſons to be but one Perſon. How he will infer it from that ſcheme is one thing, but to charge the ſcheme with it is ridiculous, when the ſcheme does expreſſly deny it.

And pray conſider whether all thoſe arguments by which you would infer this from our ſcheme, do not proceed from the reſemblance you make betwixt the Perſonalities of Men and of God? which you have granted me ought not to be done. You argue from *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, to Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. And here it is I ſhew you the diſparity, and that no true arguing can lie if we will carry on the compariſon in all its

parts, and that ſtrictly and properly: For thoſe words that are proper to *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, are not ſo to Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt; and yet we can uſe none other: But then we muſt not argue ſtrictly from the one to the other, knowing that thoſe words which are proper to the one, are to be underſtood but by way of alluſion (and that at an infinite diſtance) when apply'd to the other.

You ſay *ibid.* (p. 5.) *I don't in this caſe object a contradiction in God, from a ſuppoſition that his Nature is reſembled by mine.* Now I will undertake to ſhew, that all the contradictions you object as to the holy Trinity, do every one of them proceed from this very ſuppoſition: And if ſo, then you have determin'd the cauſe againſt your ſelf. You ſay, that Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt cannot be one God. Why ſo? Becauſe *Peter*, *James*, and *John* cannot be one Man. Is not this arguing from the ſuppoſition, that the Nature of God is reſembled by ours? And ſo it is of all the reſt of your objections; there is none of them but what is built upon this ſuppoſition which you diſclaim.

Now, Sir, keep from theſe contradictions you object merely from the reſemblance you ſuppoſe betwixt the Nature of God, and our Nature; and you and I will not differ as to other contradictions may be ſaid of God, as, that he ſhou'd be and not be at the ſame time; that he ſhou'd not be infinite, eternal, *&c.* for theſe contradictions are not infer'd from any reſemblance betwixt his Nature and ours.

17. This will anſwer the abſurdities you wou'd infer from our Doctrine, p. 6. As that it wou'd bring Men to Scepticiſm, when the *moſt abſurd things that can be ſaid of God are not to be confuted, becauſe not knowing his Nature, we muſt not ſay any thing is in contradiction to it*—— *For you can't tell whether a denyal of a Trinity be not conſiſtent with a Trinity, according to you, becauſe it is about the Nature of God, and not underſtanding that, we muſt not object contradictions here.*

I repeat this, only to ſhew how wildly you run Riot; for it is anſwer'd above: Becauſe I wou'd not have you infer contradictions in God from the reſemblance you ſuppoſe (and yet deny it) betwixt his Nature and ours; therefore you think nothing whatſoever can be contradictory to God; that is, you will have no God at all, unleſs you can have ſuch a one as is in all reſpects like unto Men, and whoſe Nature muſt be meaſur'd by their Nature: You ſay to me, *(ibid.)*

18. " Nay ſince you ſay we know not the Nature of Man, (perhaps he " may be three Perſons and one Man) nor of Trees, or a pile of Graſs, we " cannot then urge contradictions about them, and ſo cannot argue about " the Nature of any thing—— And ſo we can prove or be certain of no- " thing.

" Nay, we cannot confute Tranſubſtantiation, for we know not the Na- " ture of Bread and Fleſh (for ſenſe cannot reach that) and ſo may not ob- " ject contradictions in the caſe.

Thus you, Sir; and you are the firſt Man ever I heard, talk at this rate: It looks like ſome diſcompoſure—— But I will turn it all upon your ſelf: Therefore tell me, do you pretend to know the Nature and Eſſence of theſe things, which you ſay ſenſe cannot reach? If not, (as I preſume you will ſay, but am not ſure, conſidering the flights you have taken already) then Sir, it lies upon you to anſwer all theſe extravagancies you have put to me; for I am not anſwerable for them more than your ſelf: As to your objection of Tranſubſtantiation, I refer you to what I have ſaid of it in the *firſt Dialogue*, p. 233, *&c.* And for all the reſt look you to it.

19. You next object the terms in the Creed; which is anſwer'd before *Sect.* 13. but you add, *Why you ſhou'd be oppreſſed or anathematiz'd for*

your diſſent from theſe terms, when you aſſent to the text whence they are infer'd?

This is the plea of all Hereticks; but it returns upon themſelves: They firſt invent wicked and heterodox gloſſes upon ſuch texts, which cannot be detected by their ſaying they aſſent to the texts, for that is ſtill in their own ſenſe, and they delude many: This obliges the Church to make uſe of terms to obviate theſe falſe gloſſes, and to preſerve the Faith. The Devil quoted texts to our bleſſed Saviour, but with wicked intent: It is the meaning, and not the letters is the Faith. The Quakers can repeat the whole Creed, and yet not mean one word of it in the chriſtian ſenſe; but all that is ſaid of God, and of *Chriſt*, his birth, paſſion, death, reſurrection, aſcenſion, and coming to judgment, they turn to what they call their Light within. Therefore when we deal with theſe Men, we muſt add new terms even to the Creed, to obviate their lurking hereſy: Inſtead of *Chriſt* we muſt ſay the *outward Chriſt*, becauſe they hold none but what is inward; that is, their Light within themſelves; and ſo in many other caſes: Therefore it is not the Church, but the Hereticks are to be charg'd with this.

20. Your third objection p. 6. is where you ſay to me,

" You cou'd not confute the Pagan notions of the divine Nature " your way: Suppoſing they held many Gods, or that there is but one " divine Nature, and all the thouſands of particular Gods but a multitude " of Perſons in that one Nature (as you ſuppoſe many Men in but one " human Nature) you cou'd not confute them, by the light of Reaſon at " leaſt, becauſe you allow not contradictions to be an argument here.

This is ſtill running upon your old miſtake, for I do allow contradictions to be an argument here; and ſay, that you can find none ſuch in the Doctrine of the holy Trinity. The *Pagans* added daily to the number of their Gods, and deify'd a Man to day, who was no God yeſterday: And therefore they cou'd not think that the thouſands of their particular Gods were Perſons inherent and eſſential in the divine Nature; for then they muſt have been always ſo. And I cou'd confute them by the light of Reaſon, if they thought that any thing cou'd be made God, in the proper ſenſe; for that God cannot be made. I wou'd confute them by the ſame argument I do the *Socinians* in the like caſe, who ſay, That *Chriſt was made God*, as I have ſhew'd in my *Second Letter*, p. 220. So that the *Socinians* and the *Pagans* come in here upon the like foot: Nay, the *Pagans* have the advantage in Reaſon; for they did not think thoſe whom they made Gods to be the ſupreme God; but they had ſeveral ranks and claſſes of inferior Gods, who had particular Provinces aſſign'd them, under the one and ſupreme God. But the *Socinians* will have *Chriſt* to be the one and ſupreme God, and that he was made ſo: As the *Racovian* Catechiſm ſays, *Unum eundemque ſecum effecit*; That *God made him one and the ſelf-ſame with himſelf:* On which account they pay divine worſhip to *Chriſt, the ſame as to God himſelf*; *Eo pacto quo ipſi Deo.*

Now I would deſire the Vindicator to tell me, how a *Socinian* could confute a *Pagan?* For the *Pagan* might ſay to him, if one can be made a God, why not another, and another to the end of the chapter? And he might charge the *Socinian* with downright Polytheiſm; for if one be made God, he muſt be different from him that made him: And ſo there are two Gods. If you ſay he is the ſame, then it will follow that the ſame God was made and not made; was before himſelf, and made himſelf; was once not God, yet always was God: And many more ſuch like palpable contradictions.

By this time, Sir, you will be ſenſible what advantage you have gain'd by bringing in this argument from the *Pagans*.

21. You

21. You come to your Philoſophy at the end of p. 6. which is very extraordinary. You will not let the Underſtanding and the Memory be two Faculties, becauſe of the parallel for which I brought it. I ſaid that the Underſtanding was converſant about what was preſent to it. You anſwer, that things paſt may be made preſent to it, as when one is told of things paſt which he did not know before: But then this is the firſt time they were preſent to the Underſtanding. I ſee no oppoſition you give to me in this.

I ask'd you if the Underſtanding is ſaid to forget? You anſwer here, as much as the Memory. But this is a language of your own: The World ſays otherwiſe. If a Man forgets a thing, it is common to ſay, my Memory fails me: By which is not meant that he is a Fool, and has no Underſtanding: On the contrary, as I told you, it is a common ſaying, *That the greateſt Wits have the worſt Memories.* And we ſee in old Men their Memory fail, yet their Underſtanding as good as ever.

But you fall unmercifully upon me, (beginning of p. 7.) and ſay to me,

" Nay, you are ſo tenacious, that whether there be really three facul-
" ties in the Soul or not, you ſay it does as well for you if it be but thought
" ſo; right or wrong 'tis all one to you: you will hold to the Concluſion,
" let what will become of the premiſes: This is true courage!

Not ſo very ſtout neither, for I ſee no danger in it: But is it really ſo, that you cannot find out the reaſon of this? Is it for want of Memory or Underſtanding? But I will try to clear your Eye-ſight: Know then the meaning is, that Men don't uſe to think contradictions; therefore whatever becomes of your diſpute and mine about the three Faculties of the Soul, yet if it be a common opinion, (which you will not deny) it will follow that it is no contradiction whether it be true or falſe: Unleſs you think it is common to Men to believe contradictions; and then objecting it as to the Trinity will be no great matter; it will be no more than what Men do every day in twenty other things.

I gave you another inſtance, of which you take no notice: Therefore to refreſh your Underſtanding (I mean your Memory, for you know 'tis all one) I will ſend you to it again: You will find it p. 225. of the *firſt Dialogue* (which I ſuppoſe you have read, becauſe you made Remarks upon it, tho' that does not always follow) there you ſee an old ſaying, before you or I were born, *That the Soul is all in all, and all in every part of the Body.* I ſuppoſe you have heard of *Tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte.* Now, as to my preſent purpoſe, I am not concern'd whether this or the more modern *Hypotheſis* takes place: But this is not charg'd with contradiction, it was the common and receiv'd opinion, and maintain'd by great and wiſe Philoſophers; and it wou'd be a flat contradiction to ſay the ſame of Body, that it cou'd be in ſeveral places at once: Therefore that may be a contradiction in one Nature which is none in another. This is the uſe I had to make of it.

I ſuppoſe, Sir, you think that the Soul does not conſiſt of parts, nor can be cut or ſlic'd in pieces like a Body, and that it wou'd be a contradiction to affirm this of the Soul; which yet is very eaſy as to Body: And therefore you will grant that a contradiction cannot be infer'd from the one to the other, becauſe of the difference of their Natures. Far leſs, ſay I, can a contradiction be infer'd in God, from the Nature of Man.

Now, Sir, is this plain to you? Have I beat it into your Head at laſt? I wou'd not have us'd ſo many words to another: Was it your Memory or Underſtanding that forgot it?

But pray, Sir, tell me, whether wou'd you rather be thought a Man of a weak Memory, or of a ſhallow Underſtanding? It will be in vain for you

you to ſay they are the ſame; for the World makes a difference: And if you will not chuſe, they will chuſe for you.

Therefore be not tenacious (as you adviſe me,) for if it be but thought ſo, your work is done: And ſhew not your courage in deſpiſing this as an inconſiderable argument; I have all the World againſt you, and they will diſtinguiſh betwixt your Memory and Underſtanding: And if you will not let the one be a little treacherous, they will think the other very ſimple.

22. Of which you have given a ſuſpicion in what you ſay here, that three Faculties in one Soul will be no parallel for what I brought it, *Nor will it reſemble* (ſay you to me) *what the* Unitarians *object to you, how three Perſons can be but one Perſon; unleſs inſtead of three Faculties making but one Soul, you had ſhewn that three Faculties make but one Faculty.* I ſay this is ſtrange forgetfulneſs in you (for I accuſe not your Underſtanding) when in my *Anſwer* to your *Remarks*, and the very place you are now upon, *Sect.* 10. p. 389. I ſay, *That three Faculties can no more be one Faculty, than three Perſons can be one Perſon:* And you have quoted me here, p. 5. ſaying, *That it is a contradiction to ſay, three Perſons* (in God) *are but one Perſon.* Yet all this you forget, and here, p. 6. you object to us Chriſtians, that we hold *three Perſons to be but one Perſon.* And immediately after in the beginning of p. 7. you ſay,—*It does not anſwer the parallel in that point (of three being but one in the ſame ſenſe) for which I bring it.* Strange Memory again! Did I ever bring a parallel to prove, or did I ever ſay, That *three can be but one in the ſame ſenſe?* Have I not been careful to explain my ſelf in this, That God is not three and one, in the ſame reſpect? Which I grant wou'd be a contradiction: And this very contradiction I have fairly fixt upon one ſet of your *Unitarians*, in my *firſt Letters*, p. 214. Let this Vindicator rid them of it if he can: Let him read p. 224. of the *firſt Dialogue*, upon which he remarks, and ſee whether I have not fully expreſs'd my ſelf as to this of the *ſame ſenſe* or the *ſame reſpect*; but he will not remember it; and will go on to charge contradictions, by putting thoſe terms upon us, which we diſown, and utterly condemn.

23. In the ſame p. 7. he is quarrelling with the word *Perſon*, and ſays,

" If you aſſign to the ſacred three all the various parts and diſtinctions of " Perſons in a proper ſenſe, and for that reaſon do give 'em theſe charac- " ters; how can conſidering Men think, you don't deſign by it, to give " 'em an idea of three proper Perſons in one eternal He?

Sir, You have forgot again: You ſaid, p. 5. *I don't object a contradiction in God, from a ſuppoſition that his Nature is reſembled by mine.* And here you object it from nothing elſe but from that ſuppoſition: What elſe do you mean by putting the word proper to Perſon? Is it not intended to denote an human Perſon, that is, whatever is proper to it? And is not this the meaning of thoſe parts and diſtinctions of Perſons you ſpeak of; that there ſhou'd be the ſame parts and diſtinctions in the Perſons of God, as in the Perſons of Men? Wou'd you then have parts in God, becauſe it is ſo with Men? Why elſe do you put in that word? I doubt not as the Unity of the Nature of God is infinitely more perfect than the Unity of Man, ſo that the diſtinction of the Perſons of the Deity is likewiſe more perfect than the diſtinctions of the Perſons of Men; but in a manner ineffable, incomprehenſible to us, and not to be meaſur'd by the various parts and diſtinctions of our Perſons: From which method of argument, tho' you diſown it, yet you cannot refrain: You may as well infer Sexes in God, whom you call an eternal He; then not a She. Do you mean this by the various parts and diſtinctions in human Perſons? And for that reaſon do you

give theſe characters to God? Or is it becauſe you cannot expreſs him otherwiſe? Then you muſt not ſtick too cloſe to your proper ſenſe, that God ſhou'd be like our Perſons in a proper ſenſe, with all our various parts, *&c.* This comes too near your Friend Mr. *Biddle.* See *Section* 2.

24. But if theſe expreſſions of God are not proper, then you infer they muſt be figurative; and you quote me ſaying, That *the texts which ſpeak of the holy Trinity are not figurative.* Dial. 1. p. 233. where I was ſpeaking of the compariſon the *Socinians* make betwixt the Trinity and Tranſubſtantiation, and wou'd infer the like abſurdities from the one as the other. Upon which I ſhew'd ſeveral figures in the words of Inſtitution of the holy Sacrament, as where the Cup is put for the Wine in it, *Continens pro contento,* and ſeveral others: But I ſaid there was no figures in the texts which reveal the holy Trinity. What figure is there in ſaying, *Baptize in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt?* And that *theſe three are one?* And that the *Word was God?* I deſire you to name the figure. Pray did you mean any figure when you call God a He? And what figure was it? But I find by this argument that you wou'd have it taken ſtrictly and properly, as you ſpeak: And by the various parts you wou'd have in God, and properly too, and by giving us leave, p. 5. at leaſt to *doubt whether God be a pure Spirit, or be only a groſs Body,* I cannot help doubting whether you are not an *Anthropomorphite.* I will not put it upon you: But your expreſſions favour it: And if I gueſs wrong, yet this you will ſee by it, that when we ſpeak of God in words relating to Man (for we have none other) we muſt beware of taking thoſe words in a ſtrict and proper ſenſe, elſe we may be betray'd into groſs and fatal errors. There are words that are not proper (for want of better) as in the preſent caſe, and yet are not figurative: What figure is it to ſay that Eternity is an inſtant? Yet we are ſure the expreſſion is not proper; nor can we mend it, becauſe we have no word that is proper whereby to expreſs Eternity, or a perpetual duration without ſucceſſion of time.

25. But you ſumm up the matter in the next Paragraph, and ſay, "So "that the difficulty is no other, than how a deriv'd dependent Being can "be God." Which the *Unitarians* inſiſt on much.

To which I anſwer, Firſt, That if the *Unitarians* inſiſt on this, they muſt quite diſcard the *Socinians,* and renounce the *Racovian* Catechiſm, which hitherto has been their text: This is ſhew'd *Sect.* 20. And yet you, Sir, juſtify the *Socinians* and *Unitarians* in common, and uſe theſe words promiſcuouſly, as meaning the ſame thing. I deſire therefore that you wou'd diſtinguiſh theſe, and let us know what ſide you are of: Let not the World be confounded with two Sticks that ſay they are one, and yet are direct oppoſites, and in flat contradiction to each other. The *Socinians* ſay that the *Unitarians* are no Chriſtians; and the *Unitarians* think the *Socinians* to be rank Idolaters: As I have ſhew'd in my *ſecond Letter,* Num. III. p. 218, *&c.*

26. But now, Secondly, as to your difficulty it ſelf, I muſt refer you back again to my *firſt Dialogue* on which you have made *Remarks:* There *Sect.* III. is a direct anſwer to your difficulty, which you have overlook'd. I told you, p. 227. that if it were eſſential to a Man to be a Father (as we ſay it is in God) the Son muſt be as old as the Father, and yet derivative from him: Of this you take no notice.

But I gave another illuſtration, that of Light and Heat in the Sun, which proceed from the Sun, and yet are as old as it. To which you ſay in your *Remarks,* p. 7. that the *Light is indeed the very Sun itſelf, ſo may well be*

be as old. To which I ſaid in my *Anſwer*, p. 390. that there muſt be a difference, becauſe the Light can break through a little cranny, which the Sun cannot. To this you reply in your *Vindication*, p. 7. That the Light, is not the whole Sun, only a part of it, and that this part may creep through a cranny, *&c.* And you make your ſelf very merry with me upon this occaſion, and tell me, I have derided you to my coſt! But, Sir, I muſt have a little of your help ſtill. For if a part be taken from a Body, it is leſs than it was: And conſidering what vaſt parts of the Sun (if Light be a part) have been taken from it by its continual ſhining ever ſince it was made, it muſt needs be much leſs than it was. One wou'd think it ſhould have been worn out by this time! And the parts it has loſt by all the Light that ever has been in the World, muſt be much greater, and many more than what remains! Beſides all the Heat too that has come from the Sun—— For I ſuppoſe you will allow the Heat to be a part of the Sun as well as the Light. And then here has been conſumption enough to have waſted a hundred Suns! And the Sun had ſweated himſelf to death long before this by all theſe *Efluvia* you ſpeak of! You ſay, the *ſtreams of Light are a part of that huge luminous maſs:* But if it had been ten times as huge, thoſe ſtreams (if parts of it) had run it dry, for they are much more than the fountain! And the river is bigger than the ocean it runs into!

Then again, if a Man takes the dimenſions of any Body, does he not meaſure all the parts of it? Elſe it is not a true ſurvey. Now if the Light be a part of the Sun, what a vaſt Body will this make! Even as far as the Light of the Sun extends! And by this the Sun will be as big as the Firmament in which it moves, and contains not only the Sun, but the Moon, and innumerable Stars which all receive their Light from the Sun, beſides the whole Earth, and all the Air. And they ſay there are ſome Stars bigger than the Sun itſelf—— But that muſt be only bigger than that ſmall part of it we ſee in the Firmament! And it muſt be much the ſmalleſt part in compariſon of thoſe other parts of it which fill the whole Firmament!

And will not the ſame reaſon make the light of a candle a part of the candle? And then when a candle is lighted, it encreaſes wonderfully, and can fill a great Hall! And when it is put out, it loſes more parts than would make ten thouſand candles, and yet is never the leſſer, but juſt the ſame candle it was before!

Sir, ſuppoſe I light you down ſtairs with a candle in my hand, is part of that candle in your hand becauſe you have a handful of the light of it?

And will you rather ſtruggle with all this, than admit of any parallel which may reconcile the doctrine of the holy Trinity to the apprehenſions of Men, and ſave it from thoſe contradictions you charge upon it?

You deſpiſe the parallels I have made uſe of, and have taken a great deal of pains to fix abſurdities upon them. But whether you have not fallen into greater to avoid them, I leave to your cooler thoughts; and whether you have not derided me to your own coſt: And if you have taken from me the occaſion yet to ſay, O ſubtle *Socinian!* And to return to you the advice you give me, when in the concluſion of your Farce you ſay to me,

" I heartily wiſh, Sir, you would entertain the Coffee-Houſes for one " year with a courſe of your Philoſophy; I dare promiſe you many admi- " rers: And when that has prevail'd, no doubt but your Divinity will " go off.

27. After this you ſay (for I would miſs none of your arguments) that there is one text, *Pſal.* XLV. 7. where the word *Elohim* is us'd in the ſingu-

lar

lar number, (for which I will take your word at preſent) but you deny not that it is generally taken in the plural: Which is ſufficient to overthrow your objection, that God is always ſpoken of in the ſingular, as *I*, *Thou*, *He*, &c. And as to his being mention'd likewiſe in the plural, you put it off with the modern ſtyle of Princes, who ſay We for the greater majeſty, as it is now thought. But I believe you will not find this faſhion of ſtyle to have been ſo old as *Moſes*: I remember it not in all the hiſtory of the Bible. And can any imagine that God at the Creation ſhould take the plural ſtyle to himſelf, and ſay, *Let us make Man in our Image, after our Likeneſs*, in proſpect only that the like plural ſtyle would be taken up by worldly Princes? Is it not much more probable that the Princes ſhould rather take it up and think it more majeſtick, becauſe it had been us'd by God himſelf? But by this defence you own that God is ſpoken of in the plural as well as the ſingular number.

28. In your laſt paragraph, p. 8. you, who are againſt impoſing terms and for keeping ſtrictly to the Scripture language, take upon you to impoſe new terms of three infinite Minds; and this ſo peremptorily, that you ſay, *Till I ſtate my notion* (in theſe terms) *all my comments on other texts are arrows ſhot at no mark*: And as a general anſwer to them all, you ſay to me,

" Your expoſitions are precarious, or go no higher than *Arianiſm*, or " are obviated oft in the *Socinian* comments; and in anſwering their texts " you are as modeſt as if you had ſaid nothing.

Sir, I was not asking your character of my performance: If you had given any anſwer to what I have ſaid, you ſhould be welcome; but this only ſhews you are angry, and that I have ſaid enough to give you diſturbance.

29. Your laſt demand of me, p. 8. is in theſe words, " Pray, Sir, tell us " whereabout your anſwer is to the text, *of that day knoweth my Father* " *only*, which ſome cannot find among your anſwer'd texts— And no text " is more urg'd by the *Unitarians*.

Sir, I will gratify you all I can: Tho' if you had read but the firſt page of my *fourth Dialogue*, you might have ſatisfied your ſelf; for there I give one general anſwer to thoſe texts which ſpeak of the human Infirmities of *Chriſt*, as his being paſſible, improvable, rewardable, &c. Where by improvable, I meant the text you mention, and that when he ſpake thoſe words that Day might not have been reveal'd to him; for he knew not all things at once. It is ſaid *Luke* II. 52. Jeſus *encreaſed in Wiſdom and Stature*, &c. All which ſhew his ſtate as to Man, but have no relation to his divine Nature, which communicated to his human as he thought fit.

30. You conclude thus to me,

" I aſſure you I am acted herein by no paſſion, except it be a paſſionate " deſire of ſeeing our holy chriſtian Religion reſcu'd from the burden of con- " tradictions.

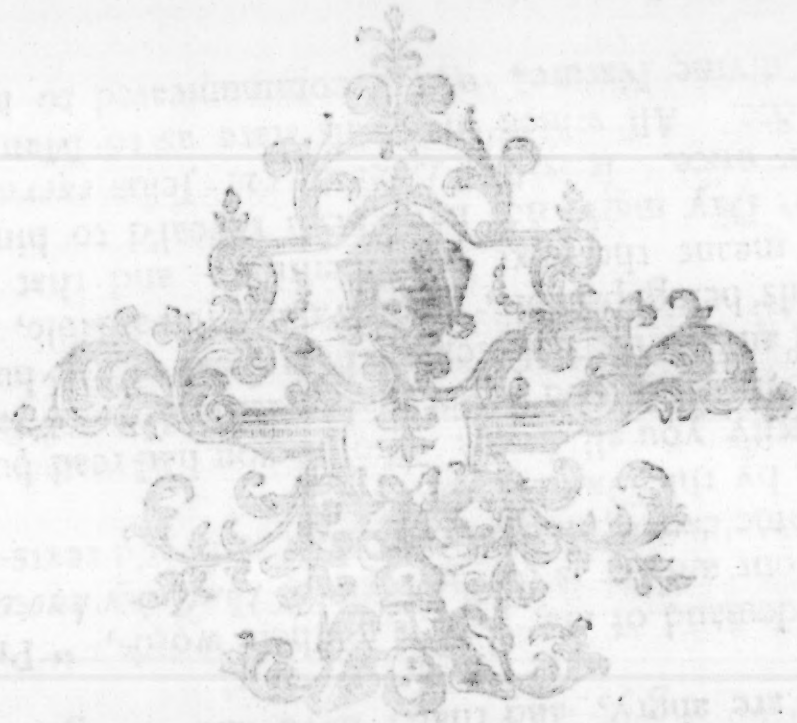
Sir, if you think the *Socinians* concern'd in Chriſtianity, or Chriſtianity with them, and have ſo paſſionate a deſire to ſee it reſcu'd from the burden of contradictions, you would do well to conſider *Sect.* 11. of my *Preface* to theſe Dialogues; for there you will find more flagrant and irreconcileable contradictions among the *Socinians*, and among the *Unitarians* too, than any they charge upon our doctrine: And then chuſe which you think moſt free from contradictions.

31. But I have one word more. If you were acted herein by no paſſion or prejudice, what needed that ſly inſinuation you give, p. 4. of my being Author

Author of that Book call'd the *Regale*, and coming in with that mob-objection of endeavouring to reconcile the *Gallican* and *Engliſh* Churches? I wiſh I could reconcile all the Churches in the world; but this was going out of your way to reach a blow at me: This had no relation to the diſpute in which you and I were engag'd; it was hall'd in perfectly by head and ſhoulders: But you have told me I muſt not lay it upon paſſion or prejudice, and ſo I forgive you.

32. And now, Sir, I have gone over your whole *Vindication:* I think I have left nothing in it which I have not anſwer'd; becauſe you complain'd I had not anſwer'd your *Remarks* fully enough. I have us'd many more words than I thought neceſſary to intelligent Readers; but I was reſolv'd to make things plain, that you might not miſtake my meaning (if poſſible) another time: And I ſhall be very willing to hear from you again, how this pleaſes you.

I have divided mine into Sections, that I might not ramble, but keep cloſe to one thing at once: If you did the like, it would ſave you many repetitions.



A N

ANSWER

TO THE

EXAMINATION

OF THE

LAST DIALOGUE,

Relating to the

Satisfaction of *JESUS CHRIST*,

IN A

LETTER to the AUTHOR:

WITH A

SUPPLEMENT

In Anſwer to

Mr. *CLENDON*'s Treatiſe of the Word PERSON.

LAST DIALOGUE

OF THE

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Mr. CLENDON's Travels of the World PEARSON.

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WITH A

LETTER to the AUTHOR:

AND A

Refutation of JESUS CHRIST.

An ANSWER *to the* EXAMINATION *of the laſt* DIALOGUE, *&c.*

SIR,

SINCE you ſtill continue your rude treatment of me, I will mind you no more of it, becauſe I ſee you cannot help it.

I. Therefore without more prefacing I come to the point. Your great Objection againſt the Doctrine of the Satisfaction is its ſeeming inconſiſtency with the free Grace of God: For thus you ſay in your firſt page, which is mark'd p. 3. *They* (the *Socinians) can bear with any notions here, which don't ſubvert the Juſtice of God, or ſully the glory of his free Grace in the pardon of ſin.* Again you ſay at the end of p. 7.

" It may perhaps appear, that the honour of God's Government, and " the ends of Piety, are at leaſt as well provided for by free Pardon, as " by an equivalent Satisfaction. Certain it is, that love to God is the no- " bleſt root of all pious endeavours; and as certain that the leſs free Grace " we believe there is in God's Pardon the leſs we ſhall love him: For *to* " *whom little is forgiven, the ſame will love but little,* Luke VII. 47.

Now, Sir, if this argument proves any thing, it will infer, that if any condition be impos'd towards our forgiveneſs, or any puniſhment, tho' never ſo little, be inflicted upon us for our ſins, then we ſhou'd love God the leſs; for it is the leſs a free gratuitous Pardon: Nay, it cannot be perfectly free and gratuitous, if any thing at all be requir'd of us for it; and ſo, to uſe your own words, *it will ſully the glory of God's free Grace in the pardon of ſin.*

How then came you to give this account of the diſpute betwixt us and the *Socinians*, as you ſet it down p. 3. where you ſay,

" The moſt pinching and obvious argument which the *Unitarians* in- " ſiſt on, is, the inconſiſtency of a ſtrict, equivalent, meritorious Satisfacti- " on, with free gratuitous Pardon.

In this you are pleas'd to call me very ignorant, and that none ever manag'd the matter more feebly, or more unfairly, and that *I have but juſt*

dipp'd into the Controverſy, and don't ſo much as underſtand the true ſtate of it.

But this ſhall not put me off: I will pretend to underſtand ſo much, that a free gratuitous Pardon (in the ſenſe you mean it) is not only inconſiſtent with a ſtrict equivalent meritorious Satisfaction, but with any Satisfaction, Condition, or Puniſhment whatſoever.

II. I think that the ſtrict meritorious Satisfaction of *Chriſt* is no ways inconſiſtent with the free Grace of God in the pardon of ſin: For that as the Juſtice of God did require ſuch a Satisfaction, becauſe leſs is no Satisfaction (for what is not a compleat Satisfaction, is not a Satisfaction;) ſo God's giving *Chriſt* to us to make this Satisfaction, was perfectly free and gratuitous in him, without any merit of ours, or claim that we cou'd lay to it, and ſo we attribute our Pardon to his free Grace: Thus the Satisfaction is compleat, and yet the Grace perfectly free.

III. I come now, Sir, to the anſwer you give to this: You ſay, p. 12. *Tho' all conditions are not inconſiſtent with free Grace; yet all ſtrictly meritorious are ſo:* This you barely ſay, but offer not one word of proof: And I am not ſo ignorant as to accept your naked aſſertion, without ſome reaſon for it. You bring in the caſe of ranſom, and ſay, p. 13.

" And even, where a ranſom in the moſt proper ſenſe is given, it does " not ſuppoſe an equivalent, but whatever ſhall be agreed on: *Exod.* XXI. " 30, 32. *Thirty Shekels of Silver* was the ranſom of the moſt precious " valuable life, if it happen'd to be forfeited by the Law there mention'd; " which was next to no conſideration, if lives were as precious then as " now.

But, Sir, your next to no conſideration will not do; for there was a conſideration, and any conſideration is inconſiſtent with a free gratuitous Pardon: If I am oblig'd to pay thirty Shekels to ſave my life, or to diſcharge a debt of ten thouſand Talents, no Man can ſay, that I was freely forgiven; becauſe if I have not the Shekels to pay, I muſt die the death, and am liable to the whole debt.

Sir, You do me a great credit to join me with the learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* in this argument; and I muſt excuſe your treatment of me, ſince you uſe him little better: You repeat an argument of his in theſe words, That *Pardon was not inconſiſtent with Sacrifices of atonement, and why ſhou'd it be more inconſiſtent with the Sacrifice of* Chriſt? To this you anſwer p. 12. and ſay,

" 'Tis not inconſiſtent with *Chriſt*'s Sacrifice, but with his meritorious " equivalent Satisfaction; and therefore Pardon agreed with the legal atone- " ments, becauſe they were not a meritorious infinite Satisfaction: And if " *Jews* or *Gentiles* had thought ſo, and yet own'd a gratuitous remiſſion, " they were as inconſiſtent as others now are.

Neither do you, Sir, own a gratuitous remiſſion, when you confeſs that legal atonements, and our paying part of the debt is neceſſary. But it ſeems the leſs meritorious the Satisfaction is, it is the better with you: You quarrel not the Sacrifice of a Beaſt, becauſe it is not equivalent to the demerit of ſin; but you cannot bear the Sacrifice of *Chriſt*, becauſe it is equivalent: How differently do you argue from St. *Paul?* Who ſaid it was *Impoſſible for the blood of Bulls and Goats to take away ſin*; and therefore that it was neceſſary a more noble Sacrifice ſhou'd come, which ſhou'd be worthy to take away ſin: And that the Law was taken away for the weakneſs and unprofitableneſs thereof; for, that *if a Law had been which cou'd have given life, verily righteouſneſs had been by the Law*, and there had been

no need of the Goſpel: None at all by your account, if any bargain wou'd have done it, thirty Shekels, or half a one, if ſo agreed, or the lifting of a ſtraw, which wou'd have made the remiſſion more gratuitous. This I inſiſted upon at large in my *laſt Dialogue* to which you now anſwer, but have not taken the leaſt notice of what I made the ſtrength of the cauſe: And if you will read that *Dialogue* over again, you will find it a direct Reply to this Anſwer of yours; and that I was aware of all the Objections you had to put, notwithſtanding my ignorance in this Controverſy.

And here I might end my Anſwer to your long Examination, which, beſides many repetitions, has nothing material in it that I have not already taken notice of, either in this, or in the *laſt Dialogue*.

IV. But for your own information (if you are willing) and of others who are led away with theſe pretences of the *Socinians*, I will diſcover to you the falſe foundation whence all your arguments and objections flow: Which is this; that you will argue ſtrictly to the Nature of God, from that reſemblance of it which is found in the Nature of Man. This you own'd to be unreaſonable, and not fit to be done, in your *Vindication* of your *Remarks* on my *firſt Dialogue*, and of which I minded you in my *Reply* to your *Vindication*, and you have not thought fit yet to rejoin: But you fall into the ſame error again in this your *Examination*, and meaſure that Juſtice which is in God, by the faint reſemblance of Juſtice in Man; and reckon of ſin no otherwiſe than as a debt of Money betwixt Man and Man. Which becauſe a Man may remit without any Satisfaction, thence you argue that there is no need of any Satisfaction to be made to God for all our ſins: Tho' as I told you, your compariſon will fail even in this, becauſe when a Man remits a debt due to him, it is call'd an act of Mercy, not of Juſtice; for Juſtice will require the uttermoſt farthing: And God being Juſtice, in the abſtract, conſequently muſt exact, even by the neceſſity of his Nature, whatever Juſtice does require; becauſe he is not only juſt, as we ſay of Men, that is, has ſome Juſtice in him, but he is Juſtice itſelf, and whatever belongs to the Nature of Juſtice, belongs to the Nature of God: And ſin is contrary to his Nature, far otherwiſe than a debt of Money is to Men: So that we cannot argue ſtrictly and throughly from the one to the other. Yet there is a reſemblance betwixt them in many things, and of uſe to us.

And as in a debt of Money, if any part be exacted, ſuch debt cannot be ſaid to be freely forgiven; ſo cannot we ſay, that ſin is freely forgiven, while we feel the puniſhment of it in all the miſeries and afflictions of this life, in painful ſickneſs and death at the laſt.

Nor is there any other way whereby the Pardon of our ſin may be call'd perfectly free and gratuitous, but only in the perfectly free and gratuitous gift of God, in ſending his Son to be a Propitiation for our ſins.

V. And there is no other reaſonable account can be given for the Death of *Chriſt*, but as a propitiation: For neither as a Teacher, or Example, or as a Mediator and Interceſſor, was there any neceſſity for his dying. You ſay it was to confirm the truth of his doctrine; but that does not confirm it, for ſome have died for errors: And the proof of that can go no farther than that a Man is ſtrongly perſuaded of the truth of what he teaches. And it is not to be ſuppos'd that God wou'd have ſent his Son to ſuffer ſo cruel a Death, when there was no neceſſity at all for it! This I call'd the mill ſtone of *Socinianiſm*, and inſiſted upon it in my *laſt Dialogue*; but you take no notice of it.

VI. You

VI. You throw away a great deal of your wit in your p. 17. and 18. in talking of the Perſons of God as of the Perſons of Men, (which as I have before told you, you your ſelf condemn, and pretend not to argue at this rate.) You infer ridiculous conſequences from one Perſon paying a debt to another, and yet being the ſame Perſon himſelf: This is meaſuring the Nature of God by our own; which you confeſs to be a falſe and very fallacious way of reaſoning: Beſides miſ-ſtating the queſtion, as if we affirm'd ſeveral Perſons to be the ſame Perſon, which we do not, and I have told you of it ſufficiently before in my *Reply* to your *Vindication*; and that there was no abſurdity you would infer from the doctrine of the Trinity, but what aroſe from concluding of the Nature of God by the Nature of Man, which you your ſelf confeſs not to be juſt, yet you have no other argument.

There are ſimilitudes and parallels from one Nature to another, whence ſeveral inferences may be drawn, as betwixt Body and Soul, of which I have ſpoke largely before; but if we will run the matter to an abſolute equality, and make them anſwer in every thing, we ſhall fall into manifold contradictions, as that the Body may be in ſeveral places at once, becauſe it is ſaid of the Soul, that it is all in all, and all in every part of the Body at the ſame time.

Such a purſuing of parallels there is in your comparing the Satisfaction made to God for Sin, with one Man's paying money to another, or a Man's being ſaid to ſatisfy himſelf, by enabling another to make the Satisfaction: This is arguing ſtrictly from the Perſons of Men to the Perſons of God, which you own to be unreaſonable, yet cannot leave it. Did any ever ſay or think that there was an exact parallel betwixt the Perſons of Men and of God, ſo as to anſwer in every point? And without this ſuppos'd, all you have ſaid comes to nothing.

Let me ſhew you an inſtance nearer hand. I gave you an Image of the Perſons in the Godhead, by the three ſeveral and diſtinct Faculties in one and the ſame Soul. Now not to ſoar ſo high as the unfathomable Nature of the Deity, ſuppoſe you ſhould explain the operations of the Faculties of the Soul in this way of a debt of money betwixt Man and Man, and ſay how the Memory is indebted to the Underſtanding for all it has, becauſe it can remember nothing but what is preſented to it by the Underſtanding; and then again, how it pays this whole debt to the Underſtanding, by preſerving the ſame objects for the Underſtanding to work upon, without which it could underſtand nothing; and how the Underſtanding may be ſaid thus to enable the Memory to pay the debt, and ſo in effect it is paying it ſelf, and making Satisfaction to itſelf: Then again, how the Will is indebted to the other two Faculties, without which it could neither love nor hate, and how it pays them again the full recompence, by adding delight to their operations, without which they would be dead.

I ſuppoſe, Sir, you would find many inconſiſtencies and abſurdities in this way of arguing; and can you think then that ſuch a metaphor can be carry'd on to the full in relation to the incomprehenſible God? Tho' there may be found ſome likeneſs and reſemblance in many particulars, and of uſe to us by way of illuſtration, betwixt a debt to God and to Man, of money and of ſin. But to argue ſtrictly, as you do, and think to make the parallel ſquare perfectly in every particular, I hope I need not uſe arguments to convince you of the weakneſs and fallacy in this way of reaſoning.

You accuſe me of making uſe of parallels, yet you argue from nothing elſe: I draw parallels from Man to God, but you bring down God to Man: I uſe them only for illuſtration, you bring them into ſolid argument: I own all

all parallels as to God to be weak, and at an infinite diſtance from his Nature, you will have them exact and the ſame, and draw up your accounts with God by way of Creditor and Debtor and Balance! And make Juſtice as precarious in God as it is in Man! It is not neceſſary to Man that he be exact in his Juſtice, thence you infer that it is not neceſſary in God! A Man may depart from his juſt right in a debt, therefore you think that God may as eaſily diſpenſe with the inherent Juſtice and Rectitude of his Nature, and his abhorrence of ſin! Reparation may be made to a Man for a fraud, by giving him money equivalent to his loſs: Would it not be groſs to conceive thus of God? And what equivalent can we give to infinite Juſtice offended? Is there a Satisfaction or Penalty due to the leaſt Injuſtice to Man, and is there none due to Juſtice itſelf? Or is it unjuſt in God to require that Satisfaction, or inflict that penalty, which is juſt with Men?

Sir, that exact parallel your argument requires betwixt the Juſtice of God and of Man, will fail you in many points. Let me name one. What we call the Attributes of God are only the different manner whereby we apprehend him: Thus we make many Attributes, as his Juſtice, his Wiſdom, his Mercy, *&c.* But theſe are all one in him, (tho' we cannot comprehend it) who is one ſimple and uncompounded Nature: Upon which when we look by that image of it in our ſelves, we cannot conceive of theſe Attributes but as of different, nay, ſometimes even contrary things, becauſe they are ſo with us: For example, Juſtice and Mercy are oppoſites with us; we may ſometimes exerciſe our Juſtice, and ſometimes our Mercy, but never both together in the ſame act, becauſe they are incompatible: If I forgive, it is Mercy; if I exact the rigor, it is Juſtice: And I cannot do both at the ſame time, and in relation to the ſame debt; I cannot both forgive and exact it: If I exerciſe my Mercy, it bars out my Juſtice; and if I execute my Juſtice, it excludes my Mercy. But it is not ſo in God: He is all Juſtice, and likewiſe all Mercy; and is not compounded of theſe, but is each in the abſtract: They are not contrary in him, tho' they are with us: And we cannot explain theſe things, nor argue ſtrictly from the one to the other, from the Juſtice in Men to the Juſtice of God, or to that Juſtice which is God: But we may admire and adore it in that wonderful inſtance of it in the œconomy of our Redemption by *Chriſt*, wherein the Juſtice of God is ſhewed to be infinite, by the infinite Satisfaction that is made to it: And his Wiſdom is infinite in contriving ſuch a Satisfaction: And his Goodneſs equally infinite in affording it to us. This is the great Myſtery of God manifeſt in the Fleſh, which the Angels deſire to look into: But you lewdly blaſpheme, p. 11. at the end, and p. 12. and talk of complementing the Father, and make ſport with the other Perſons of the holy Trinity, by meaſuring them after the manner of Men; and think your ſelf very wiſe and witty upon this occaſion!

VII. But in your *Explanation* you deſtroy all difference betwixt Juſtice and Mercy, even as it is underſtood among Men. In your p. 4. you ſay to me,

" You ask, p. 355. *Does Juſtice require full Satisfaction?* And are ſo " diſingenuous as to make your *Socinian* anſwer, *Yes*; when no *Socinian* " will ever ſay it in the ſenſe your queſtion intends, but on the contrary " they would always anſwer, *No*.

You ſay to me again in your p. 5.

" You ask, p. 355. If Forgiveneſs without Satisfaction be called Juſtice? " And you make your *Socinian* anſwer *No*, when he would ſay *Yes*, if he " might ſpeak for himſelf: But he is in your hands, and you make him ſpeak " what you would have him, to make you ſport.

Now, Sir, I profeſs to you I meant no ſport in the caſe; nor did I think I did the *Socinian* any wrong to make him anſwer as I did: For it is the ſame anſwer I would have given my ſelf to theſe queſtions, and I thought it impoſſible for any body to give any other anſwer: I'm ſure if I had made him anſwer as you have done for him, I ſhould have thought I had done him a great injury, and made him ſpeak contrary to the ſenſe of all Mankind! For I never heard Man before you ſay, but that to forgive was an act of Mercy, and not of Juſtice; and that to exact the utmoſt was the rigor of Juſtice, and not Mercy: For otherwiſe this muſt confound all the notions that ever I had (or I believe any body elſe) of Juſtice and Mercy.

Therefore I come to the reaſon you give for this ſo ſeemingly ſtrange a poſition: Which follows your aſſertion in p. 5. the laſt paragraph, where you ſay,

" I ſay then, that free Pardon is Juſtice, as our alms is call'd Righteouſ-
" neſs in Scripture; for this reaſon, among others, ſay ſome, becauſe they
" muſt be given of ſuch things as we have a Right to: So God's pardon-
" ing Mercy is Righteouſneſs, as much as his Bounty is, as being the ex-
" erciſe of his juſt right: Puniſhing is one act of Juſtice, and pardoning an-
" other; either way God uſes his own right with equal Juſtice.

I own my ſelf at a loſs to anſwer this, for I confeſs I do not underſtand it: And you your ſelf, Sir, ſeem ſomewhat perplex'd, and ſet it down with fear and caution. You give this as a reaſon, among others, as if the ſtreſs did not lye here, and put it with a *ſay ſome*, that it may not appear to be your own. Then you make a difference betwixt the Mercy of God and his Bounty, and ſay, that God's *pardoning Mercy is Righteouſneſs, as much as his Bounty is.* Which will be eaſily granted you, becauſe his Mercy is his Bounty to us. But what you mean by this is not eaſy to gueſs: You jumble things together in an odd way. Alms is Righteouſneſs, becauſe they are given of ſuch things as we have a right to—— And Righteouſneſs is Juſtice, becauſe it is juſt to do what I have a right to do, for juſt is right: And thus you ſay, that pardoning (as well as puniſhing) is an act of Juſtice, for none can padon but he who has a right to pardon—— And ſo Juſtice and Mercy are the ſame thing!

Sir, this is very extraordinary! But I find that this jingle or punning upon the word Right does not ſatisfy your ſelf, and you ſoon forget it; for at the end of your p. 13. ſpeaking of the Blood of Atonement ſprinkled on the Mercy-ſeat, you add, *This plainly taught, that 'twas by an application to Mercy from Juſtice.* But why to Mercy from Juſtice, if Juſtice and Mercy are the ſame? For if pardoning be Juſtice becauſe it is right, then puniſhing is Mercy for the ſame reaſon! Thus you, Sir, have brought a new language into the world, becauſe plain and eaſy ſpeaking is natural to the *Socinians.*

VIII. You make your ſelf merry with me, p. 3. for finding the word Satisfaction in that text, *Iſa.* LIII. 4. *He ſhall ſee of the travel of his Soul, and ſhall be ſatisfied.* And you ſay it means only a complacence or complacential delight. Well, Sir, and where is the great difference here? For when a debt is paid to a Man, and he is fully ſatisfied, may he not be ſaid to have a complacential delight in this, that Juſtice is fulfilled or ſatisfied? And may we not ſay, that God is pleas'd, or has a complacency when Juſtice is done? Are not ſuch expreſſions frequent in Scripture?

But you ſay, this was ſpoken of the complacential delight which the *Servant of God,* (that is, *Chriſt) ſhould have in the iſſue of his undertaking.* And you ſay, *I am not quite ſo happy as ridiculous,* in pretending to find any Satisfaction to God here. Well then, I will ſet down the text accord-

ſing to your ſenſe of it and mine, and ſee which is the moſt happy or ridiculous. Your ſenſe is this, Chriſt *ſhall ſee of the travel of* Chriſt's *Soul, and ſhall be ſatisfy'd:* Mine is, That *God ſhall ſee of the travel of* Chriſt's *Soul, and ſhall be ſatisfy'd.* You underſtand it as ſpoken of the ſame Perſon, that Chriſt *was ſatisfy'd with his own travel:* I take it as meant of two Perſons, that *God was ſatisfy'd with the travel of* Chriſt: And the context is wholly on my ſide. See the verſe before, *It pleaſed the Lord to bruiſe him, he hath put him to grief: When thou ſhalt make his Soul an offering for ſin—— And the pleaſure of the Lord ſhall proſper in his hand: He ſhall ſee of the travel of his Soul, and ſhall be ſatisfy'd.* Here the *He* and the *He* ſpoken of throughout are plainly two Perſons, and you wou'd have them one in the laſt ſentence only. I will not return your complement of ridiculous, but I may ſay that yours is no happy interpretation, it is not quite ſo eaſy as mine. But you have anſwer'd nothing to what I have ſaid upon this text in my *ſixth Dialogue*, p. 370. which expreſſly confutes this expoſition of yours.

IX. Having thus thrown off the word Satisfaction as unſcriptural, by your ingenious turn of this text, you come next to account for thoſe terms which you own to be ſcriptural, and which indeed mean the ſame thing; and I love not to diſpute with you about Words: And you ſeem to allow that they do mean the ſame thing, for you ſay in the next words, p. 3.

" Neither the unſcriptural term Satisfaction, nor the ſcriptural terms Re-
" demption, Propitiation, Atonement, Sacrifice, *&c.* are the matters of this
" diſpute. The *Unitarians* can allow all theſe, and the very *Racovian* Ca-
" techiſm expreſſly allows *Jeſus Chriſt* to be our Expiatory Sacrifice, Chap.
" VIII. and that in the ſame ſenſe as, nay, *in a fuller than the Sacrifices*
" *under the Law, were ſuch.* So that they have ſaid what is falſe, who
" tell the World, that the *Socinians* in general deny *Chriſt* dy'd a proper
" Sacrifice for ſin: Much leſs do the *Arian Unitarians* decline the expreſ-
" ſion: Nor ſhall the Phraſe of *Noſtro loco*, or his dying in our ſtead,
" make any difference: So that the *Antinomian* ſenſe of his ſuſtaining our
" legal Perſon, be excluded. The *Racovian* Catechiſm aſſerts it, that *Chriſt*
" dy'd, as *Victima Succedanea.* And I think he that ſuffers with a de-
" ſign to prevent our ſuffering (which is granted) truly ſuffers in our
" ſtead.

Here one wou'd think we were perfectly agreed; but you except afterwards, and ſay, that this Compenſation which *Chriſt* made (and is not Compenſation as unſcriptural as Satisfaction, and means the ſame thing?) was not equivalent to the ſins of Men, and ſtrictly meritorious of their Pardon, nor were his ſufferings infinite in value. And you own the reaſon why you ſay this to be, that otherwiſe it wou'd infer his Divinity: So that your firſt error in denying his Divinity, makes you ſtick out in this of the Satisfaction; and you wou'd allow of any Satisfaction, which wou'd not infer his Divinity: Therefore you plead for a Satisfaction that is inſufficient, and make your pretence, that it wou'd be more for the free and gratuitous Mercy of God; of which I have ſpoke already.

But why ſhou'd *Chriſt* undertake to make a Satisfaction or Compenſation for ſin, if he cou'd not make one that was ſufficient, and meritorious or deſerving the Pardon of ſin? And how is he our atonement, if he cou'd not atone for ſin.

X. You reſolve all this, p. 4. into his Interceſſion for the Pardon of our ſin, *not as a thing ſtrictly merited, but ſought of the divine Favour and Mercy.*

But

But what need then was there for his ſuffering? This belongs not to the office of an Interceſſor: A Man may intercede for another, without dying for him.

You ſay for that, that his ſufferings were the *Tryal of his Virtues*, viz. *of his patience, humility, ſubmiſſion towards God, and tranſcendent charity to Men.*

But God knew all this already: And *Chriſt* was as dear to him before as after his ſufferings. Wou'd God then put him to ſuch ſufferings and cruel death, becauſe he knew he wou'd bear them patiently!

This is the *Socinian* account of the ſufferings of *Chriſt!* And will in no ways anſwer *Chriſt*'s being our Atonement, Propitiation, and Sacrifice. Muſt an Interceſſor be ſacrificed? But *Chriſt* does intercede for us, on account of the Sacrifice of himſelf which he offer'd to God for us, and in virtue of that Sacrifice he is our Interceſſor: He was an Interceſſor for us before he dy'd, but not ſo as ſince, elſe he needed not have dy'd: But he was not our Propitiation and Sacrifice before: And how did he ſuffer in our ſtead (which you confeſs) if he dy'd only to approve his own virtues, as you ſay?

And you lay no ſtreſs upon his death: You ſay in the ſame p. 4. That *we are brought to turn from our ſins to God, by* Chriſt. But how? You explain it, *by his Law and Example.* But here is not a word of our ſins being purged by his death, by the blood of his Croſs, as the Scripture expreſſeth it *Col.* 1. 20. That is no part of the *Socinian* Creed. You have told us in what ſenſe you can uſe the words, Redemption, Propitiation, Sacrifice, *&c.* without any relation to his ſufferings or death: You ſay he became all theſe things to us, by being an example of good Life to us, and giving us a good Law, and interceding for us

XI. But it is ſaid, That *without ſhedding of blood there is no remiſſion*, Heb. IX. 22. You ſay that means no more than interceſſion! It is ſaid, That *God made* Chriſt *to be ſin for us*, 2 Cor. v. 21. You ſay, he was not made ſin for us, nor was our ſin imputed to him! It is ſaid, *He bore our ſins in his own Body on the tree*; and *by his ſtripes we are healed*, 1 Pet. II. 24. That is, ſay you, by his interceſſion! When was interceſſion call'd ſtripes before? *Reconciled to God by the death of his Son*, Rom. v. 10. Here interceſſion is death too! Theſe are the eaſy expoſitions of the *Socinians.*

In my *ſixth Dialogue*, Sect. XXII. Num. 7. p. 369. I exemplify'd this in the types that went before of *Chriſt*, as the High-prieſt *bearing the iniquity of the Congregation upon him to make atonement for them*, Lev. VI. 26. X. 17. To which I might have added that the ſins of all the People were to be confeſſed over the Scape Goat on the great day of Expiation; and put upon his head, *to bear them away to a land not inhabited*, Lev. XVI. 21, *&c.* And the reaſon given for the prohibition of eating blood, becauſe *it is the blood that maketh atonement for the Soul*, Lev. XVII. 11. Theſe as types of *Chriſt*, and *Chriſt* conſider'd as fulfilling them by bearing our ſins, and making atonement for them in ſhedding his blood for us, cannot be put off with his being only an example of holy living, or a giver of good Laws, or even by being barely an Interceſſor for us. But of all this you take no notice.

And the reaſon I take to be, that you cou'd not here ſo eaſily play and jingle with a word, and ſcrew it into what meaning you think fit. For the types of *Chriſt* repreſent him as in a Picture. There we ſee him ſhedding his blood in the Sacrifices and bearing the ſins of the People, and making atonement for them in the Perſon of the High prieſt, not barely by making interceſſion, but by carrying the blood of expiation into the holy of

holies, and offering it there for the ſins of the People. Which *Chriſt* fulfilled by entering into Heaven with his own blood, and in virtue of that to make interceſſion for us. The parallel is largely inſiſted upon in the 9th and 10th to the *Hebrews*. And here your Criticiſms upon this or that word will not do: There is a whole ſcene laid before us, and we read actions not words.

XII. You cannot here torment a text, as you do p. 10. that of *Act.* IV. 27, 28. *For of a truth againſt thy holy Child* Jeſus, *whom thou haſt anointed, both* Herod *and* Pontius Pilate, *with the* Gentiles, *and the People of* Iſrael *were gathered together, for to do whatſoever thine hand and thy counſel determined before to be done.* Inſtead of which you wou'd have it read thus, *Both* Herod *and* Pontius Pilate *were gather'd together againſt thy holy Child* Jeſus, *whom thou haſt anointed to do what thy hand and counſel determined.* And what was that? You ſend us to know it to *Act.* x. 38. where it is ſaid, that Chriſt *went about doing good.* And this is what you ſay was determined in this text, and not that he ſhou'd be put to death: Becauſe this wou'd lay too much ſtreſs upon his death, of which you make ſo little, and of which you ſay in this ſame page, *Col.* I. *was made to look like an accidental thing.* And indeed it was no ways neceſſary, according to your ſcheme of chriſtianity: For you are not of his mind who ſaid, *That it behoved* Chriſt *to ſuffer.* There was no need of it at all for his being an example of holy life, or a teacher, or an interceſſor: But for being a ſacrifice and ranſom, a propitiation and atonement, there was abſolute neceſſity for it, and it behoved him to ſuffer, if he wou'd redeem us with his blood; without ſhedding of which we are told there cou'd be no remiſſion, and that his death muſt be of neceſſity: *Chriſt* ſaid, *This is the New Teſtament in my blood.* And the Apoſtle ſaid, *where a Teſtament is, there muſt alſo of neceſſity be the death of the Teſtator. Whereupon the firſt Teſtament* (which was but in type) *was not dedicated without blood.* For *without ſhedding of blood there is no remiſſion. It was therefore neceſſary that the patterns of things in the heavens ſhould be purified with theſe* (that is, the typical blood of the Old Teſtament) *but the heavenly things themſelves* (that is, the New Teſtament) *with better ſacrifices than theſe,* that is, the *ſacrifice of* Chriſt *himſelf.* And this *Teſtament cou'd be of no force while* Chriſt *did live, nor could take effect till after his death.* He was, *The Lamb ſlain from the foundation of the World.* Did this look like an accidental thing? This is *what the hand and councel of God determined before to be done.* And to avoid which you have, I ſay not miſinterpreted or wreſted this text, but you have made a quite new text out of it: You have taken a ſentence out of ℣. 27. and put it to ℣. 28. and apply it to a new and quite different ſubject from the whole context, which begins ℣. 23. with the ſevere threatning given to the Apoſtles, thence goes to the perſecution of *Chriſt* himſelf, and begins with the Prophecy of it in the ſecond *Pſalm,* how the Rulers and the People ſhould conſpire againſt *Chriſt,* there called *the anointed of God:* Then ſhews how this was fulfilled in the Rulers, *&c.* conſpiring againſt this ſame anointed, to perform what God had before determined and propheſied ſhould be done by theſe wicked Rulers, *&c.* But you ſay, this does not relate to the Rulers, but to *Chriſt,* who was anointed to do good; tho' there is not a word in the whole context of what *Chriſt* did, but of what the Rulers, *&c.* did. Well, it muſt be own'd, that the *Socinians* interpret Scripture the moſt naturally of any!

Luk. xxiv. 46.

Luk. xxii. 20. Heb. ix. 16. ℣. 18. ℣. 22, 23. ℣. 17. Rev. xiii. 8. Acts iv. 28.

But you give a reaſon; for, ſay you, *God did not determine them* (the Rulers, *&c.*) *to murder* Chriſt. This betrays the weakneſs of your Philoſo-

phy as well as your Theology: You cannot diſtinguiſh betwixt God's diſ-
2 Sam. xii. 11. poſing of events, and approving of the actions: God ſaid to *David, I will take thy Wives before thine Eyes, and give them unto thy Neighbour.* Did God therefore approve of *Abſalom*'s going in to his Father's Wives? Does not God often make uſe of the wickedneſs of Men, to bring to paſs the events which he has determined? God did determine to deliver *Chriſt* into the hands of the *Jews*, and he knew their wickedneſs, that they wou'd crucify him. And thus he accompliſhed his all-wiſe counſel: As St. *Peter*
Acts ii. 23. ſaid to them, *Him* (Chriſt) *being delivered by the determinate counſel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and ſlain.* And did they not do in this what God had before determined ſhould be done? Is not this the very ſame with that other text Chap. iv. 28. which we are upon? And you may turn the one as well as the other not to relate to the wicked Rulers, &c. but to the good things that *Chriſt* did, for *Chriſt* ſignifies *anointed*, ſo he is called *anointed* in both texts, which may equally afford room for your ſharp Criticiſm, to turn one word in the text into a quite different meaning from all the reſt! This is eaſy and ſmooth; is it not?

XIII. But, Sir, your labour and grief is yet behind: For in the ſame
p. 10. you purſue this matter till you come to that crabbed text for *Socini-*
Gal. iii. 13. *ans*, of *Chriſt being made a curſe for us.* And here you take true pains again; for this will by no means agree with limiting the office of *Chriſt* to that only of an interceſſor: For does interceding make one a curſe? Therefore you prove at large that *Chriſt* was not accurſed to God: No ſurely, for he was always his well-beloved: So you might have ſav'd all that pains. Well then, how do you underſtand this text? You ſay, *The* Jews *made him a curſe.* I ſuppoſe you mean that they only thought him ſo. And did that make him a curſe? Then evil Men may make good Men accurſed when they pleaſe: But the text gives a reaſon for his being made a curſe, for it is written, *Curſed is every one that hangeth on a tree.* Was this only what the *Jews* or any other thought? Is it not a curſe in it ſelf to be hanged on a tree? It is a curſe of puniſhment, not always of guilt: But there was guilt here too, not of *Chriſt* himſelf, but the guilt of our
Iſai. liii. 6. ſins which he had taken upon him, as it is written, *The Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all*; or as our Margin reads it, *The Lord hath*
℣. 5. *made the iniquities of us all to meet on him.* And *he was wounded for our tranſgreſſions, he was bruiſed for our iniquities, the chaſtiſement of our peace was upon him, and with his ſtripes we are healed.* And *thou*
℣. 10. *ſhalt make his Soul an offering for ſin.* And again, *he bare the ſin of many:* It is added, *And he made interceſſion for the tranſgreſſors.* And his ſuffering for them was a good ground of his making interceſſion for them: But bare interceſſion without ſuffering will not fill up the meaning of theſe Scriptures; for does God lay the iniquity of the tranſgreſſor upon the interceſſor? Does a Man who intercedes for another, make his Soul an offering for him? But it is ſaid, *Thou ſhalt make his Soul an offering*, &c. Does God make the Soul of the interceſſor an offering for the ſin of the tranſgreſſor? And your Criticiſm upon ℣. 11. of which I have ſpoke before, whereby you conſtrue, *He ſhall ſee of the travel of his Soul*, to be meant of the ſame Perſon, will not do here, unleſs you will read, *Thou ſhalt make his*, to be *I ſhall make mine.* And this is in ℣. 10. and the ſame ſentence with the other, in ℣. 11. and ſpeaking of the ſame Perſons; yet you call'd me not ſo happy as ridiculous, in not allowing that there was but one and the ſelf ſame Perſon here ſpoke of.

But

But *Chriſt* did not only freely offer himſelf, but God did alſo make his Soul an offering for ſin, and laid our iniquities upon him, that they might not be imputed unto us: It was the work of God, and of *Chriſt* too, as it is ſaid, *God hath reconciled us to himſelf by* Jeſus Chriſt, *to wit, that God was in* Chriſt, *reconciling the World unto himſelf, not imputing their treſpaſſes unto them.* And thus it is that God made *Chriſt* an offering, and ſin, and a curſe for us. 2 Cor. v. 18, 19.

And here I think the cauſe of *Socinianiſm* upon this point to be determined; and the ſorry ſalvo you, Sir, have for all this being only, that the *Jews* thought *Chriſt* to be a curſe, will make it ſo appear to every body: For there is nothing ſaid nor imply'd of what the *Jews* thought, but of what God did. It was God who made the Soul of *Chriſt* an offering for ſin: It was God who made him to be ſin for us, *that we might be made the Righteouſneſs of God in him:* Which is the concluſion drawn from what I juſt now quoted of *God's reconciling us to himſelf by* Jeſus Chriſt, and not imputing our treſpaſſes unto us. Why? Becauſe *he hath made him to be ſin for us*, &c. And the ſame is the meaning of *Gal.* III. 13. *Chriſt hath redeemed us from the curſe of the Law, being made a curſe for us.* Is there any thing ſaid here of what the *Jews* thought? Nay it is certain that the *Jews* neither thought nor believed any of theſe things; for if they had, they muſt have been converted, as all of them were who did believe it: And till the *Socinians* come to believe it, they are not Chriſtians. 2 Cor. v. 21.

XIV. But to ſave *Chriſt* from being a curſe, you will not allow that God's Diſpleaſure or Wrath againſt ſin was ſhewn at all in his ſending *Chriſt* into the world. You ſay, p. 21. *We are not ſo much as once called to take notice of God's Severity in this affair.* His Mercy indeed was great to ſinners in ſending *Chriſt* to redeem them, this you enlarge upon; but you wou'd not have it thought that *Chriſt* underwent any Severity to redeem Men. He did undergo great Severities: What was it for? You ſay (as I quoted it before) it was only to try whether he could bear them patiently, tho' God knew that he both could and would. So here was an experiment try'd to no purpoſe, but to the terrible afflicting an innocent Perſon! And to lay the more upon him becauſe he was willing to bear!

But, Sir, when God tells the reaſon why *Chriſt* was thus grievouſly afflicted, and *poured out his Soul unto death*, and that it was for our ſins, *for the tranſgreſſion of my People was he ſtricken—— All we like Sheep have gone aſtray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all*; does not this ſhew God's high diſpleaſure againſt ſin, and that this was the cauſe of his ſending *Chriſt* to ſuffer for our ſins? *For* Chriſt *alſo hath once ſuffered for ſins, the Juſt for the Unjuſt. Having made Peace through the Blood of his Croſs. Juſtify'd by his Blood.* The places of Scripture are infinite which attribute our Redemption from our ſins to the Sufferings, the Blood and the Death of *Chriſt*, as an Atonement, a Sacrifice, a Propitiation for them. *Reconciled to God by the Death of his Son——By whom now we have received the Atonement.* —Chriſt *our Paſſover is ſacrificed for us.—When he had by himſelf purged our ſins.—Whom God hath ſet forth to be a Propitiation, through Faith in his Blood for the remiſſion of ſins.——God ſent his Son to be the Propitiation for our Sins.——You being dead in your ſins hath he quickened having forgiven you all treſpaſſes——Blotting out the hand-Writing, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his Croſs.——Ye who were ſometimes afar off, are made nigh by the Blood of* Chriſt. *You that were ſometime alienated—— Yet now hath he reconciled, in the Body of his Fleſh through Death.* So that our ſins had alienated us from God; Iſa. liii. 1 Pet. iii. 18. Col. i. 20. Rom. v. 9. Rom. v. 10, 11. 1 Cor. v. 7. Heb. i. 3. Rom. iii. 25. 1 John iv. 10. Col. ii. 14. Eph. ii. 13. Col. i. 22.

and we were reconciled by *Chriſt*. But how? By his Blood, by his Death in the Body of his Fleſh. All along through the New Teſtament the ſtreſs is laid here; but this the *Socinians* have wholly laid aſide, as of no uſe or import to our Salvation, nothing at all to us, only to ſhew his own Patience, *&c.* which is all the uſe they can find of his Sufferings or Death; to recommend himſelf to God (it ſeems they think there was need of that) but without any reſpect to us. So that they make him ſuffer for himſelf, not for us. *He ſuffered for Sin*, ſays the Scripture: No, ſay the *Socinians*, no more than *Job*, only to ſhew his Fortitude, and thereby make himſelf more acceptable to God! You will ſay, it was to make himſelf more worthy to be our Interceſſor; but was he not as worthy before? Or did not God ſufficiently know him before? Afflictions are ſent to us either for the puniſhment of our ſins, or to amend us and make us better: For which of theſe ends were they ſent to *Chriſt*, or what other that you can name, beſides that ſenſleſs one you have nam'd already, for a tryal only of skill?

You have totally forgot the Office of *Chriſt* as a Prieſt, which is not
Heb viii. 3. only to intercede, but alſo to offer Gifts and Sacrifices; *Wherefore*, as the
Heb. x. 10. Apoſtle ſays, *it is of neceſſity that this Man* (Chriſt) *have ſomewhat elſe to offer*. And this was the *Sacrifice of himſelf, by which we are ſanctified, through the offering of the Body of* Jeſus Chriſt, *once for all*. This is what you deſpiſe and deny: You deny that he offer'd up his Body, or that it was any Sacrifice at all: You ſay, it rather ſeems to be purely accidental, but at moſt, that it was only to approve his own Patience, Obedience, and Humility, yet not as any Sacrifice for us, or that we receive any benefit by it, unleſs as an example, that we alſo may be patient in Sufferings: And ſuch an example no doubt it is: But that is not the Faith in his Blood which is made neceſſary for our Salvation. I pray God you may think of it in time.

When I ſay, that you deny that *Chriſt* was any Sacrifice, I do not forget that you uſe the word, nay as I have quoted you already, you own it, p. 3. to be a *proper Sacrifice for Sin*, and in our ſtead too. But then in explaining it, you reduce it all to interceſſion only, or example, and quite go off the proper notion of Sacrifice, as I have ſhewed: So that it is not your words I regard, but the meaning: And the *Socinian* ſubtilty lies chiefly in this, to deceive with words.

XV. But you come, p. 13. to a popular declamation, where by meaſuring the Juſtice and Mercy of God by thoſe qualities in Men, you ask whether we are bound to forgive others, more than God has forgiven us? And he having receiv'd full Satisfaction for our ſins, conſequently we ought not to forgive unleſs full Satisfaction be made to us. Then you bring in the Lord's Prayer, and pleaſe your ſelf to make the notion of Satisfaction to God appear ridiculous: Yet not without ſome check in your own mind of the fallacy of this argument, for you conclude it thus, *Whatever difference of circumſtances there may be in the method of God's Forgiveneſs and ours, it muſt not be in any thing that ſubverts the nature of free gratuitous Pardon.*

Thus having (as you think) ſecur'd your main point, you are leſs ſolicitous what becomes of the reſt; for you cannot but be ſenſible that there is a very different method of God's Forgiveneſs and ours: What God forgives is wholly and ſolely upon his own account, and therefore is to be meaſur'd by the inherent Rectitude of his own Nature; and he being Juſtice itſelf, conſequently muſt take care that this Attribute be not hurt or leſſen'd by any other: Of this I have ſpoke before. But among Men the caſe is quite different; for no Man is the meaſure and ſtandard of Juſtice: So that Juſtice in itſelf is not hurt whether any Man be juſt or not; but an alteration of it in God would alter the very nature of Juſtice itſelf.

And

And as all Injuſtice is in erring from the rule of the eſſential Juſtice, and muſt be referred to it; ſo there is neither Juſtice nor Injuſtice, ſtrictly ſpeaking, betwixt Man and Man: For there is no ſin againſt Man, but as it is a ſin againſt God: Therefore *David* ſaid, *Againſt thee, thee only have I ſinned.* Pſal. li. 4. And the Forgiveneſs of Man ought to be grounded on this, that he has nothing in himſelf to which any reparation for an injury is due, for the injury is to Juſtice, that is, to God; and for my part of it, as there is nothing due to me, ſo I ought to refer it to him that is injured, that is to God; and after our bleſſed Saviour's example, when reviled not to revile again, nor threaten, but to commit my ſelf, and refer my cauſe to him who judgeth righteouſly. If the practice of the world be urged againſt this, it may be reply'd, that there are too many in the world who think themſelves the meaſure of Juſtice, and think every thing good and evil as it is ſo to them: And there are infirmities in the beſt Men, which muſt not be made the ſtandard of Juſtice.

But I have another anſwer, which is, that the Pardon of ſinners is moſt free and gratuitous on the part of God, tho' his Wiſdom has found out a method whereby his Juſtice may be entirely ſatisfy'd: (I have explain'd this before:) And therefore no pattern of Forgiveneſs can be ſo great, ſo gratuitous, as the Forgiveneſs of God. As to that point of the ſatisfying his Juſtice, we have no pretence to it, nor is it propos'd as a pattern to us.

But now, Sir, ſee how you will be catch'd in the ſnare that you laid for others: For I have before told you that your ſcheme of the Forgiveneſs of God is not gratuitous, becauſe ſeveral conditions are required which are difficult to Fleſh and Blood: And moreover we are often ſeverely puniſhed, beſides that ſome Affliction, Sickneſs, and Death abide all. Now to turn your argument; if we are to forgive others (in your way) as God forgives us, then cannot our Forgiveneſs be free and gratuitous: And there will be ſcope for our malice, to inflict upon thoſe we forgive all that God inflicts upon us, even Death itſelf. But in my way the Forgiveneſs will be complete and entire, as in the œconomy of God for our Redemption, when we were enemies, and without any merit or deſerving whatſoever on our part: The Mercy was wholly owing to himſelf, and the Glory is only his: And following this example, we ſhall not only be willing to forgive, but to die for our enemies.

XVI. But, Sir, you go on to leſſen the efficacy of the Death of *Chriſt*, and ſay, p. 14. *That the Scripture is ſo far from appropriating* Chriſt's *Atonement to his Death, that it gives more virtue to his interceſſion.* For proof of which you quote *Rom.* VIII. 34. and repeat it thus, *Who is he that condemneth? It is* Chriſt *that died, yea rather that is riſen again, who maketh interceſſion for us.*

But, Sir, the *rather* is put to the Reſurrection: And there is an interval in the text betwixt that and the *interceſſion*, which you have omitted, to bring the *interceſſion* nearer to the *rather*; as likewiſe the *alſo* which ſhews that the *interceſſion* is ſpoke of as a thing by itſelf, and is not brought into the compariſon, or meant in the *rather:* For thus the text runs, ——*Yea rather that is riſen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who alſo maketh interceſſion for us.* The *climax* or tranſition here is very eaſy. Who is he that condemneth, that is, pronounces condemnation to us for our ſins? It is *Chriſt* who died for our ſins; this was undergoing the curſe of ſin, entring into the priſon allotted for ſin, making himſelf the debtor, as our Surety, (*Heb.* VII. 22.) *yea rather*, who is *riſen again*, who has opened the priſon doors and come out, to ſhew that the whole debt was paid, and he could no longer be detain'd there: And to ſhew that this was no illegal

eſcape, he aſcends into Heaven, to appear before his Father the Creditor, who places him on his right hand, to ſhew his acceptance of him; and moreover, or alſo, receives him as our Interceſſor or Advocate for us, on account of his meritorious Death and Paſſion, which he there pleads on our behalf.

But is it a natural inference hence to ſay, that more virtue is attributed to his Interceſſion than to his Death? Or that the Atonement is rather to be placed to the account of his Interceſſion than of his Death? Whereas the Intereeſſion is on account of his Death. But if it was not on account of his Death, as you ſay, and that the efficacy is in the Interceſſion itſelf, then to what purpoſe was his Death? Might he not have interceded without that? Or would it not have been ſo prevalent? Here you are pinch'd, you enemies to the Croſs of *Chriſt*, and deſpiſers of his Death!

But to go on with your argument. You ſay in the next words, *His Reſurrection being ſo requiſite to his Interceſſion for Pardon*—— Requiſite indeed! For if he had continued dead, how could he have interceded? But if that had been all, he might have ſav'd it by not dying, then there had been no need of his Reſurrection: And he did intercede before his Death, with ſtrong crying and tears: But his Death muſt intervene before he could intercede on account of his Death, as paſt and done: And towards this indeed his Reſurrection was abſolutely neceſſary. And here you may learn the difference betwixt his interceſſion before and after his Death: If you ſee no difference, then you make no account of his Death at all!

Well, but his Reſurrection being thus requiſite to his Interceſſion, you infer, that the ſame Apoſtle ſays, *If* Chriſt *be not raiſed, we are yet in our ſins, notwithſtanding his Death: And the reaſon of it is, becauſe he roſe again for our Juſtification.* All this you ſay to lay aſide the virtue of his Death. But if you had ſet down the whole verſe, *Rom.* IV. 25. it would have defeated your deſign; for the words are, *Who was delivered* (that is to Death) *for our offences, and rais'd again for our juſtification.* Here the neceſſity and efficacy of his Death appears: But we could not be juſtified by it, or our debt diſcharg'd till his Reſurrection, becauſe if he had remain'd always in the priſon of Death, he had been a fellow-Priſoner with us, but this would not have diſcharged us: But by opening the priſon doors and coming out, he ſhewed the debt was diſcharged. And therefore the Apoſtle ſaid juſtly, *If* Chriſt *be not raiſed, we are yet in our ſins:* The debt is not paid, *Chriſt* is ſtill a Priſoner: And his Reſurrection had been of no more uſe to us than that of *Lazarus*, if he had not died as a Sacrifice for our ſins. But as you place no virtue (as to us) in his Death, ſo you make nothing of his Reſurrection, but as a requiſite towards his being our Interceſſor, as he was, (and no otherwiſe than) before his Death. *And on this* (his Interceſſion) *it is* (ſay you) *that the Apoſtle lays the ſtreſs of a Chriſtian's hope of Salvation by* Chriſt: That is, *He ever liveth to make Interceſſion for us.* And God forbid any good Chriſtian ſhould not always lay ſtreſs upon it: But not as you do, to depreciate and leſſen the efficacy of his Death for the remiſſion of our ſins.

1 Cor. xv. 17. Rom. iv. 25.

Heb. vii. 25.

You underſtand not the œconomy of our Salvation, and therefore ſet up one part to beat down another: And you take away that which the Scripture makes the ground and foundation of all, that is, the Sufferings and Death of *Chriſt*; of which you make no more than the example of the patience and reſignation of a good Man: But you put all the efficacy upon the Interceſſion alone. His Interceſſion on account of his meritorious Death and Paſſion, includes the whole œconomy; but without that, what can you make of Interceſſion alone? Can any reaſons or motives be uſed to God that he does not know already? I oppoſe not the Interceſſion of *Chriſt* to his

Death, they come both into the ſame; but where the Interceſſion of *Chriſt* is mentioned once in the New Teſtament, his Death is a hundred times: I can remember but two texts that ſpeak of his Interceſſion for us, that is, *Rom.* VIII. 34. and *Heb.* VII. 25. both which you have named, and I believe you can name none other: And the Interceſſion of the Spirit for us is as often mentioned, *Rom.* VIII. 26, 27. Do you, Sir, underſtand *Chriſt* by the Spirit here? Or God the Father, that he maketh Interceſſion to himſelf? Or what other Perſon is meant here? For it muſt be a Perſon that maketh Interceſſion: And if I ſhould put the word Interceſſion inſtead of the word Satisfaction, and run all thoſe diviſions you do upon it in your p. 17. and 18. you would think me not only a trifler, but a blaſphemer. But this by the bye.

Now for the twice that the interceſſion of *Chriſt* is mentioned; ſee, among many others, the following texts, that you may reflect where the Scripture lays the main ſtreſs, that it is upon the ſufferings and death of *Chriſt*.

The Goſpel is call'd *the preaching of the Croſs. Suffering perſecution for the Croſs of* Chriſt. *Glorying in the Croſs. Having aboliſhed in his fleſh the enmity——Reconciling by the Croſs. Made peace by the blood of his Croſs. Reconciled to God by the death of his Son——We are baptized into his death. Reconciled in the Body of his fleſh through death. That through death he might deſtroy him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil, and deliver them who through fear of death, were ſubject——The blood of* Chriſt *purge your conſcience——That by means of death, for the redemption of tranſgreſſions——Through the offering of the Body of* Jeſus Chriſt. *My blood of the New Teſtament——For the remiſſion of ſins. The Church of God which he hath purchaſed with his own blood. Whom God hath ſet forth, to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood——Juſtified by his blood. Redemption through his blood, the forgiveneſs of ſins. By his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us——To enter into the holieſt by the blood of* Jeſus——*The blood of the Covenant wherewith he was ſanctified——Sanctify the People with his own blood. Through the ſprinkling of the blood of* Jeſus Chriſt——*Redeemed with the precious blood of* Chriſt. *The blood of* Jeſus Chriſt *cleanſeth us from all ſin. Waſhed us from our ſins in his own blood——Thou waſt ſlain, and haſt redeemed us to God by thy blood——Waſhed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.* Chriſt *our Paſſover is ſacrificed for us.*

1 Cor. i. 17, Gal. vi. 12, 14. Eph. ii. 15, 16. Col. i. 20. Rom. v. 10. vi. 3. Col. i. 22. Heb. ii. 14, 15. ix. 14, 15. x. 10. Mat. xxvi. 28. Acts xx. 28. Rom. iii. 25. v. 9. Eph. i. 7. Col. i. 14. Heb. ix. 12. x. 19, 29. xiii. 12. 1 Pet. i. 2, 19. 1 John. i. 7. Rev. i. 5. v. 9. vii. 14. 1 Cor. v. 7.

I cou'd bring many more texts to the ſame purpoſe: It is the conſtant ſtrain through all the New Teſtament; whereas the interceſſion is but twice tranſiently nam'd thro' the whole: Upon which then does the Scripture lay moſt ſtreſs?

I have ſufficiently caution'd before, that I ſay nothing in derogation to the all-ſufficient interceſſion of our Lord *Jeſus*; but only to detect the ſubtilty of this *Socinian*, who under colour of that wou'd take away all the merit of the ſufferings, and death of *Chriſt*, as to us, and will let them be no part, or a very ſlight one, in the œconomy of our redemption.

XVII. You make very much of the inſtance of *David*, p. 14, 15, who was pardon'd without offering or ſacrifice: But your ſelf gives the reaſon, becauſe there was no ſacrifice under the Law for murder or adultery. Well then, you infer from thence, that repentance is ſufficient to expiate greater ſins than ſacrifice. But, Sir, repentance was requir'd to go along with their ſacrifices, elſe they were often told that their ſacrifices ſhould not be accepted. There was no ſacrifice appointed for Blaſphemy, Murder, Adultery, or other capital crimes, but they muſt die the death. And the *Jews* had a tradition,

tradition„ and have ſtill, that there would be an expiation under the *Meſſiah* for thoſe ſins which were not expiable by the Law: But *David* knew more; he believed the incarnation of *Chriſt*; his prieſthood, death, and reſurrection, which would ſuperſede the legal ſacrifices, that were but types of him, as is largely inſiſted upon in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*: There Chap. x. 5. the Prophecy of *David* is quoted concerning the incarnation of *Chriſt*, and his coming in place of the legal ſacrifices, whoſe blood could not take away ſins; *Wherefore* (as a remedy for this) *when* Chriſt *cometh into the World, he ſaith, ſacrifice and offering thou wouldeſt not, but a Body haſt thou prepared me.* This is quoted from *Pſal.* XL. 6. And Chap. VII. *David*'s Prophecy of the Prieſthood of *Chriſt*, *Pſal.* CX. not after the order of *Aaron*, is ſtrongly enforced by the Apoſtle. And *Acts.* II. 31. *David* is again quoted for the death and reſurrection of *Chriſt*, which it is ſaid, he plainly foreſaw and ſpoke of, *Pſal.* XVI. 10. And again *Act.* XIII. 33. The ſecond *Pſalm* is quoted for the reſurrection of *Chriſt*. And *Pſal.* XXII. (the firſt words of which *Chriſt* repeated upon the Croſs) is a deſcription of his Paſſion even literally. And *Luke* XXIV. 44. the *Pſalms* are named with *Moſes* and the Prophets concerning all things which *Chriſt* was to fulfil, how *it behoved him to ſuffer, and to riſe from the dead, and that repentance and remiſſion of ſins ſhould be preach'd in his name*, &c. And we cannot ſuppoſe but that *David* who ſaw this ſo plainly, and had this Faith in *Chriſt*, had regard to him in his repentance, and that there was expiation in his blood for ſins to which the ſacrifices of the Law did not reach.

I believe you will allow that the repentance even of thoſe who know not *Chriſt* is accepted through the mediation of *Chriſt*: Much more then might the repentance of *David*, who knew it ſo well. And if it was through the interceſſion of *Chriſt*, then, by what I have ſaid, it was in virtue of his death and paſſion, which was that ſacrifice could take away all ſins;
Acts xiii. 39. *From which Men could not be juſtified by the Law of* Moſes.

This gives an eaſy ſolution to that text, *There remaineth no more ſacri-*
Heb. x. 26. *fice for ſins*, that is, there were ſins which could not be expiated by the ſacrifices under the Law; yet were expiable by the ſacrifice of the *Meſſiah*. But if we reject this ſacrifice, there is none other to come whereby we may be ſaved. This was written to the *Jews*, to ſhew them that their *Meſſiah* was come, and that none other was to be expected: Therefore if they rejected him, there was *no more*, that is, *no other ſacrifice for ſins*; οὐκ ἔτι ἀπολείπεται, *Jam non relinquitur*, there is no ſacrifice left, or to come, which can take away ſins. But this ſays not, that even after Apoſtaſy, if we return to this ſacrifice, it is not ſufficient to take away that and all other our ſins, but only, that there is no other ſacrifice but this which can do it.

XVIII. Then, Sir, think of your caſe who have no faith in this ſacrifice, but argue here, that bare repentance without it is ſufficient: And if ſo, then for what end was it ſent? Nay you think it no ſacrifice at all, but rather an accidental thing, and argue againſt the Juſtice of it on God's part, if he had any hand in it, otherwiſe than as barely permitting the wickedneſs of thoſe who did it. You ſay, p. 10.

" If it were juſt to inflict this as a puniſhment on *Jeſus Chriſt*, no doubt " God might juſtly have commanded the *Jews* to ſlay him, and then it " had look'd more like puniſhment; whereas by a bare permiſſion or ſecret " will, it comes to paſs that the moſt ſolemn vindication of ſevere Juſtice " was made to look like an accidental thing, and ſcarce to be diſtinguiſh'd " from

" from the ordinary Tryals of the Saints, as to the ground of his ſufferings, " and loſes its true uſe.

Sir, this is making very free with the methods of providence, that if they be not juſt as you fanſy, they loſe their uſe! But *the folly of God is wiſer than Men:* And tho' we underſtand not his deſigns in all his diſpenſations, yet we are to reverence them, and believe them wiſe and good. You durſt not thus prie into the Cabinet of Princes, and cenſure their actions.

It is ſaid, That *if they had known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.* Now, Sir, would you have had God forc'd their Will to do ſo very wicked a thing? This would have been to alter the Nature of Man, and take free Will from him; by which as he could not be guilty of ſin, ſo neither had he been liable to puniſhment, unleſs you think it juſt to puniſh Men for what was not in their power to help: And this would have made God the ſole Author of ſin. This is the method in which you would mend providence. 1 Cor. ii. 8.

And this you think more reaſonable, than that they ſhould do it ignorantly, and theſe Builders ſhould reject the corner ſtone, through their own default: And it was propheſied that it ſhould thus be brought to paſs, as the Apoſtle tells them, *For they that dwell at* Jeruſalem, *and their Rulers, becauſe they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the Prophets which are read every Sabbath-day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him ——And they fulfilled all that was written of him.* But you think all this was wrong, and that God ſhould have commanded the *Jews* to have crucified him, if he intended him as any ſacrifice or propitiation for ſin, elſe that all he did loſes its true uſe. Acts xiii. 27, 29.

Does not God often puniſh ſins, and yet does not by a voice from Heaven tell us for what particular ſin ſuch a Judgment was ſent? He leaves that to our own application.

And he makes uſe of the wickedneſs of ſome, to puniſh the ſins of others, as the ſin of *David* was puniſhed by the Rebellion of *Abſalom.*

And as God doth govern all events, ſo *there is no evil in the City which the Lord hath not done:* And it is ſaid, *The Lord delivered him unto the Lion:* And thus it is ſaid that *Chriſt* was *deliver'd* (to the *Jews) for our offences:* And that *God ſpared not his own Son, but deliver'd him up for us all.* Therefore this was God's doing, but in a more righteous way than by commanding the *Jews* to do a wicked thing, as you think would have been more reaſonable! And does it not fully ſhew God's wrath againſt ſin, when he deliver'd his Son unto death, to make atonement for it? Or do you think that God would not have ſpared his own Son, if there had been no need of his ſuffering? You make it only the pleaſure God took to ſee him ſuffer, to try how patiently he could ſuffer, tho' he knew all that before! This is the rational ſenſe you *Socinians* put upon the ſufferings of *Chriſt*, while you reject that of his being a ſacrifice for ſin as unreaſonable! Amos iii. 6. 1 Kin. xiii. 26. Rom. iv. 25. Rom. v. iii. 32.

XIX. You make another effort againſt his being a ſacrifice for ſin, by endeavouring to prove that the ſacrifices under the Law had no relation to him: For this purpoſe you ſuppoſe, p. 15. that thoſe ſacrifices did not relate to conſcience, but were a political inſtitution, and a rite only by which they ſought pardon for their political guilt from God as their State Ruler; and that this was the reaſon why no ſacrifice was allowed for thoſe crimes which were made capital by the Law, becauſe they had no ſignification but to excuſe from temporal puniſhment, or temporal or civil crimes. And you ſay, p. 16. that otherwiſe, if they had any reſpect to the purging of

conſcience from ſin, or to the death of *Chriſt*, *If it had been ſo* (ſay you) *I think it had not failed to have been mentioned in the Epiſtle to the* Hebrews. But you were aware that in that Epiſtle they are frequently call'd *types* of *Chriſt*, and of his death. But this you eaſily put off ſaying that by type no more was meant than ſome ſort of alluſion. But Sir, tho' every type is an alluſion, yet every alluſion is not a type: We may make alluſions in many things, but a type is ſomething ordain'd of God to be ſuch an alluſion: But what is the alluſion you mean? You ſay, *That* Chriſt's *death had the like efficacy for eternal pardon, as the legal offerings had for external and temporal pardon.* But this alluſion is no more a type than the Laws of *Numa*, *Solon*, or *Lycurgus*. Whereas throughout this Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, the neceſſity is urg'd of *Chriſt*'s fulfilling every circumſtance of his types under the Law of *Moſes*, even to his ſuffering *without the gate*, becauſe the Body of the expiatory ſacrifice was *burnt without the camp*.

Then this Epiſtle argues in a quite different ſtrain from you: For it ſuppoſes all along, that the ſacrifices under the Law were for the expiation of ſin; and thence infers, that there muſt be a more noble ſacrifice, becauſe *it was not poſſible that the blood of Bulls and Goats ſhould take away ſin. Wherefore when he* (Chriſt) *cometh into the World, he ſaith, ſacrifice and offering thou wouldeſt not, but a Body haſt thou prepared me*, &c. Now where is the argument here, if the legal ſacrifices were not ordained to take away ſin? Was it not poſſible for them to take away the external or temporal puniſhment, if they were nothing elſe but rites (as you ſay) appointed by God for that end?

Then what was the great day of expiation appointed for? It was not to excuſe any Man from death or temporal puniſhment, but to atone for the ſins of the People which were all put upon the head of the Scape-goat, to bear them away: And we find no temporal puniſhment for the neglect of many of the ſacrifices, as thoſe appointed after Child-birth, *&c.* And they were not rites to procure pardon for any civil or political crime; but to ſhew the impurity of our corrupted Nature, and that we are born in ſin.

But, Sir, you are got in with the Men of the *Rights*, who conſider God only as the State-Ruler of the *Jews*, and his Laws to have no other than a political meaning, without any reſpect to ſin or a future ſtate. And I ſuppoſe you are of their opinion too, that God had this authority deriv'd to him by the People, and gave them Laws by virtue of the *Horeb* Contract! Great part of their Artillery came out of your Forge.

But, Sir, you have ſlipt an expreſſion here, in your zeal to make the legal ſacrifices only alluſions and not types: You ſay, *That* Chriſt's *death had the like efficacy for eternal pardon, as the legal ſacrifices had for external and temporal pardon.* Quite forgetting that you make nothing of the death of *Chriſt* as to propitiation, but place all in the interceſſion only, of which I have ſpoken ſufficiently. But that wou'd not have anſwer'd the types or alluſion (if you will call it ſo) of the legal ſacrifices, which did not intercede at all; but had reſpect only to the death of *Chriſt*: Therefore you were forced to make uſe of that word. It is hard for error to be conſiſtent with it ſelf.

XX. But you ſtrike home, and quote authorities, p. 17. you ſay, "Beſides, how can one infinite ſacrifice (if it be ſuppoſed) be an equivalent "for ſo many Myriads of infinite ſins? As a great Prelate of the age has "obſerv'd in one of his four Diſcourſes. Will not each crime need an in-"finite ſacrifice? If you ſay one infinite is as much as many of the ſame "kind, becauſe it can have no addition—Then a whole courſe of debauch-

"eries

" eries ought to ſit as eaſy on the conſcience, as one ſingle infinite fault;
" and will not this be a fine way to make your Doctrine of Satisfaction a
" comfortable Doctrine?

Sir, I will not ask who your prelate is, or if you quote him right; but to the argument. It is all built upon miſtake, and a poor jingle on the word Infinite. There is none infinite but God: And we cannot frame an idea of an infinite Nature. No ſin can be infinite in its nature; but we call it infinite, as being an offence againſt an infinite Being: And the guilt of an offence riſes according to the dignity of the Perſon offended: Thus an affront to a King is a greater offence than the ſame affront if offer'd to a private Perſon: And meaſuring by the dignity of the Perſon, what can we call a ſin againſt God, but an infinite offence? And we cannot make any Satisfaction for it, as we may to a Man, even to a King offended. But to ſay it will follow from hence, that there cannot be greater provocations, or more ſins in number, becauſe nothing can be added to infinite, is playing with a word, and not underſtanding becauſe we will not underſtand: I dare leave it to any common Reader, whether this is not a mere cavil; and as ſuch I paſs it.

XXI. But p. 19, 20. You accuſe me for injuring another great Prelate, and making him a *Socinian*. In what? Becauſe of his Sermon concerning Hell Torments, that it is not certain they are everlaſting, becauſe as he ſays, God is not oblig'd to inflict threatenings, tho' he is to perform promiſes which are to the benefit of thoſe to whom they are made: I name neither Perſon, nor Prelate, nor Sermon: And where you ſee I avoid reflexions, you ought not to bring them in. They lye then upon you: But is this of Hell Torments any part of *Socinianiſm?* How was this then making him a *Socinian?* You endeavour to clear the *Socinians* from it, p. 19. by ſaying that the *Racovian* Catechiſm, and other of their writings, expreſſly own eternal puniſhments, and that Dr. *Stillingfleet* cites them as aſſerting, that *God's Veracity is concern'd in the execution of thoſe threatenings on the impenitent.*

Thus, Sir, you have clear'd the *Socinians*. And yet at the end of your p. 6. you argue with ſome warmth againſt the eternity of Hell Torments; and uſe the very argument in that Sermon. You ſay,

" That whatever the certain natural conſequences of ſin may be, to ren-
" der an incorrigible ſinner miſerable, and whatever engagements may be
" upon his (God's) Truth on other accounts, to exact the threatened pu-
" niſhment on the irreclaimable ſinner; yet the bare threatening does not,
" I conceive, engage his Truth, becauſe threatenings are not like predicti-
" ons, nor are wont to be underſtood to ſignify what ſhall certainly be, but
" what may be expected: They are not given as a pledge of the divine Ve-
" racity: Death was threatened to the Murderer, and yet God ſaid to *Da-*
" *vid*, without being falſe, *Thou ſhalt not die.*

By this, not only the Eternity of Hell Torments, but any Hell at all is render'd wholly precarious; for the one is threatened no more than the other.

I ſee now, Sir, what made you ſo diſpleas'd at any contradiction to that Sermon. I will not enter into the argument now, having ſaid ſo much of it before: This only I would ask you, that ſince the Sermon does grant that God intended Men ſhould believe the Eternity of Hell, to deter them the more from ſinning, to what ends of Religion this contrary doctrine is now ſet up? If believing the Eternity of Torments will not reſtrain ſome Men, will making them doubt of any puniſhment at all perſuade them? And if God deſign'd Men ſhould believe it, why would you or he perſuade them

not to believe it? But this we muſt ſay, that we cannot have greater aſſurance of it, than by God's telling us that ſo it is.

You ask me, p. 20. "Whether I intended to ſlur that illuſtrious Archbiſhop (whoſe noble Parts, great Integrity, and ſweet Temper, render'd him one of the greateſt ornaments of the Church and Age) by telling the world he was a *Socinian?*

Sir, where have I told the world ſo? Unleſs you think that his opinion concerning Hell is *Socinianiſm.* And I was ſo far from intending to ſlur him, that I only gave my thoughts as to his opinion, without naming either himſelf or his Sermon.

And I muſt tell you, Sir, that your high commendation of him will not contribute much to clear him from the charge of *Socinianiſm*, if any lays that upon him: You ſhould have dealt as tenderly with him as I did, and not have nam'd him upon this occaſion: But I ſuppoſe you thought it a credit to your cauſe to have him, and the other great Prelate you quote, ſuſpected of favouring it.

But all this is foreign to our preſent diſpute; only you would hale it in; and I thought it civil to give you an anſwer.

XXII. It ſeems all I touch is defil'd; not excepting the Holy Scriptures: For juſt before this attack upon me, p. 19. you ridicule ſome Scripture expreſſions which I uſe, and ſay to me,

"As to your wild *Antinomian* ſuggeſtions ſcatter'd up and down, about "*Chriſt*'s Suretyſhip, his being the Reconciler of Angels, who never offend-"ed, as well as of Men; your pretty Metaphors about being cloathed in "the garments of our elder brother, (a bold word to uſe of almighty God, "for as *Chriſt* was Man, you'll not ſay but there were elder brethren than "he) your talk of darning and cobling, rubbing and ſcrubbing, patching and "ſcouring, the *filthy rags of our righteouſneſs*, &c.

This laſt was a ſimile I made of a Man cloathed in filthy rags, coming to court, to ſit down with the King at his table, at the marriage of his Son, and not putting on a wedding-garment, but thinking it well enough to patch and clean his filthy rags, which I compar'd to thoſe who truſt in *their own righteouſneſs.* And as to my words, you may make as free with them as you pleaſe, but do you not know, that *our righteouſneſs* is compared to *filthy rags?* Iſa. LXIV. 6. Is not *Chriſt* called our *Surety*? Heb. VII. 22. And is it not ſaid that *all things* in *Heaven* as well as on *Earth* are *reconciled* by *him?* Col. I. 20. And does not the Apoſtle uſe the metaphor of our being new *cloathed* and *cloathed upon?* 2 Cor. iv. 2, 3, 4. which he explains *Phil.* III. 9. *That we may be found in him* (Chriſt) *not having our own Righteouſneſs* (that is, our *filthy rags) but that which is through the Faith of* Chriſt, *the righteouſneſs which is of God by Faith.* And as to *Chriſt* being our *elder Brother*, is it not ſaid *Rom.* VIII. 29. that *he is the Firſt-born, among many brethren?* And if you underſtand it not, you may ſee it explain'd *Col.* I. 15, 18. where he is called the *Firſt-born from the Dead*, and *the Firſt-born of every Creature.* But how came you to fanſy that I meant this of almighty God, and not of *Chriſt* as Man, and that I called God our *elder Brother?* This ſhews your great ſagacity and skill in the holy Scriptures.

And, Sir, remember, that the diſpute is not here about the meaning of theſe expreſſions, but you turn the expreſſions themſelves into ridicule, and ſpend your wit upon them: I hope not knowing that they were the words of Scripture!

You ſay, "That the poor Diſſenters have been jeer'd out of theſe ex-"preſſions, by them of the Church, as nauſeous cant.

Sir, I dare ſay, you are much miſtaken: The meaning they put upon theſe expreſſions might be found fault with. But if any ſaid, that the expreſſions were nauſeous cant, they have fallen into your error: And the Diſſenters were in the right not to be jeer'd out of them.

XXIII. I have not taken your p. 17, and 18. in courſe, becauſe I ſpoke to them before: And I did not intend to have gone over your Paper, moſt of it being digreſſions; but having begun, I am drawn in. I will now only add this, That as your whole banter (for I can call it no other) proceeds from your ſpeaking of the Perſons of God as of the Perſons of Men, thence asking, if the Son made Satisfaction to the Father, who made Satisfaction to the Son, *&c?* So now to ſhew you, that the ſame may be turn'd upon your ſcheme, I ask you firſt, whether we are baptized into the Faith and Worſhip of Creatures? If not, how will you defend that Party of the *Unitarians* among us, who acknowledge the Son and the Holy Ghoſt (in whoſe names we are baptiz'd) to be truly diſtinct Perſons, but to be Creatures? As *John Biddle* and his followers. But on the other hand, others of you do ſuppoſe that by the Son and the Holy Ghoſt no Perſons at all are meant, but only ſome of God's Attributes, as Wiſdom, or Power, *&c.* Then they make this ſenſe of our Baptiſm, to be in the name of the Father, and of his Power, and of his Wiſdom, which are the ſame with the Father; and that we are not baptized into the names of Perſons, or have our Faith in Perſons, but in Attributes or Qualities, which are nothing in themſelves, only School-terms to expreſs our apprehenſion of things, and ſo we are baptized into the Faith and Worſhip of School-terms, which you ſo much abominate, and lay all the errors in the Church upon bringing them into our Creeds; to which of theſe Claſſes of *Unitarians* you belong, I will not examine, but leave you to make your choice.

XXIV. I told you before, that interceſſion for us is as often attributed to the Spirit as to the Son: Is the Son therefore no otherwiſe our Redeemer than as the Spirit is? It can be no otherwiſe to you, who place all in interceſſion only: But to us who believe that the interceſſion is grounded upon the ſacrifice of the Croſs, the anſwer is eaſy, that the Son only took Fleſh, and ſuffer'd for us, tho' the Spirit alſo maketh interceſſion, and alſo upon the account of that ſacrifice.

Now ſuppoſing as moſt of you do, that the Spirit is no Perſon diſtinct from the Father, how might I ring all thoſe changes upon the interceſſion that you do upon the Satisfaction? The ſame Perſon to intercede with himſelf! Is not that as abſurd (in your view) as to make Satisfaction to himſelf?

But then ſuppoſing that the Son and the Spirit are Perſons, (but Creatures) diſtinct from the Father and from each other, as the *Biddleit-Unitarians* hold, might I not ask as you do: What! Is the Spirit more compaſſionate and more exorable than the Father? And if we owe our redemption to his interceſſion, then we owe more thanks to the Spirit than to the Father, who but for the Spirit had doom'd us to eternal deſtruction! Thus you argue againſt the Satisfaction; groſſly meaſuring the Perſons of God by the Perſons of Men. And now I ſhew you how this will turn upon you, in what you allow and contend for, the interceſſion of the Son, as alſo of the Spirit, which you cannot deny is likewiſe as expreſſly in Scripture.

And ſuppoſe a *Jew*, *Mahometan*, or *Pagan*, or one of our Deiſts ſhou'd ask you, what need there is of interceſſion? Can any inform God of what he knew not before? Or has any more goodneſs than God, to prompt him

to ſhew more mercy than he was otherwiſe inclin'd to? Or can the value and deſerving of any Interceſſor be more prevalent with God, than his own innate and eſſential goodneſs? Wou'd he give his glory to another, and let the ſinner be obliged to any but to himſelf for his pardon, nay, more to the Interceſſor than to himſelf, according to your argument againſt the Satisfaction? This you inſiſt upon, p. 18, 19. that it wou'd make the Son more gracious than the Father. And you ſay,

XXV. "How can poor People forbear, by this rule, to think and ſpeak "more kindly of *Jeſus Chriſt* than of God? Is this one reaſon that makes "ſo many bow at the name of *Jeſus*, who yet ſtand ſtiff at the name of "his God and ours? Or that teaches others to call a Sermon of loving "*Chriſt*, &c. ſpiritual preaching, while one of loving and obeying God is "reliſh'd as dry morality?

Sir, in anſwer to this laſt point, I wiſh reverence were always ſhewed at naming the name of God, even in private converſation, by uncovering the head, riſing from ones ſeat, or bowing the Body or the Knee: It wou'd hinder that awful name to be ſo frequently in the Mouth upon every ſlight occaſion. And it is not preferring the name of *Jeſus* to that, which is the reaſon of bowing at the name of *Jeſus*; but it was uſed as a characteriſtick to diſtinguiſh a true Chriſtian from the pretended, and from all others. For bowing at the name of God, did not diſtinguiſh from an Heathen, a *Jew*, or a *Mahometan*, who all own a ſupreme God: And bowing at the name of *Chriſt*, wou'd not diſtinguiſh from a *Jew*, who own and expect a *Chriſt* yet to come, but deny that our *Jeſus* was the *Chriſt*. The ſame ſaid *Cerinthus* and his followers in the days of the Apoſtles, that *Chriſt*, by which they meant the holy Spirit of God, did dwell in *Jeſus*, and inſpire him, but not that he was the *Chriſt* or God: They denied that he took Fleſh, or was made Man, only that he dwelt in that Man *Jeſus*, and reſided in him, as in other good Men, but in a degree more than ordinary. This was the Doctrine of *Simon Magus*, whoſe Diſciple *Cerinthus* was, and likewiſe all you *Socinians* who hold the ſame. In oppoſition to this the Apoſtles, particularly St. *John*, who lived the longeſt, and had ſeen *Cerinthus*, laid the ſtreſs of the chriſtian Faith not only in believing in *Chriſt*, but that *Jeſus* was the *Chriſt*, and not only dwelt in Fleſh, but *was made Fleſh*. And he concludes his Goſpel, *Theſe things are written, that ye might believe that* Jeſus *is the* Chriſt. And in his firſt Epiſtle, *Who is a Lyar, but he that denieth that* Jeſus *is the* Chriſt? And again, *Every Spirit that confeſſeth not that* Jeſus Chriſt *is come in the Fleſh, is not of God, and this is that Spirit of* Anti-Chriſt, *whereof ye have heard that it ſhould come, and even now already is it in the World.* (So that, Sir, you ſee your Doctrine is very ancient!) And this may be the reaſon why it is ſaid, *That at the name of* Jeſus *every knee ſhall bow.* That is, that all ſhould confeſs *Jeſus* to be the *Chriſt*. And this is confeſſed by us when we bow at that name, in oppoſition to all Heathens, *Jews*, and *Anti-Chriſts* (as the Apoſtle calls them) who deny this *Jeſus* to be the *Chriſt*, or that he was really made Fleſh, only that he was inſpired of God, and God might be ſaid in a metaphorical ſenſe, to dwell in Fleſh, as in *Moſes* and the Prophets, *&c.*

John i. 14. chap. xx. 31.
chap. ii. 22.
chap. iv. 3.
Phil. ii. 10.

Hence the Quakers (your true Diſciples) have taken the name of *Chriſt* and of God too to themſelves, and have paid divine adoration to each other, that is, to *Chriſt* or God dwelling in them.

But you care not to diſtinguiſh your ſelves from any of theſe, and ridicule us for owning that *Jeſus* only and none other is the *Chriſt*, by bowing at his name.

XXVI. Sir,

XXVI. Sir, I am now near a concluſion. You complain of me p. 20, 21. for not allowing the *Socinians* to be Chriſtians; but you anſwer not a word to the reaſons I produced for it: So that it wou'd be perfect repetition for me to go over them again here; therefore I muſt refer you back to my *ſecond Letter*, p. 216, *&c.*

But to prove them to be Chriſtians, you ſay, p. 21. *Do they not Worſhip the God of* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob? To which I anſwer, *Do not the* Jews *and* Mahometans *the ſame?* But you add, *And the ſame God the Apoſtles worſhipped.* Why was this any other God? But you go on and ſay, *Nay, do not they Worſhip the ſame God that our Lord* Chriſt *himſelf worſhipped?* To which I ſtill ſay, and do not the *Jews* and *Mahometans* the ſame? I might add the Heathens too, who worſhipped the ſame God, tho' ignorantly, *Acts* XVII. 23.

But here is the difference; the Apoſtles and Chriſtians did worſhip *Chriſt* as their Lord and their God; which is own'd by the *Racovian* Catechiſm, and all excluded from the name of Chriſtians who do not the ſame, and give not the ſame Worſhip to *Chriſt* as to God himſelf, as I have plainly ſet down in my *firſt Letter* p. 219, *&c.* and to which you have anſwered nothing; ſo that you ſhould have blamed your own *Racovian* Catechiſm, and not put all your objections againſt me: But you wou'd not quit your founders, tho' you have departed from their Doctrine—— that you may appear not to be upſtart indeed.

You wou'd ſhew a difference betwixt your ſelves and the *Mahometans*, where you ſay, p. 20. *That they deny the Apoſtles Creed in the very Letter.* But, Sir, this is not true; do they deny the firſt Article, of believing in God? Nor do they the others: You ſay *(ibid.)* that they deny *Chriſt* to be the Son of God; I ſay, no more than you do: They ſay that *Chriſt* was born of a Virgin, without the touch of a Man, by the immediate operation of God. See the *Alcoran*, Chap. iii. p. 44. of the *Engliſh* Edition in in *Octavo*, 1688. And in this ſenſe they deny him not to be the Son of God. And you allow it in no other ſenſe than this; there they ſay, "Re-
" member thou how the Angels ſaid, *O Mary*, God declareth unto thee a
" Word, from which ſhall proceed the *Meſſias*, named *Jeſus*, the Son of
" *Mary*, full of honour in this World, and that ſhall be in the other of
" the number of Interceſſors, with his divine Majeſty.

And this is all that you attribute to him, the office of an Interceſſor, as is fully ſhewed before.

But you ſay, *(ibid.)* That they deny he was crucify'd, dead and buried, and that he roſe from the dead.

This is all only that he did not die, for then he was not buried, nor roſe again: And this is no more than what ſome chriſtian Hereticks have ſaid, that he died only in appearance or ſhew. And they wou'd have taken it as ill as you do, not to be reckon'd Chriſtians: For they thought they did this for his honour, and as not thinking it conſiſtent with the Juſtice of God, to ſuffer ſo innocent and excellent a Perſon to be thus treated: They were ignorant of the reaſon you give for his ſufferings, only to try how much he cou'd ſuffer, tho' God knew it all before; yet he wou'd try the experiment! And tho' his death was not neceſſary to his being an Interceſſor. Therefore *Mahomet*, who was but a degree removed from an *Arian*, thought he improv'd upon the matter when he cou'd ſave the death of *Chriſt*, without any hindrance to his being an Interceſſor: And *Mahomet* ſeem'd to be as good a Chriſtian as you in this, who make the death of *Chriſt* of no manner of effect, as to our redemption.

Eſpe-

Eſpecially conſidering what you ſay in the words immediately following, *That in the ſubjection to the Laws of* Chriſt *the very eſſence of a Chriſtian lies, more than in right ſyſtems of Faith.* So that if a *Mahometan*, *Jew*, or *Pagan* leads a good moral life, he has the very eſſence of a Chriſtian, and then no doubt is a Chriſtian, let his ſyſtem of Faith be what it will!

But, Sir, there are other good works beſides what we call good moral works, as of Juſtice betwixt Man and Man. Thus when the *Jews* ſaid to *Chriſt*, *What ſhall we do, that we may work the works of God?* He gave them this anſwer, *This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath ſent.* And again, *Verily verily I ſay unto you, except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no life in you.* This muſt at leaſt be meant of believing in his Death and Paſſion. And, *For if ye believe not that I am he, ye ſhall die in your ſins.* Here is ſomething given us to underſtand as to the purging of our defects, and making an atonement for our paſt ſins. This is beyond morality, and to be found only in Chriſtianity; which you wou'd reduce back again to plain morality, by making that (and not Faith) the eſſence of a Chriſtian: Whereas morality being common to all Men, tho' improv'd by *Chriſt*, is not to be call'd Chriſtianity, notwithſtanding it is enjoin'd by Chriſtianity; but Faith only is the eſſence of Chriſtianity, and by this only is a Chriſtian diſtinguiſhed from other Men, from Heathens, *Jews*, and *Mahometans*, and I will add from *Socinians*, who, as you have ſhewed, have no Faith in the ſacrifice and atonement made by the death of *Chriſt* for ſin, and openly plead the no neceſſity of it, as to remiſſion; and now you have dwindled it down to nothing but a ſyſtem of morality, wherein Faith is not eſſential! For ſurely all that morality might have been taught us by a Prophet or an Angel, without any need of *Chriſt*'s coming, far leſs of his dying.

Joh. vi. 28, 29.

v. 53.

viii. 24.

But to make an end of this compariſon betwixt you and the *Mahometans*, I deſire you to ſhew me which of our preſent *Unitarians* now among us have given ſo great honour to *Chriſt* as what you will find in the *Alcoran*, at the end of chap. iv. p. 82. of the edition before quoted, in theſe words.

" The *Meſſiah*, *Jeſus*, the Son of *Mary*, is a Prophet, and Apoſtle of " God, his Word, and his Spirit, which he ſent to *Mary*.

Here *Jeſus* is call'd the Word of God: Which our *Unitarians* expreſſly deny, only ſay that the Word or Spirit dwelt in *Jeſus*, as in other holy Men. See my *ſecond Dialogue* from the beginning, to p. 253. So that here the *Mahometans* are much better Chriſtians than the *Socinians*.

But, Sir, I think you had not reaſon to take it ill that I compar'd you with *Mahometans*, conſidering that you take the liberty to make us as bad as *Pagans*: For proof of this I quoted one of the late *Socinian* Treatiſes, entituled, *A Letter of Reſolution concerning the Doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation.* Which he calls *modern Chriſtianity*, and ſays of it, p. 18. *That it is no better nor other than a ſort of Paganiſm and Heatheniſm:* And he repreſents the *Tartars* as acting more rationally in embracing *the more plauſible ſect of* Mahomet, than the *chriſtian Faith.*

For this you fall foul upon me, p. 21. and ſay to me, " Whether the " *Unitarians* ever ſaid, *Paganiſm is preferable to the chriſtian doctrine*, " as you aſſert in your *Preface*; and it will concern you to ſhew, that " you make ſome conſcience of what you write, by making that heavy " charge good; if you cannot do it——

There is no more of it in my *Preface* that I can find than what is above quoted, which you will ſee there, p. 217. and p. 218. And there are not the words

words you quote as mine: So that I may return upon you, *making conſcience of what you write:* Eſpecially quotations ought to be exact.

But you cannot deny that you make *Mahometiſm* preferable to Chriſtianity, by calling it more rational and more plauſible: And you put Heatheniſm upon the level with it, when you ſay, that our *Chriſtianity is no better nor other than a ſort of Paganiſm:* This is the utmoſt moderation you pretend to.

And pray what do you ſay leſs in this ſame place? You ſay,

" I know they (the *Unitarians)* may have ſaid, that the doctrine of " the Trinity, of real Perſons or Minds in the Godhead, is like the *Pagan* " plurality of Gods.

Sir, you put in here the word Minds, which was made uſe of by one Doctor only, by way of explanation, as he thought, but has met with no approbation among us, nor ought to be charged upon the chriſtian Faith, there being no ſuch word in any of our Creeds. But however you your ſelf here make our chriſtian Faith like the *Pagan* plurality—— And will you own us then as chriſtian Brethren?

XXVII. But you have another *like* for me too: You ſay to me in the next words, " And I think you have ſhewn ſomething like it (the *Pagan* " plurality of Gods) in producing the teſtimony of Heathens to a Trinity.

This, Sir, is indeed like your ſelf! Your great objection againſt the doctrine of the Trinity is, that it is againſt Reaſon, even to a contradiction; and therefore was a ſtranger to all the world, till of late years invented by the Chriſtians; and therefore is a ſtumbling-block to *Jews* and Heathens, to keep them from Chriſtianity: Which objection I turn'd into an argument, that it could not be of human invention, it being ſo much above reaſon, but that it muſt come therefore from that revelation, which I ſhew'd was made of it from the beginning, but more obſcurely than as it has ſince been declared in the Goſpel: That the *Jews* therefore retain'd a dim idea of it: And the Heathens learned it from them: Whence *Plato* and their more refin'd Philoſophers endeavoured to reconcile it to Reaſon: Which I quoted to ſhew, that it was not wholly unknown to the *Gentiles*, at leaſt to the moſt learned of them; and that they found no contradiction in it, for they meaſured it not groſſly, as you do, by applying it to the perſons of Men.

Having thus gain'd the point upon you, you now turn the tables, and put the objection in the quite contrary way: And whereas the doctrine of the Trinity was before nothing ſhort of a contradiction, and impoſſible to be believ'd by Men of Senſe or Reaſon; now it is the invention of the Men of the moſt refin'd Reaſon in the world, who being *Pagans*, the Trinity muſt be a *Pagan* plurality!

But, Sir, the *Pagan* plurality had nothing to do with the notion which the wiſer of them had of the holy Trinity, and center'd it in the Unity, not to make a plurality of Gods: Whereas the Gods they commonly worſhipped were divers Perſons ſeparated and divided from each other, of different intereſts, and often fighting with one another; they made Gods of Men, and therefore meaſur'd them wholly according to the different Perſons of Men: And you, following their example, have accounted for the Trinity juſt after the ſame manner: Whence come all the contradictions and abſurdities with which you have involv'd your ſelf, and would put upon others, not being willing to underſtand their true meaning.

XXVIII. After this, p. 21, 22. you ſeek to make advantage to your cauſe by the explanation Dr. *Sherlock* lately adventur'd to make of this great My-

ſtery: And from the Polytheiſm charg'd by ſome as a conſequence of his explanation, you would infer Polytheiſm in ſome Chriſtians, at leaſt in the opinion of others: And you would equal this with the *Pagan* plurality.

But, Sir, no Man is to be charg'd with conſequences he does not ſee or own; for at this rate every ſin may be improved by argument and conſequences up even to Atheiſm: Yet it would not be juſt to call every ſinner an Atheiſt. Dr. *Sherlock* held the doctrine of the Trinity as profeſſed in the *Athanaſian* Creed: And if he had been convinced that his explanation had been contrary to this, no doubt he would have retracted his explanation. But is this the caſe of thoſe who openly and profeſſedly deny the doctrine itſelf, and diſpute againſt it? This only ſhews a mind to cavil, and catch at every advantage!

XXIX. You next, p. 22, 23. make the ſame uſe of all parties taking to themſelves the name of the Church. But, Sir, they all ſay, that Truth likewiſe is on their ſide. Is there therefore no ſuch thing as Truth to be found in the world, as you wou'd have no ſuch thing as Church?

I hope I have ſhewed in my Dialogues what the current ſenſe of the Church was, even before the firſt Council of *Nice*, concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. And if this has met with great oppoſition, it is no more than other Truths have ſuffer'd. Muſt we believe no revelation, becauſe we have Deiſts; nor any God, becauſe there are Atheiſts? And muſt we believe no true Church, becauſe there are many falſe pretenders?

Sir, theſe ſort of topicks ſhew only that your cauſe is deſtitute; they tend only to ſcepticiſm, which is no more on your ſide than ours: And whoever uſe it are bewilder'd, and have a mind to hide themſelves, and avoid arguments they cannot anſwer: It is raiſing a duſt, that we may not ſee our way: It is like ſcoffing *Pilate*, who ask'd *what is Truth?* But would not ſtay for an anſwer.

XXX. You end with a declamation againſt perſecution; but can inſtance only in your ſelf, (among all our *Unitarians)* and that by the Presbyterians, and in a countrey where there is no toleration for *Socinians*. But ſince you have come under the protection of our Laws, you have had City-Halls for your Meeting-Houſes, and free liberty to preach till you were weary, without making any recantation, but to gain what proſelytes you could: Nor have you met with any diſturbance that I hear of, unleſs you think that my writing againſt your principles is a perſecution! And yet I run more hazard by it than you do!

You confeſs the *Arians* (your predeceſſors) were perſecutors in their turn; but you think the *Socinians* would not be ſo now.

Sir, if you were to take a Man's picture for likeneſs, would you have it drawn when he was in full health, or when he was alter'd by Sickneſs? My meaning is, that what Men would do is beſt known when they are in power: Then you muſt take their likeneſs: Neither their voice nor their looks are the ſame when they are under hatches: Nay, their minds ſink too: You know not how you would alter if you had another *Arian* Emperor, and the Laws on your ſide.

Wou'd you then think it proper to give toleration to open blaſphemy and idolatry, as you think our ſyſtem of Chriſtianity is? Wou'd you not urge that theſe were made capital by God himſelf, under the Law, and Kings ſeverely puniſhed by God for ſuffering theſe? Wou'd you not ſay, it was the Magiſtrates Duty to ſee that God ſhou'd not be diſhonour'd, more than the King? Wou'd you not think your ſelf anſwerable (if you were a King) to give licence to all vile hereſies to ſpread, and corrupt the Faith? Nay,

if

if you were a Biſhop, wou'd you not be afraid of the Judgment pronounced againſt the Biſhop of *Thyatira? Becauſe thou ſuffereſt that Woman* Jezabel, *which calleth herſelf a Propheteſs, to teach and to ſeduce my Servants.* And againſt the Biſhop of *Laodicea? Becauſe thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will ſpue thee out of my Mouth.* Wou'd you not conſider that all the good works, wherein you put your truſt, and think them the eſſence of Chriſtianity, wou'd not avail in this caſe? For thus ſaith the Son of God to the Biſhop of *Thyatira, I know thy Works, and Charity, and Service, and Faith, and thy Patience, and thy Works, and the laſt to be more than the firſt: Notwithſtanding, becauſe thou ſuffereſt that Woman,* &c. Wou'd you not be afraid when all theſe good works cou'd not excuſe for ſuffering any to teach and to ſeduce the Servants of the Lord? When this one negligent act in the Governor of a Church ſhou'd outweigh the greateſt perſonal holineſs, which cou'd not make amends for the miſchief of his remiſsneſs or moderation, far greater than all his holineſs, in ſuffering the Servants of God to be ſeduced by falſe teachers? Will any good act a Shepherd can do, countervail his not watching, and ſuffering the Wolves to come in among the Sheep? Will not their blood be requir'd at the hands of ſuch a Watch-Man, who blew not the Trumpet, tho' he was ſaying his Prayers all the while, or giving all his goods among the poor, or his very Body to be burnt? Can he do any thing ſo acceptable to God as to maintain his poſt, and take care of the Souls committed to his charge?

Rev. ii. 20.

iii. 16.

You ſay, p. 23. " It is the inviolable unalienable right of a reaſonable Be-
" ing to worſhip and profeſs, according to his Conſcience, ſo long as nothing
" is done to the injury of the Common-wealth in its proper concernments.
" Have not the *Unitarians* a God and a Conſcience, *&c?*

And have not Kings and Biſhops Conſcience too? And what if theſe interfere?

But how come you to limit Conſcience here? You put an exception to the plea of Conſcience, That *no Injury be done to the Commonwealth in its proper concernments.* And what are theſe concernments? And who is judge which concernments are proper to the Commonwealth? It may aſſume concernments which are not proper to it.

But in the next place, is not Religion a concernment that is proper to a Commonwealth? And are not diverſities of Religions found to be hurtful to Commonwealths, eſpecially where they all claim a ſhare in the adminiſtration? Why elſe have we excluded the Papiſts, and *Holland* all that are not of the eſtabliſhed Church, from being Members of the States?

But may Conſcience be ty'd up in theſe concernments, and not in that which is far greater, the eternal concernment? And if endangering a Commonwealth is a ſufficient reaſon to reſtrain the plea of Conſcience, leſt it do hurt to others, in temporal things; muſt that plea be allow'd to ſeduce as many as it can in what concerns their eternal welfare?

Come, Sir, ſpeak out, wou'd you, if you were a Governor either in Church or State, give free toleration to Infidels and Heathens, and ſee them ſeduce before your face all your Subjects from Chriſtianity? Wou'd you think this a good account of your ſtewardſhip?

If you ſay, that you are in the right and they in the wrong, you give up your whole cauſe: Where is then that *inviolable unalienable Right of every reaſonable Being to worſhip and profeſs according to his Conſcience?*

I have ſaid thus much upon this head, becauſe it is the moſt plauſible topick, whereby unthinking People are ſeduced to give diſturbance to any eſtabliſhment either in Church or State. What! Not to give a Man the liberty

liberty of his Conſcience! And they ſee no harm at all in this! And yet not one of them wou'd allow it, if they were in power; they wou'd then ſoon ſee the miſchief of it.

If any think I reaſon not aright, I will put it to the teſt of fact. Shew me then that Church or Society of Men in the World who have not perſecuted (as they call it) ſome time or other, when they had the power.

All reſtraint is call'd perſecution by thoſe on whom it is laid: And they wou'd deſire to be freed from it. There is not a Sect in *England* but wou'd be the eſtabliſhed Church if they cou'd; and no doubt will be, whenever it is in their power: Therefore it cannot be ſafe to let them have votes in our Legiſlature. And this is ſo far from being a perſecution, that it is a neceſſary caution in every wiſe eſtabliſhment; and whoever complain of it for perſecution, have deſigns in their head.

You have led me out of the way of our ſubject by following you: However I hope this digreſſion will not be unſerviceable.

I pray God give us a right Underſtanding in all things; thoſe eſpecially which concern our eternal peace.

A SUP-

A SUPPLEMENT IN ANSWER TO

Mr. CLENDON's *Tractatus Philoſophico-Theologicus:*

OR, A

Treatiſe of the Word PERSON.

Bleſſed is the Man that hath not walk'd in the counſel of the ungodly, nor ſtood in the way of ſinners, and hath not ſat in the ſeat of the ſcornful. Pſal. i. 1.

liberty of his Conscience? And they see no harm at all in this! And yet not one of them wou'd allow it, if they were in power; they wou'd then soon see the mischief of it.

If any think I reason not aright, I will put it to the test of fact. Shew me that Church or Society of Men in the World who have not persecuted (as they call it)

All restraint is call'd persecution by those on whom it is laid. And they wou'd desire to be freed from it. There is not a Sect in *England* but wou'd be the established Church if they cou'd; and no doubt will be, whenever it is in their power. Therefore it cannot be safe to let them have votes in our Legislature. And this is so far from being a persecution, that it is a necessary caution in every wise establishment; and whoever complains of it for persecution, shews himself by that very thing to be one who has need of your Wise Laws to restrain him.

However I hope this digression will not be disagreeable.

I pray God give us a right Understanding in all things; those especially which concern our eternal peace.

A

SUPPLEMENT

IN

ANSWER

TO

Mr. Crandon's *Tractatus Philologico-Theologicus*:

OR, A

Treatise of the Word PERSON.

PREFACE.

THE *cenſure of this Book of Mr.* Clendon's *by the Parliament, with the order for his being proſecuted for it, ſhews how much he has miſtaken his text, the Act of Parliament which he took for his foundation of the Doctrine of the bleſſed Trinity.*

This might have ſaved my pains as to the explanation of that Act: But theſe Papers were wrote (all to Sect. x.) *before the late Tryal of Dr.* Sacheverel, *which occaſion'd that ſentence upon Mr.* Clendon, *among other blaſphemous Writers of the age.*

My publiſhing them now, is that ſort of perſecution which only I have aimed at; to convert if I can, if not, to confute theſe enemies of Chriſtianity. If the latter be the caſe, it will be a greater mortification to Men conceited of their own Wit, than any legal penalties: And they are apt to ſay, that this is all the confutation can be given them, and to glory in their own Confeſſorſhip to the vileſt of hereſies!

This then is to diſarm Mr. Clendon *and the reſt of his* Socinian *accomplices of that ſort of triumph: If it have not the happier effect of inducing them to repentance; which is the victory I deſire over them; and I pray heartily for them, that God would open their Eyes, and let them ſee his glory in the face of* Jeſus Chriſt: *To whom be all Honour, Might, Majeſty, and Dominion, from all Creatures, converted Sinners eſpecially, now and for ever.* Amen.

A

PREFACE.

A SUPPLEMENT, *in* ANSWER *to* *Mr.* CLENDON.

I. SINCE the foregoing Sheets were printed off, an old *Socinian* in the *Temple* has enter'd the Liſts againſt me. I therefore ſtopt the Publication of them, till I had read over this *Tædulus*, intituled, *Tractatus Philoſophico-Theologicus de Perſonâ*, or, *A Treatiſe of the word Perſon*, by *John Clendon* of the *Inner-Temple* Eſq; Printed for *John Walthoe* in the *Middle-Temple Cloiſters*, 1710. to find whether there were any new matter in this, which ſhould require a diſtinct anſwer by it ſelf; or that it might be diſpatch'd in a Supplement to what goes before: And I eaſily determin'd to the latter, for tho' it is a large Book of 224 Pages, beſides two Epiſtles Dedicatory, and one to the Reader, all the ſenſe, or argument in it might be put into a Nut-ſhell. Nor had I thought it worthy of any notice, but that it ſeems the laſt effort, and expoſes this baffled cauſe even to contempt: And becauſe I heard ſome lay ſtreſs upon it, and ſay it had gain'd a vogue about the Town.

II. In the beginning of his Epiſtle to the Reader he falls upon me with a great deal of Wit, calling me Brute, and ſuch like names for a whole Page together, and concludes, that *my* Socinianiſm Diſcuſs'd *is not worth anſwering, and that he ſcorns to anſwer it!*

1. Yet he gives one ſtroke at me, and quotes my *fourth Dialogue*, p. 330. where I brought an alluſion, that God is named in the Creed as a Nature or Species to Individuals, and then that the three Perſons are named, *the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt*, whence he wou'd infer that I meant God to be a Species, and the three Perſons to be really and truly Individuals in a ſtrict and proper ſenſe; tho' I have frequently through theſe Dialogues guarded againſt any alluſions to God being ſo taken; and here I word it with an *as*, to ſhew it was but an alluſion; as it is expreſs'd in the *ſecond Dialogue*, p. 250. *as it were a Species*. Yet he takes no notice, but proves it to be Tritheiſm by this ſtrong argument, *Now, what plainer and more impudent Tritheiſm than this, can be aſſerted by Man?——Surely nothing can be more.* And thus it is proved!

2. I have told you often (but you will not mind) that God is neither Genus, nor Species, nor Individual, nor Perſon, in the ſenſe theſe words are taken, and as they are us'd among Men: And therefore that we muſt not argue ſtrictly from them with relation to God, nor infer contradictions from them in God, becauſe we find it ſo among Men; for theſe are only alluſions, not proper words as to God, tho' the beſt we have; as when God is called Light, if we ſhou'd argue ſtrictly from thence, what contradictions might we find? Yet this is the whole *Socinian* topick, to find contradictions in the Trinity of God, from the acceptation of the word Perſons as apply'd to Men. How often have I told the Remarker upon my Dialogues of this? And he was forced to yield my obſervation to be juſt, and that it was no fair way of argument, and pretended he did not do it; yet they cannot refrain it: Here is now come out a whole Book *de Perſonâ*: And all, as it is apply'd to Men, by Orators and Logicians. And thence Mr. *Clendon* muſters up his arguments againſt the Trinity, applying the word *Perſons*, to *God the Father*, *Son*, *and Holy Ghoſt*, in the ſame manner as to *Peter*, *James*, and *John*.

3. The *Socinians* pretended to the Scriptures; and publiſhed their *Brief Hiſtory of the* Unitarians upon moſt of the texts from *Geneſis* to the *Revelations*, which are uſually brought for the Doctrine of the holy Trinity: They likewiſe aſſerted that the Fathers before the firſt Council of *Nice* were on their ſide. In anſwer to both which pretences, I publiſhed theſe Dialogues, and upon moſt, if not all of theſe texts, I not only argue from the general and known acceptation of the words, ſupported by other parallel texts, but give the interpretation of the Fathers before the firſt Council of *Nice* upon each text controverted, and ſhewed them to be intirely on the chriſtian ſide of the queſtion, and againſt the miſ-repreſentation of the *Unitarians*, or *Socinians*.

4. Now when I ſaw this great Book come out againſt me, and begin with my Dialogues, I thought to have found ſome reply to theſe things: But all the notice he takes of them in his p. 62, 63. where he quotes a few other texts which I had not named, and ſays, that theſe he names do not prove the thing.

III. But p. 56. he throws at all our Scriptures as deficient, and ſays, *The Goſpel of the twelve Apoſtles, and other writings of thoſe holy Men, were moſt of them either rejected as ſpurious, or ſuppreſſed, or otherwiſe apocryphated: And thoſe few only were allowed of as canonical, which were of ſuch notoriety that they could not be concealed, and which remain now to us at this day: This was one neceſſary piece of artifice they uſed.* This *they* was the Church, which he beſpatters every where and here accuſes of vitiating, concealing, and rejecting the true Scriptures: By which he means thoſe falſe Goſpels and other Pſeudo-Scriptures, which the Predeceſſors of the *Socinians* had forged in thoſe early times, to ſupport the ſame hereſie. This I ſhewed in the ſame *fourth Dialogue* he quotes, but four Leaves (as in the firſt Edit.) after what he quotes, p. 335. and tell from *Euſebius* and *Theodorit* how theſe Hereticks, then called *Nazarens*, were detected in forging new Scriptures, and corrupting the old, which ſome of them had the impudence to own, and called it mending the Scriptures; others of them rejected the Law and the Prophets, and other parts of the holy Scriptures, as they thought fit: But of this Mr. *Clendon* takes no notice (may be he never read it) but trumps up again the pretences of theſe condemn'd Hereticks, in oppoſition to the whole Catholick Church which he deſpiſes, as I come to ſhew more fully.

IV. In

IV. In his *Dedication* to the Lord Chancellor, he ſays, p. 9. *My Lord, I have had no regard to Fathers or School-Men, nor to Councils or their Creeds.* And in his Book, p. 170. he ſays, *The notions of God, and God the Son, and God as the Son of God, is what we have from the Fathers and their Philoſophy, and not from Revelation.* And p. 173, 174. *And this hath been the Doctrine of the Schools and the Catholick Church hitherto—— And ſince the animadverter had ſwallow'd thus much, which doubtleſs he did upon the authority of the Catholick Church, and ſo never conſider'd it——* p. 175. *And this Doctrine of the School-Men and Catholick Church—— muſt be utterly impracticable,* &c. p. 194. *Nor ought we in this caſe to be fobb'd off with Myſtery, nor with the authority of the Church: And what Church is it they mean at laſt, do you think? Even the Catholick Church.* And p. 195. *'Tis the Catholick Church they are ſo fond of, for the ſupport of whoſe authority forſooth, we muſt be kept in ignorance, all they can, and the truth conceal'd from us.* Again, p. 215. *The three Hypoſtaſes of the Fathers, conſtrued three Subſiſtences, and three Perſons by the Schools, is the Doctrine of the Catholick Church. And ſo it is in many other things. All this ado is to ſupport the Authority of a Catholick Church.* The Reader (if any other but my ſelf, muſt undergo that penance) will find abundance of the like contempt of the Catholick Church throughout this tedious Book: And I ſuppoſe others will be content with what is here produced.

1. But it is not only in words he expreſſes his rage againſt the Catholick Church, he gives his reaſon, and excludes all *Gentiles* from chriſtianity; he allows none to be true Chriſtians, or to have had the Faith, but the *Jewiſh* converts only, and theſe he ſuppoſes to be extinguiſh'd in the reign of *Adrian* the Emperor; after which he ſays, the *Gentiles* came in and corrupted the Faith, *And they were fain to bid a perpetual adieu to the true Apoſtolick Doctrine of our bleſſed Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt. Thus he expreſſes it, p. 51. And again p. 69. he repeats it again, and ſays, "After *Adri-*
"*an*'s time, when the Chriſtians of the Circumciſion were wholly extir-
"pated with the *Jews*, and no Biſhops to be but of the *Gentiles*, the
"Chriſtians became no more than another Sect in Philoſophy: They cal-
"led themſelves Chriſtians indeed, but as *Melito* there ſays, their Doctrines
"were the ſame Philoſophy that had been among the *Ethnicks*." And p. 70. *Thus it was* (ſays he) *that the old Evangelick Apoſtolick Doctrines concerning our Saviour were loſt.* And how has Father *Clendon* found them again? In *Simon Magus*, *Cerinthus*, *Sabellius*, and *Socinus*, and in the Goſpel of the twelve Apoſtles and other Writings of thoſe holy Men, which have been loſt theſe one thouſand five hundred years!

2. He ſays (as I have before quoted him) that it was one neceſſary piece of artifice the Church us'd, to admit none of theſe holy Writings into the Canon of the Scripture, but thoſe few only which were of ſuch notoriety that they cou'd not be gainſaid: And was not this an honeſt artifice, to admit nothing dubious into the Canon? But they were not dubious, for, as I quoted *Euſebius* in my *fourth Dialogue*, p. 435. there were notorious marks of impoſture upon thoſe he calls holy Writings, which were ſet up by theſe Hereticks in the names of the Apoſtles; as that all the copies they produc'd were in their own hands; and they cou'd ſhew no original whence they were tranſcrib'd; and that even the copies which went about among them did not agree with one another.

3. But he ſays that thoſe Books in the Canon are a few only: And yet he thinks they are too many. I have taken notice before how the *Socinians* have endeavoured to invalidate ſeveral Books of holy Scripture, particularly all the writings of St. *John*, becauſe he ſpeaks moſt expreſſly of the

Trinity

Trinity and Divinity of *Chriſt*, he having wrote the lateſt of any of the Apoſtles, and after *Cerinthus* and others had broach'd their hereſies againſt both theſe doctrines. And Mr. *Clendon* does not conceal his contempt of St. *John*, he calls him *poor* St. *John*, p. 75. and ſays of him, p. 42. *The good Evangeliſt was not skill'd in their Philoſophy, and ſo was not a match for them.* Again, p. 46. *He, good Man, notwithſtanding his great age, for the Peace of the Church, undertakes to write.* And to help out this poor old Man, Mr. *Clendon* ventures to mend his text for him! as you will ſee p. 33. where inſtead of our literal tranſlation of *John* v. 26. *As the Father hath Life in himſelf, ſo hath he given* (ἔδωκε) *to the Son to have Life in himſelf.* Mr. *Clendon* renders it thus, *So ſhall be given to the Son*, &c. that is, in the *Socinian* notion, that it ſhould be given him after his Reſurrection, but not that he had Life in himſelf before: It is frequent with the *Socinians* to take this liberty with the texts of Scripture, as I have ſhewed in many inſtances in my Dialogues.

V. Mr. *Clendon* having thus made bold with the Scriptures, and quite thrown off the catholick Church, let us ſee what foundation he gives to the doctrine of the holy Trinity, and his account how it came firſt into the world. With this he begins his chap. ii. and makes it a mere heatheniſh invention: He mentions the Τριὰς or Trinity of *Plato*, conſiſting of the three Hypoſtaſes or Perſons in the Deity, and that in theſe three principles of origination the whole πλήρωμα, or *Fulneſs* of the Deity did conſiſt. *And this* (ſays he p. 24.) *I take it was the firſt news that the world had of a divine Trinity.*

1. But, Mr. *Clendon*, thoſe texts out of the Old Teſtament which are conſider'd in my *ſecond Dialogue* were long before *Plato*; therefore he might take it from them: It was impoſſible they could take it from him: And you ſhould have clear'd up theſe texts better than I have done before you had thus confidently made *Plato* the original of this doctrine.

2. And what is now become of that maſter argument of the *Socinians*? That the doctrine of the Trinity is contradictory to all common Senſe and Reaſon, and brought in by the Chriſtians upon their miſtake of ſome texts of Scripture, which the *Socinians* pretend to explain better: Yet now they would make it the invention of the Heathen, of their principal and moſt celebrated Philoſophers, Men of the moſt refined Reaſon; and that the Chriſtians did learn it from them!

3. But it was not the invention of either *Jew* or *Gentile*: No Reaſon of Man could have ſearched ſo far into the abyſs of the Nature of God. It was at the firſt made known to Man by revelation; and it has deſcended down through all ages by tradition; chiefly of the *Jews*, who had the lively Oracles committed unto them, wherein this divine myſtery was contained; and from whence, in all probability, *Plato* and the moſt acute of the heathen Philoſophers did take it, for the Old Teſtament was known unto them: And the Fathers of the Church did quote the Old Teſtament for this doctrine of the Trinity, (as appears by what I have quoted of them upon the texts of the Old Teſtament) not the Philoſophers, or the *Cabala* of the *Jews*, as Mr. *Clendon* fooliſhly imagines. I have inſiſted upon this in my *ſecond Dialogue*, *Sect.* 15. N. 3, 4. but Mr. *Clendon* repeats the objection here over again, without taking any notice of the anſwers there given.

4. I have told before how Mr. *Clendon* throws off the *Greek Church* and the whole catholick Church ever ſince the *Jewiſh* Chriſtians were extirpated in the Reign of *Adrian*, who only (he ſays) held the Faith uncorrupted: For that the *Greek* and *Gentile* converts brought in the *Pagan* Philoſophy,

and

and corrupted the chriſtian Religion by it. But forgetting this, he, p. 27, 28. makes the *Jews* the firſt who took this Philoſophy into reveal'd Religion, and by this had eſtabliſh'd the doctrine of the Trinity before Chriſtianity began: And p. 28. he quotes Mr. *Dodwel* ſhewing how *Moſes* became of authority among the *Gentile* Philoſophers, and was quoted by them by the name of ὁ προφήτης, the Prophet. They who advance new Syſtems had need of good Memories.

VI. Well, but Mr. *Clendon* will have Philoſophy to be the corrupter of reveal'd Religion, take it how you will. He ſays, p. 216. *That the chriſtian doctrine was eclipſed and obſcured by the darkſome cloud of theſe miſh-maſh doctrines of Fathers and School-men, which make up the doctrine of the catholick Church.* And how does he ſet about to cure this? Even by entring into the very dregs of this miſh-maſh! His whole Book is nothing elſe but a fulſome and tedious repetition of *quoddities* and *quiddities*, and ſhewing his parts upon the difference betwixt Ens, Eſſence, and Exiſtence, betwixt Subſtance and Subſiſtence, Accidents and Adjuncts, Suppoſitum, Perſon, and Perſonality; beſides Modalities and Suppoſitalities, *&c.* as different from all theſe! And out of this deep fountain of learning he has extracted (as he thinks) the true notion of the Word Perſon, which gives the title to his Book, *de Perſona*, or, *A Treatiſe of the word Perſon.* And then he applies this to the word Perſons as uſed in relation to the holy Trinity, and crys Εὕρηκα, he has untied the *Gordian* knot!

VII. Now let us ſee what he makes of this: This is the *jugulum cauſæ.* And here you will find a performance worthy of himſelf! He begins, p. 12. with giving the definition of the word Perſon, and of Perſonality: And this he makes to conſiſt in whatever accidental thing diſtinguiſhes one Man from another, the colour of his hair, his phyz, p. 13. his features, complexion, or countenance, his dreſs, p. 15, 16. addreſs, mien, deportment, *&c.* As likewiſe any accidental accompliſhment of the Mind, as Wiſdom, Learning, Religion, *&c.* *Of this ſort of accidents* (ſays he) *alſo are all honours, dignities, offices, and employments of truſt, power or profit, and the like:* Every one of theſe he makes to be a Perſonality which does conſtitute the Perſon.

1. And by the ſame rule he ſays, p. 16. *The ſame one Man may be ſeveral Perſons in thoſe ſeveral reſpects*; viz. *as he is a wiſe Man he may be one Perſon, as he is a learned Man another, and as he is a religious Man another.* And by the foreſaid deſcription of phyz, mien, dreſs, *&c.* when his beard grows he is one Perſon, and when he is ſhaved he is another; when he has a black coat on he is one Perſon, and another Perſon when he has a colour'd coat; he is different Perſons when he looks ſour or ſweet, when he makes a mouth, walks, dances, or ſtands ſtill; when he ſleeps, walks, *&c.* For theſe are ſeveral Perſonalities, and it is the Perſonality makes the Perſon. *And hence it is* (ſays he, p. 17.) *that one particular eſſence may from the ſeveral Perſonalities be as properly call'd ſeveral Perſons, as ſeveral particular Eſſences, can from their ſeveral Perſonalities be ſeveral Perſons: For that in the one caſe as well as in the other, we contemplate the entire particular Eſſence in conjunction with the Perſonality that makes the Perſon.*

And ſo it is alſo of Perſonalities that reſult from dignities, offices, profeſſions, employments, and the like. Her Majeſty the Queen of Great Britain, *as ſhe is Queen of* England, *is one Perſon; as ſhe is Queen of* Scotland, *ſhe is another Perſon; and as ſhe is Queen of* Ireland *ſhe is another Perſon.*

2. " And for this (ſays he p. 18.) I think I ſhall need no better authori-
" ty than *M. T. Cicero*, whom all muſt allow to be a competent Judge of
" the Latin Tongue: 'Tis he that thus expreſſeth himſelf, *viz. Exuit ho-*
" *mo Perſonam amici, quando induit Judicis.* And again, *Suſtineo unus*
" *tres Perſonas, mei, adverſarii, Judicis.* And they are frequent Phra-
" ſes in Latin Authors, *viz. Perſonam agere, ſuſtinere, induere, exuere*
" *deponere*, &c.——So that *Perſona*, as to the true Latinity of the
" word——*&c.* Thus Mr. *Clendon.*

The word Latinity here was well found out, for it chimes more with the School terminations of Identity, Subſtantiality, Perſonality, *&c.* than plain Latin wou'd have done! But, Mr. *Clendon*, you needed not have gone ſo far for theſe deep Obſervations, for even in the Engliſhity of the word, to perſonate another is taken in the ſame ſenſe, as when you mimick another, or a Player acts or perſonates a Pedant upon the Stage, *&c.* Does this really make him another Perſon than he is? Does he hereby become a Bencher of the Temple, or Reader at the Trumpet-Clubb?

3. You fall foul (p. 124.) upon Mr. *Samuel Hill* Rector of *Killmington*, as a zealous Defender of the *Greek* Fathers, *as appears* (ſay you) *by a very unmannerly Book he wrote ſome time ſince againſt the Biſhop of* Salisbury: *But what you have to ſay to him is touching his notion of a Perſon.* Which he thought he cou'd explain without your cramp words of Suppoſitums, Subſiſtences, *&c.* and ſays, as you quote him, p. 138. *That from that true, vital, ſubſtantial Union that is between the Soul and the Body reſults the Perſon of* Peter, *who is compounded of both.* This you call a new notion of a Perſon: Tho' I dare ſay it is the commoneſt in *England*, and what every Man means by a Perſon, who is not ſo Book-learned as Mr. *Clendon:* But you ridicule it thus. p. 139.

" No need now of Subſiſtence or Suppoſitum to help out the notion of
" of a Perſon. *Peter* as compounded of a Soul and Body by a vital Uni-
" on of both, is a ſufficient Perſon: He can eat, and drink, and walk, and
" underſtand, and that's a Perſon ſufficient.

But you reply ſmartly upon him, *A Man ſufficient, good Mr. Examiner, but not a Perſon.* So you diſtinguiſh betwixt the Man and the Perſon: So that when *Peter* eats, drinks, *&c.* a Man eats and drinks, but not a Perſon. And why? Perſonality neither eats nor drinks; no, nor the Mannality neither. But *Peter* cannot be a Man without being likewiſe a Perſon; and the Perſon of *Peter* does every thing that the Man of *Peter* can do. O rare Philoſophy! Is not this what you juſt now called miſh-maſh, Mr. *Clendon?* And what ſhameful uſe do you make uſe of it, to confound common ſenſe and manner of ſpeaking? You made ſo ſlight of a Perſon before that a pair of new Shoes made a new Perſon: And now you are ſo ſtrict, that you will not let a Man be a Perſon with himſelf, but thruſt in Perſonalities and Suppoſitalities between them!

4. But you ſtick cloſe to your parallel of the Queen and the Trinity, which I have quoted; you are ſo fond of it that you repeat it again, p. 142. and ſay,

" Thus 'tis (as I inſtanc'd before) of the triple Perſonality in the Queen's
" Majeſty, with reſpect to the triple Diadem ſhe wears; in reſpect of one
" of them, ſhe is one compleat Perſon; in reſpect of another, ſhe is ano-
" ther compleat Perſon; and in reſpect of the third, ſhe is a third Perſon:
" And yet ſhe is in her ſelf but one compleat, individual, numerical, Eſ-
" ſence or Being.

But that it may be yet more conſpicuous, he puts it in again near the end of his *Epiſtle Didicatory* to the Earl of *Sunderland*, thus, *And really, My Lord, I would not prophane the Deity to flatter the greateſt and*

beſt Prince in the World. But I do think the Queen's Majeſty, with reſpect to her three Kingdoms, to be a moſt appoſite Emblem of the perſonal triplicity in the divine Unity. She is in each reſpect a particular Perſon, and yet in every reſpect ſhe is one and the ſame particular royal Eſſence.

5. Mr. *Clendon*, will you let me philoſophize a little with you? Is Royalty an Eſſence? I took it for a perſonal thing. But if it be of the Eſſence then ſurely no King or Queen can either forfeit or abdicate: Unleſs you ſay, it is of the Eſſence of the Perſonality. And will that be good Philoſophy? How then will Eſſence and Perſonality be diſtinguiſh'd? Or has a Man as many Eſſences as he has Perſonalities? You have given him ſo many Perſonalities, that he cannot continue one Perſon an hour together, if he open or ſhut his Mouth, make a wry Face, or alter any thing of his phyz, mien, or dreſs. And does he loſe one Eſſence, and gain another, upon every one of theſe changes of his Perſon? Eſſence is Subſtance, and the Perſonalities you have named are Accidents, you call them ſo; tell me then what is the ſubſtance of an Accident? And how then do they differ?

6. If you call this cavilling, I will readily grant it, for I know your meaning: But then it will anſwer all your Book: For the *Hypoſtaſes* of the *Greeks*, and Perſons of the *Latin* and *Engliſh* mean the ſame thing, and they have ſufficiently explain'd themſelves, not to mean three Gods: And all you have ſaid againſt this, is ſuch poor cavilling upon words upon Subſtance, Subſiſtence, and Accident as I have now ſhewed you.

7. But to go on with your Dedication: You after addreſs the Queen by her Secretary of State, to give Peace to Chriſtianity in this vexatious point of the Trinity. And how? Even *by the great inſtance of her Royal ſelf*, as you have explain'd her Trinity, and ſo *put an end to the long wrangling Polemicks of the learned.* That who think otherwiſe of the holy Trinity of God than of this Trinity of the Queen, may be ſilenced!

And to make this your emblem of the holy Trinity more appoſite, you tell his Lordſhip in the next words, that her Majeſty has been lately graciouſly pleaſed to drop one of her Perſonalities, by the Union of *England* and *Scotland*; ſo that ſhe is now but two Perſons, one for *Great Britain*, and one for *Ireland*: So that if the Perſonalities be no more eſſential in the Deity, than in the Queen, as you ſay they are not, then theſe Perſonalities in the Godhead may be dropt too in time, which you hope, and have thus endeavour'd to bring to paſs!

8. If Perſons were anſwerable for Dedications to them, or ſuppos'd to ſee them before, or to approve them afterwards, or to patronize ſuch Books inſcrib'd to their names, what a terrible reflexion wou'd it be to theſe two noble Lords under whoſe protection Mr. *Clendon* has preſumed to uſher his Book into the World?

And no doubt the Piety of the Queen (if ſhe knew of this Book) would reſent with indignation that blaſphemous Emblem made of her and her three imaginary Perſons, to the holy Trinity of the moſt high God!

9. But, Mr. *Clendon*, tell me, could one of theſe Perſons of the Queen be a Maid, another a Wife, and another Widow? Could her Perſon in *England* have a Son, and her Perſon in *Scotland* have none? I ask this becauſe it fully explains your emblem of the holy Trinity: For by Perſons you mean (with *Sabellius*) only ſeveral Manifeſtations of God. And you might make three thouſand or three hundred thouſand of ſuch Perſons; for every Act of God is a Manifeſtation of God, and ſhews his Power, Wiſdom, *&c.* every Star in Heaven, and every pile of Graſs, every Man, Bird, Beaſt, Fiſh, *&c.* in ſhort, every Creature: And you might multiply the Perſons of the Queen into as many Countries, Pariſhes, Families, or Men, as ſhe commands;

commands; and into as many variations of her phyz, mein, dreſs, &c. as you pleaſe to imagine: Then add the many endowments of her Mind; then all her honours, dignities, offices, &c. all which you make ſeveral Perſonalities, and you may make as many Perſons of her, as *Hobbs* does of his *Leviathan!*

10. But now, Mr. *Clendon*, I muſt mind you of your Philoſophy again: For a Manifeſtation is nothing of itſelf, it is only a word whereby to expreſs our conception of the thing that is manifeſted to us. Thus your ſeveral Perſons of the Queen are only ſeveral Manifeſtations of her Power in ſeveral places, and in different manners: And this is all you make of the Perſons of God. But, Sir, a Manifeſtation, as it is no Perſon, ſo it can do no perſonal action: A Manifeſtation cannot eat and drink, marry and beget Children: It cannot ſend or be ſent of an errand. Was it only a Manifeſtation then that was made Fleſh, that was ſent of God to do ſuch things upon Earth, to ſuffer, die, and be buried? Was it the blood of a Manifeſtation only that is call'd the *blood of God*, *Acts* xx. 28. Are we baptized into the Faith and Worſhip of Manifeſtations only, that is, of nothing but imaginations of our own, or the conceptions of our mind? For God is not named in the chriſtian form of Baptiſm, but only the three Perſons, which you call Manifeſtations only. Do you not worſhip then your own Imaginations? For you can make nothing elſe of Manifeſtations. And is it not ſtrange that *Chriſt* ſhould command us to be baptiz'd in the name of Manifeſtations only, without a word of the Perſon that was manifeſted to us? And this muſt be, if what Mr. *Clendon* calls the Manifeſtations were not the Perſons of the Deity.

11. But he calls them Perſons too: For he cannot (through the multitude of his Philoſophy) find out the difference betwixt the Actor and the Action done by him, but calls the Action the Actor or the Perſon that acts. He ſays, p. 181. *That the Apoſtles Creed does plainly aſſign the Perſonality of the Father to be the Maker of Heaven and Earth.*

Why? Mr. *Clendon*, was he not a Perſon before? Or did he become a new Perſon by the Creation he made? And where does the Creed call this his Perſonality? Your aſſurance is not a little!

You ſay, p. 180. *And the Act of our Redemption muſt ſurely be the Perſonality of the Son.* But was he not a Perſon before that act? Elſe how could he do it? Or did he change his Perſon by that act? Then it was not the ſame Perſon that died who roſe again, for Death makes a greater alteration in the Perſon than any of theſe Perſonalities you have named, of phyz or dreſs, &c.

But you go on and ſay, p. 181. of the third Perſon, *And the gracious act of our Sanctification muſt be the Perſonality of the Holy Ghoſt.* Then he was not the Holy Ghoſt before. But you make theſe three acts of Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification, the ſeveral Perſonalities of God, as you ſay, p. 183. *The Perſonalities of Creation and Redemption*, &c. And you explain what you mean by Perſonalities, that is, only Manifeſtations of God, as you ſay, p. 181. *The one true God, under theſe three gracious Manifeſtations of himſelf, in our Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification.* And p. 186. *Theſe external acts of our Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification, are taken for the Perſonalities.* And p. 188. *Theſe Perſonalities are extra Eſſentialities.* What are they then? Are they *Accidentalities? No*, (ſay you *ibid.*) *There are no Accidents in God.* Where are we now? What? Are they neither *Eſſentialities* nor *Accidentalities?* You ſay they are *Modalities.* And what are theſe *Modalities?* You ſay *It is and muſt be agreed in all philoſophical reaſoning, that Accidents, Adjuncts, and whatſoever doth modify Eſſence, muſt be extrinſical to the*

Eſſence modified. Then theſe *Modalities* are ſomething leſs than Accidents. They are nothing but a thought in our brain of the manner how an Accident does modify an Eſſence: Of which we know not one tittle; for an Accident itſelf is only the like imagination of ours, that becauſe we find there are things hard or ſoft, therefore we fanſy ſuch a thing as hardneſs or ſoftneſs, and ſo diſcourſe of theſe words as if they were real things: And theſe we call Accidents, which in themſelves are nothing at all. And if Accidents are nothings, what are the *Modalities* of Accidents? Theſe muſt be nothing of nothing! And if there are no Accidents in God, how can there be *Modalities* of Accidents in him?

We ſee now to what Mr. *Clendon* has brought the Perſons of God, by his Philoſophy, to be nothings and leſs than nothing! Is not this Philoſophy of his very charming and edifying! O happy Club where theſe Lectures are daily read!

12. But I muſt not conceal the reaſon he gives for all this *Jargon*. You have it p. 188. *For that there ought to be ſome Analogy between the divine Perſonalities, and Perſonalities among Men.* Here is what I have ſo often told the *Socinians*, that they will meaſure God by Man, and his Perſons by our Perſons, becauſe we have no words that are proper whereby to expreſs God, but all borrowed from terms we uſe as to one another. Hence they bring all their contradictions as to the Trinity, from what the words will bear in relation to Men: And yet in this they fall into contradictions in their own way; as Mr. *Clendon* in this ſame page 188. *There are no Accidents in God* (ſays he) *but nevertheleſs theſe Acts that I propoſe to be the Perſonalities, and to conſtitute the divine Perſons are ſufficiently analogous to the Perſonalities among Men, in that they are extra-eſſential, as the Perſonalities among Men are.* Firſt, it is not ſo among Men; for the Perſonality of a Man is eſſential to the Man, that is, he is a Perſon by the Union of his Soul and Body, and when theſe are ſeparated, he is no more that Perſon: This is the acceptation of a Perſon among Men, in all common ſenſe, and as generally underſtood. And your making the change of a Wigg or a Coat to be putting on a new Perſon, is moſt ridiculous, notwithſtanding all your Philoſophy.

13. But you have made it thus, that, by way of your Analogy, you might make the Perſons of God to be Accidents like the other, nay, mere Modalities of Accident, that is, the nothing of nothing! And tho' you ſay there are no Accidents in God, yet you ſay, *Nevertheleſs his Perſons are Extra-eſſential*, that is, *Accidents!* And cannot you ſee ſo ſtaring a contradiction as this, uſher'd in with a *nevertheleſs*, that tho' it be ſo, it ſhall not be ſo! And why? That the Perſonalities which you propoſe to conſtitute the divine Perſons, may be ſufficiently analogous to the Perſonalities among Men!

14. But yet, Mr. *Clendon*, you will not ſuffer others to uſe any analogous expreſſions, or to call *Chriſt* the Son of God, or the natural Son of God, to diſtinguiſh him from Sons by adoption as we are call'd in a larger ſenſe: No, but you inveigh againſt thoſe, *Who* (ſay you) *methinks almoſt to a degree of prophaneneſs, call God the natural Father of our Saviour, and our Saviour the natural Son of God, as if the Deity did propagate after the manner of Men:* Thus you, p. 179. As if there could be no Analogy, unleſs God did directly propagate after the manner of Men! This is the ſuperfineneſs of the *Socinians*, and their ſagacity beyond all other ſort of Diſputants! It is ſaid *Luk.* III. 38. *Which was the Son of* Enos, *which was the Son of* Seth, *which was the Son of* Adam, *which was the Son of God.* Did God therefore beget *Adam*, juſt as *Seth* begat *Enos*? Elſe it wou'd not

be (as you call it) ſufficiently analogous to the Perſonalities among Men! O my dear Father *Clendon!*

15. Opening your Book by chance juſt now, I find another ſort of Perſonalities which I did not take notice of before, that is, the Perſonality of *Ubi*, or Locality, that a Man becomes a different Perſon from every new place he is in. And *from hence* (ſay you at the end of p. 160.) *reſults the different Perſonality of* John *at* Noke *from* John *at* Style. But if *John* committed a robbery at *Noke*, wou'd you hang *John* at *Style* for it? For tho' it is the ſame Man, yet it is not the ſame Perſon! Or cou'd you hang the Man and ſave the Perſon? Come, Mr. *Clendon*, you are a Lawyer (or ſhould be) you have conſidered the claſſical and philoſophical meaning of the word Perſon, what think you of the legal? If you were a Judge, how wou'd you correct a ſilly manner us'd of giving Evidence? When a Countrey Fellow came into Court at *Noke*, and ſwore that the Priſoner at the Bar did rob him at *Style*, and that this was the ſame Perſon: How wou'd you rebuke the ignorance of that Clown, and tell him it was not the ſame Perſon, for the Man was now in another *Ubi*, and had left the other Perſon behind him! How mazed wou'd the poor Fellow look, and run back to *Style* to find the Perſon that robbed him! This brings me to ask from you, Mr. *Clendon*, what becomes of all the dead Perſonalities? For ſince a Man changes his Perſon every ſtep he takes, there muſt be an infinite number of theſe caſt-off Perſons in the World! And what becomes of them? Are they nothings or ſomethings? Are they Subſtance, Adjuncts, Accidents, or Modalities? Let this be the ſubject next Clubb-night; and add, that ſince God has Ubiquity, and is in every place, how many Perſonalities he muſt have? And why then he ſhould be confined, to three Perſons only! Your Philoſophy will make work with this! And let the reſult of your *Divan* be ſent to the Tattler, that he may publiſh it to the World, for he is acquainted with your Clubb.

16. If you think this making too merry with your Maſterſhip, I muſt tell you, it is as ſerious as all your Philoſophy; which plays a thouſand Monkey tricks, but like that grave animal keeps his countenance when he ſhews his naked—— climbing up the Porphyry Tree. Your dumfoundering pleaſes you mightily, and tho' upon a ſerious ſubject, you bring it in often: p. 27, 111, 165, *&c.* It is youthful and gay, and I ſuppoſe makes a good jeſt at the Trumpet! To ſee Children play is a diverſion; but to ſee an old Man beſtride a Hobby-Horſe has ſomething monſtrous in it! *And yet* (as you ſay well p. 110.) *we ſee how big ſome Men look, and even in their elder years value themſelves upon their skill in this ſort of Theology, which is in truth vain Philoſophy.*

VIII. But I have not done with you yet, Mr. *Clendon.* To compleat your banter upon the holy Trinity, you have founded it upon an Act of Parliament of 9 and 10 *William* III. better to you then an hundred Councils to ſettle points of Faith! And you call your Book an *Expoſition of this Act of Parliament*——That you might keep within the verge of your own profeſſion. It had been better for you if you had: But you wou'd be good at ſomething!

1. You ſay, p. 223. "The explication therefore of theſe words Perſon "and Perſonality, to ſuch a ſenſe as was intended by this Act of Parlia- "ment, is what I have eſſayed in this Diſcourſe—— It is an old ſaying, "*Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, which if it ever be true, muſt be ſo of our moſt "auguſt parliamentary Aſſembly—— And there is no doubt but the ſame "holy Spirit that guided the Pens of our inſpired Writers, did conſpire "with our Legiſlators in making this Law.

2. But that we may not miſtake what you, Sir, mean by our Legiſlators, you explain it in the foregoing page, p. 222, where you ſay, *That it was high time for our Lay-Legiſlation to take the matter in hand.* Here you take care to exclude the Biſhops from having any ſhare or concern in ſettling the Doctrine of the holy Trinity. If they had been included, you would not have attributed to the Parliament ſuch a direction of the holy Spirit as was given to the Pen-Men of the holy Scriptures.

3. The Church of *Rome* never did or could aſſert the infallibility of her Popes or Councils in an higher ſtrain than this: And if this Gentleman's word went for any thing, their argument againſt us would be unanſwerable, that ours is a parliamentary Religion.

4. But I ſuſpect him not of Popery, tho' he thus favours it. I rather think he is a Deiſt, and ſerves that Cauſe not a little, in making our Parliaments (but without the Biſhops) to be infallible, and the foundation of our Faith, even in the holy Trinity! Who ſees not this to be a banter upon Religion, Church, and Parliament?

5. He pleads for his notion of the Trinity, as being now a Law, ſince the 9 and 10 of *William* III. And ſays p. 223. *This is what our Act of Parliament hath rightly eſtabliſhed for Law, and not to be denied: And this it hath done with a Lenity peculiar to Lay-Legiſlation: No direful Anathema denounc'd*, &c. Here again he excludes the Biſhops, they muſt have no hand in any good thing! Lenity is peculiar to Lay-Legiſlation! And was it not great Lenity that this Lay-Legiſlation did not denounce Anathema's? No doubt he thinks they have as much right to do it as all the Biſhops in the World! For it is *Vox Populi*, that is, *Vox Dei* with him; and the rather becauſe it was the voices of the People that prevailed, when they cryed *crucify*——

6. *It is high time therefore* (ſays he, p. 218.) *for us, of the Laity I mean, to think for our ſelves, and not depend upon thoſe ſcanty guides* (of the Clergy) *for our inſtruction in matters of ſo great importance.*

7. But he is very civil to the Church of *England*, all this notwithſtanding! For he makes her, as well as the Parliament, to teach the ſame Doctrine as to the Trinity that he has ſet down; and, on that account, would fain complement her out of the Catholick Church: He oppoſes them to each other, and takes part with the Church of *England.* He ſays p. 194. *The Catholick Church, and the Catholick Doctrine, is the uſual dialect they talk in; and why not the Church of* England, *I'd fain know?* Then he prefers what he calls her Doctrine (that is, his own) to that of the Catholick Church: And ſays, p. 195. *Her purer faith and Doctrine have the holy Scriptures for their authority, and the Laws of* England *for their eſtabliſhment: The higheſt Sanction that can be given by human Power.* What, Mr. *Clendon*, higher than the Sanction of the Government in any other Country? But you only mean higher than any eccleſiaſtical Sanction of all Councils or Biſhops, tho' of the whole Earth; for you have declar'd your ſelf to be only for Lay-Legiſlations, tho' in matters of Faith or Doctrine. You go over again this of diſtinguiſhing the Church of *England* from the Catholick Church, p. 183, 186, 216, 218, *&c.* You thought this a pure touch, to perſuade her to depend for her Faith upon the Sanction only of an Act of Parliament!

8. But after all, the words in that Act are ſound words, and the Penalties are againſt any who *ſhall deny any one of the Perſons in the holy Trinity to be God.* And the directions you mention (p. 1.) to the Biſhops are, *That none ſhall preſume to deliver any other Doctrine concerning the bleſſed Trinity than what is contained in the Scriptures.* And where will you find there your Quoddities and Quiddities, your Modalities and Perſonalities?

ſonalities? So that you have manifeſtly gone againſt theſe Directions: And you have philoſophized the Perſons in the holy Trinity into mere Manifeſtations, which are no Perſons at all; and therefore have directly incurred all the Penalties in that Act of Parliament.

9. And for the Church of *England*, ſhe abhors and deteſts as heretical your wild opinions. Do you not know that both the *Nicene* and *Athanaſian* Creeds (which you battle) are in her Liturgy, and that every word of that Liturgy is confirmed by Act of Parliament?

Does not the ſecond Article of the Church of *England* declare, that *The Son which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlaſting of the Father, the very and eternal God of one Subſtance with the Father, took Man's Nature*, &c. And do you not expreſſly deny the eternal Generation of the Son, or that he had any exiſtence (beſides ideal in the divine intellect, as all other Creatures had) before his Incarnation? This you aſſert, p. 169, 170, and 211.

Do you not know that the Church of *England* owns the four firſt general Councils, which eſtabliſh thoſe Doctrines you have diſputed againſt? And they were long after *Adrian*, ſince which time you bid adieu to the true Faith, and the Catholick Church.

10. You are ſunk below *Arianiſm*, into the very dregs of *Socinianiſm*; you allow the Son of God no exiſtence with his Father before he took our Nature upon him in the Womb of the bleſſed Virgin.

And betwixt *Socinianiſm* and Deiſm the partition is very thin, as betwixt that and *Atheiſm*: Of which your parliamentary infallibility, equal to that of the holy Scriptures, ſmells very rank. It is directly denying the divine authority of the holy Scriptures, which comes expreſſly under the Penalties of that Act you have choſen for your text. As likewiſe your bantering St. *John*, that he was not a match for the Philoſophers, and yet that the poor old Man muſt write! And that he borrow'd his notion of the *Logos* or Word of God from *Plato*; and you make it mere Heatheniſm: Is not this *denying the chriſtian Religion to be true?* Which is another Article in that Act; and what chriſtian Religion do you think they meant? Only that before *Adrian*: And what Catholick Church is it which the Church of *England* prays for daily in her Liturgy? Is it that which has been extinct ever ſince *Adrian?*

This is Mr. *Clendon*'s firſt offence againſt this Act, that is, in print: And the Penalty of that (as he ſets it down, p. 2.) is, to be *incapable of any office or employment*. But this will do Mr. *Clendon* little hurt, who is better known in *Sheer-Lane* than in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. And if they leave him but his office of Reader at the Trumpet to propagate his Religion, he is in his Kingdom!

11. But to compleat his character he lets us know that he is a Whigg too: But that is no great news, for all Deiſts are ſo; I will not ſay all Whiggs are Deiſts, but the exceptions are not many, and I will not be bound to name them. He brings high and low Church into this diſpute, p. 216. and ſpeaking of thoſe who adhere to the Primitive and Catholick Church, he ſays, *Surely they muſt be the high Church that is ſo much talk'd of*. Then he brings in thoſe whoſe Doctrine is *authenticated by the Laws of the Land*, and calls theſe *our Mother the Church of* England, and ſays, theſe *muſt be the low Church*. If they gave him a fee to plead thus for them, he has well deſerv'd it!

12. But he ſingles out ſome to commend more eſpecially, thoſe particularly who have had the honour to be ſuſpected of *Socinianiſm*. He ſays, p. 201, 202. That *Dr.* Tillotſon, *the late excellent Arch-biſhop of* Canterbury, *the good Man was reflected upon, becauſe he was ſo ingenious as to own the* Socinian

nian *Writers to be fair and civil Adverſaries, and to argue with ſmartneſs and ſubtilty*, &c. And he ſays, *That theſe Catholick Church Men had their fling at the late pious and learned Biſhop of* Ely, *Dr.* Patrick *for the firſt part of his* Witneſſes to Chriſtianity.

But he ſpends from p. 202. to p. 207. Upon the preſent Arch biſhop of *Canterbury, his Grace, who* (ſays Mr. *Clendon*) *in his younger time wrote a moſt excellent Diſcourſe of Idolatry*, which he goes on explaining to p. 207. where he ſays, *And his Grace tells us further, that they who ſtiffly oppoſed the miniſtration of the Λόγος or Son, gave ſuſpicion to jealous heads, as if they looked towards* Racovia. Then adds, *To come at this has been the occaſion of my digreſſion all this while; that I might take notice that his Grace in thoſe days did obſerve and was aware of the then common Calumny of* Socinianiſm, *as well as others.* And, Mr. *Clendon*, if you had thought there had been nothing of it in thoſe words of his Grace, which you have been at ſo much pains to pick out, we had not heard of it from you: But you think theſe words of his do look as if he ſtiffly oppos'd the miniſtration of the Λόγος or Son of God, in the Creation of the World, and the Manifeſtations or Appearances of God in the Old Teſtament, particularly that upon Mount *Sinai* at the giving of the Law, contrary to the current of the Primitive Fathers; only that as you ſay in the following words, *His Grace manag'd that Diſcourſe with ſo much learning and caution, that he was proof againſt all their reproaches of that kind.* What Service you have done his Grace by this Vindication, I know not; but you think it for his honour! And you are fond of it, you are at him again, p. 212. and ſay, *As for the other matter of the Λόγος delivering the Law to* Moſes, *his Grace tells us it was branded by* Grotius *for an error.* Now to the next: You go on p. 214.

" I will add but one inſtance more touching this ſo frequent Calumny of " *Socinianiſm.* The preſent great and learned Biſhop of *Sarum*, becauſe " in his Diſcourſe to his Clergy, and in his Expoſition of the 39 Articles, " he dropt ſome expreſſions that were out of the common road of our ſy- " ſtematical Divines, how fiercely was he attack'd by the Rector of *Kil-* " *mington* on the one hand, and the Examiner of his ſecond Article on the " other, and by both charged with *Socinianiſm?*

He ſays nothing in defence of this good Biſhop, but leaves him to himſelf; and goes on to leſſen the prejudices againſt *Socinianiſm.*

13. But to any who ſpeak againſt *Socinianiſm*, you ſhall ſee how he keeps his Patience, and ſpends his Wit! Thus he treats the Reverend Mr. *Hill* of *Kilmington*, p. 133. for his daring to oppoſe the Biſhop of *Sarum* as to *Socinianiſm*; he ſays of him, *His ſour crabbed Aſpect, apparent in his inſolent and abuſive Language to that great Biſhop, whoſe Books he is not worthy to carry after him*——The old Man is angry! But I muſt give you a whole Paragraph of his upon the ſame ſubject, p. 134. becauſe it is ſingular for Wit and Temper, and variety of Thought: Thus,

" Next, we have in his looks and lineaments, and gravity of feature, " which ſpeaks him able for profound Theory and penetrating Thought, " by which he can ſee as far into a Mill-ſtone as any Man, and compre- " hends the three *Hypoſtaſes* as well as thoſe that lived fourteen or fifteen " hundred Years ago, or more. Add to this, that he has withall a ſharp- " neſs and ſagacity of *Phyz*, from whence he is able craftily to ſecrete " and conceal his three *Hypoſtaſes* under his technical or artificial term, " Perſons. Thus is his Diſcourſe a perfect copy of his countenance, and " ſo doth truly ſignify his own Perſon, (for you know *Phyz* is *Perſon.*) " I will add but one word farther, and that is what the Gentleman ſays of " himſelf in his Preface, *(viz.)* That theſe points had then employ'd his

" Theories for above ſeven and twenty years. Alas for him, poor Gen-
" tleman! He ſpent his time to good purpoſe, did he not?

You are cruel ſharp upon him, Mr. *Clendon!* Beſides your *Hey-day, Hey-day,* which you often give as an anſwer to his arguments; as p. 129, *&c.* and was not his twenty ſeven years as well ſpent, as if he had employ'd ſeventy to loſe common ſenſe in your Philoſophy! But after all, his *Phyz* is better than your own, Mr. *Clendon,* and therefore he is a better Perſon by your Philoſophy: And you come off the ſeverity of your character; for p. 133. juſt after his *ſour crabbed Aſpect,* you add, *But this is not without ſomewhat of a ſoft and pleaſing Air.* This was to ſhew how ſweet and how ſour you cou'd be!

14. And as you juſtify the Biſhop of *Sarum* againſt Mr. *Hill* with a *Hey-day,* ſo you defend him againſt the *Animadverter* upon his *Expoſition* of the ſecond Article with a *Hah-ha-ha.* The *Animadverter* had own'd that there was a Myſtery in the Trinity of God, at which you break out into a loud laugh, p. 153, and cry *Ha-ha-ha! Is it come to this at laſt?* As you ſay, p. 194. *We muſt not be fobb'd off with Myſtery.* You have made the Trinity of God as plain as that of the Queen, without any Myſtery at all in it! And all this by your wonderful account of the word *Perſon.*

IX. But, Mr. *Clendon,* you have made no diſcovery with all your pains. For who knows not that the word *Perſon* (like other words) may be taken in different ſenſes? That Orators and Logicians ſpeak not in the ſame ſtrictneſs of terms? Yet from *Cicero* you wou'd confute the Schools! In whoſe reſtrained ſenſe you take thoſe words which were in uſe before ſuch reſtraint or limitation was put upon them. Thus the *Hypoſtaſes* among the *Greeks* was not underſtood with reſpect to the after niceties of Subſtance, Subſiſtence, *&c.* upon which you ring all your changes, and wou'd infer Tritheiſm from the three *Hypoſtaſes:* Tho' you cannot deny but that they ſufficiently declared themſelves againſt it. And again, the broaching of freſh hereſies ſtill occaſion'd more and more reſtriction of the ſenſe of words relating to thoſe queſtions, to new and different meanings.

X. And no Man takes greater latitude in this matter than your ſelf: As at the end of p. 109, and beginning of p. 110. where you come to anſwer that text, *Col.* II. 9. *In him* (Chriſt) *dwelleth all the fullneſs of the Godhead bodily.* You ſay, p. 110. *I cannot but think there is more Rhetorick than Metaphyſicks imply'd in the Phraſeology, and that a Metaphor from Houſe-dwelling was plainly intended.* This was to bring it to the *Socinian* notion, That God the Word was not *made Fleſh* (as it is ſaid *John* I. 14.) or took our Nature upon him; but only that he dwelt in Fleſh, in the Perſon of the Man *Jeſus,* as a Man dwells in an Houſe, which makes not the Man to be the Houſe, nor the Houſe to be the Man: And this will make *Chriſt* to be no more God than any Prophet or Apoſtle or other good Man, in whom God, by his holy Spirit, is ſaid to dwell. I will grant you that the word *dwelling* or *in-dwelling* is here a Metaphor: But, Sir, the ſtreſs lies in the word *fullneſs;* and to purſue the Metaphor, if you cou'd find an Houſe or Habitation which could contain all the fullneſs of the Godhead, that Houſe would be God, becauſe nothing that is not infinite can contain infinite, And therefore ſuch expreſſion was never uſed of any Prophet or Apoſtle, or of any Angel in Heaven, but of *Chriſt* our Lord only.

But when you are pinched here, you come off with calling this only a piece of Rhetorick! And yet at the ſame time you will allow no latitude for the word *Hypoſtaſes* or *Perſon,* as differently underſtood at ſeveral

times; but reſtrain them to the modern niceties of the Schools: And yet you battle theſe with the latitude uſed by Orators, who you are ſenſible did not oblige themſelves to that ſtrictneſs of Phraſeology as the Philoſophers and Logicians. So that you play faſt and looſe; ſometimes you are upon the high rope, and nothing can ſtop your ſwing; then Phraſeology and Rhetorical ſolves the moſt expreſs texts can be brought againſt you! At other times you ſtraiten the terms to the utmoſt rigour, and dance all your changes upon them, and give them different Airs as they make for or againſt you. Your whole Book and all the Philoſophy in it is nothing but playing with words: Which if they may be underſtood in the plain and common acceptation, as uſed by all the World, and in all other matters; the *Socinians* muſt give up the cauſe, and yield to thoſe many and expreſs texts of holy Scripture, which aſſert the Divinity of *Chriſt*, and the adorable Trinity of God; and were ſo underſtood by thoſe to whom the Apoſtles deliver'd theſe Doctrines by word of Mouth, as well as in writing, and who therefore were moſt capable to know their true meaning; and who delivered down theſe Doctrines to the after ages of the Church, which are ſtill retained in all chriſtian Churches to this day: All which I hope I have made fully appear in the foregoing *Dialogues*; and that it will appear more plain to all judicious Readers, upon the detection of theſe poor ſhifts made uſe of by the adverſaries to the chriſtian Doctrine; and which they confeſs they never would have made uſe of, nor would have thought of them, but for the ſeeming contradictions they apprehended were contained in theſe Doctrines. And therefore were forced to ſtruggle with all their wit againſt the plain, very plain revelation of them in the holy Scriptures, ſo plain, that they themſelves do own, they would have received them as the chriſtian Church does, and has done from the beginning, but for the contradiction they conceived in them: And that for this only cauſe they have put thoſe conſtrained meanings upon the words of the Scriptures, in this matter only, and different from the uſe of theſe words upon any other ſubject whatſoever: And likewiſe after having in vain attempted to gain to their ſide the Primitive Fathers before the firſt Council of *Nice*, now laſtly, as Mr. *Clendon* does, to throw off Fathers and Councils and all Church Evidence or Authority: And this their notion of contradiction in theſe divine Myſteries, ariſing merely from their applying to God the words uſed among Men (for we can underſtand none other) and that ſtrictly and properly as belonging to Men, and in this ſenſe adapting them to God, and meaſuring the infinite by our finite Nature. For this reaſon I began my *Dialogues* with removing this Objection, and ſhewing the unreaſonableneſs (and in ſeveral inſtances there produced) of inferring a contradiction in a Nature we do not underſtand, from the like being a contradiction in another Nature which we do underſtand. This was battled in the *Remarks* upon my *firſt Dialogue*; but I hope it has ſtood its ground in the defences I have made: And the more, for that after all this conteſt, they cannot now ſhew any contradiction, but in this ſame method I have detected, and which I have forced the Remarker himſelf to confeſs is moſt unreaſonable and abſurd: And yet they ſtill ſtick to it, tho' at the ſame time they deny it! Which is giving up the argument; for it is apparent; becauſe they cannot (after all the provocations given them) find out any other way to ſhew a contradiction in theſe Doctrines: And they have labour'd it with all their skill, but cannot find it: And I think no cauſe can be reduced or detected to a greater degree than this; for it is proving againſt them out of their own Mouths!

I hope now I have ended my labour upon this moſt important ſubject. If I have ſaid any thing to confirm the Faith, the Glory is to God: And let my infirmities be excuſed, that I could do it no better.

CON-

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10. *He makes himſelf an Atheiſt.* ibid.
11. *He is Wigg and Low-Church.* ibid.
12. *He vindicates Arch-biſhop* Tillotſon, *Biſhop* Patrick, *the preſent Arch-biſhop of* Canterbury, *and Biſhop of* Sarum, *for being ſuſpected of* Socinianiſm. ibid.
13. *He claws off Mr.* Hill *very wittily, for writing againſt the Biſhop of* Sarum. 453.
14. *And anſwers the Animadverter upon his Lorſhip with a* Ha-ha-ha. 454.
IX. *Words alter their meaning by diſputes.* ibid.
X. *He plays faſt and loſe with them.* ibid.
A ſummary account of the deſign of my Dialogues, and of the anſwers made to them. ibid.

THE

THE

CASE

STATED,

BETWEEN THE

Church of *ROME*

AND THE

Church of England;

Wherein is ſhewed,

That the DOUBT and DANGER is in the former, and the CERTAINTY and SAFETY in the latter Communion.

For their rock is not as our rock, even our enemies themſelves being judges. Deut. xxii. 31.

2. The Scholars say, it was
from the mistake of some texts
of Scripture, and could not be
the true opinion of any Man. ibid.
3. The Heathens had it from the
Old Testament. ibid.
4. Forgetting Plato, he makes the
Jews the first ... ibid.
VII. His ... ibid.
1. He can make a hundred Per-
sons of one Man.
2. His excellent Latinity from
Tacitus.
3. He would not let a Pope
be ... Pope with all the
Cardinals ... be ... every
Pope ... Queen, making
of the Trinity.
He knows not the ... between Substance and Act.
He makes the Queen drop one ... of her Titles.
He makes the Queen drop one ... of her Titles.
VIII. He grounds the Doctrine of the Trinity upon an Act of Parliament of King William.
1. Where he makes an ... at the holy Scripture.
2. Excluding the Bishops.
3. He ... Tertullian ... Reason.
4. Tertullian only in Latin.
5. Latin only in Latin.
6. Tertullian ... Reason.
7. He ... Tertullian ... Reason.
8. He ... Tertullian ... Reason.
9. He ... Tertullian ... Reason.
10. He ... Tertullian ... Reason.
11. He ... Tertullian ... Reason.
12. He ... Tertullian ... Reason.
13. He ... Tertullian ... Reason.
14. He ... Tertullian ... Reason.
15. He ... Tertullian ... Reason.

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Where is shewed,

That the Doubt and DANGER is in the former, and the CERTAINTY and SAFETY in the latter Communion.

A

CONVERSATION

BETWIXT AN

Engliſh Roman Catholick NOBLEMAN

AND A

GENTLEMAN his Friend

OF THE

CHURCH of *ENGLAND*.

LORD. IT is hard that by your late Act of Parliament, I muſt either loſe my Eſtate or change my Religion.

GENTLEMAN. I think your Lordſhip ought not to loſe your Eſtate, till you have firſt conſidered how far your conſcience will allow you to conform to what is required of you.

LORD. If I thought I cou'd ſave my Soul in the Church of *England*, I would think my ſelf obliged to preſerve my Right and Poſterity.

GENT. Pray, my Lord, what is there in the Communion of the Church of *England* ſhould make you think your Soul in any danger? Would there be any hazard of your Soul if there were no invocation of Saints that are dead, in the publick offices of the Church: No Pictures or Images of God to be ſeen there: No elevation of the Hoſt, which was but of late Years brought into the Church: No Prayers for Souls out of Purgatory: If the publick Prayers were in the vulgar Tongue: And if the Sacrament were given in both kinds? For theſe are all the differences you will find betwixt your publick Offices and ours.

LORD. But I muſt keep in the Communion of the Church, elſe I think I cannot ſave my Soul.

GENT. Your Lordſhip means in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*.

1. LORD. Yes, for ſhe is the Mother Church, and center of Unity to all other Churches, inſomuch that who are not of her Communion, are out of the pale of the catholick Church.

GENT. My Lord, it is certain that *Jeruſalem* was the Mother Church, where *Chriſt* firſt planted the Goſpel, and commanded that it ſhould be thence propagated to all other Nations, as he himſelf ſaid, *beginning at* Jeruſalem. And till after the Viſion of the Sheet to St. *Peter*, Acts x. No *Gentile* was admitted, as it is ſaid, *They travelled—— Preaching the word to none but unto the* Jews *only*. So that the *Jewiſh* chriſtian Church was the only Church for ſome time, and ſhe it was who converted the *Gentile* Nations, and therefore was the Mother Church to them all.

Luke xxiv. 47.

Acts xi. 19.

And *Rome* was not the firſt *Gentile* Church, for *the Diſciples were called Chriſtians firſt in* Antioch. And the *Greek* Church was before the *Latin*; the New Teſtament was wrote in *Greek* for their uſe, therefore the *Greek* Church cou'd not be the Daughter of the *Latin* Church, which was born after her.

Acts xi. 26.

2. LORD. But St. *Peter* having been Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Chriſt* having conſtituted him to be the head of the catholick Church throughout the whole World, the ſame muſt deſcend to his Succeſſors the Biſhops of *Rome*.

GENT. This will not make her the Mother Church: You may call her Supreme, Abſolute, Univerſal, or what you pleaſe, any thing but the Mother Church, to which it is impoſſible ſhe ſhould have any title.

In the converſion of the *Gentiles* to Chriſtianity, one Man and one Nation muſt receive the Faith before another, they were not all converted on a day: And as when one Man converts another, ſo it is of Churches and Nations, it gives the one no ſuperiority over the other, except that of gratitude and eſteem, but nothing of Authority.

But whatever the privilege of the Mother Church may be, if it can be tranſlated from the Mother to the Daughter, from one Church to another, from *Jeruſalem* to *Antioch*, and thence to *Rome*, as you muſt be obliged to ſay; then it may be tranſlated from *Rome* alſo to ſome other Church, unleſs ſome poſitive command of *Chriſt* can be produced, firſt to fix it at *Rome*, and then a promiſe that it ſhall never thence be removed: But the Church of *Rome* is not once named in all the New Teſtament, unleſs ſhe is meant by the *Church at* Babylon. Nor is there any promiſe whatſoever made to her, or any the leaſt intimation of her being the head of the Churches, the ſtandard and center of Unity to them all. Strange! if that be the *Summa rei Chriſtianæ*, as *Bellarmin* calls it (in the Preface to his Book *de Romano Pontifice)* the *Summ and Foundation of the chriſtian Religion*.

1 Pet. v. 13.

And as ſilent are the Scriptures concerning the ſuppoſed univerſal Supremacy of St. *Peter*, or that he ever was at *Rome*, or Biſhop of *Rome*. Some after-Writers have mentioned it; but that is far from ſuch an univerſal Tradition as is ſufficient for the mighty ſuper-ſtructure which is raiſed upon it. But let it be granted it ſignifies nothing, becauſe all is founded upon ſome words ſaid to St. *Peter*, ſuch as, *Thou art* Peter—— *Feed my Sheep*, &c. which cannot be ſtrained to ſuch an univerſal Supremacy as the Popes have claimed, nor were ſo underſtood in the primitive Church: For which I refer your Lordſhip to a Book I know you value, and favoured me with the peruſal of it, the learned Monſieur *du Pin* his *Traité de la Puiſſance Eccleſiaſtique & Temporelle*. Printed at *Paris*, 1707. where p. 495. to p. 501. and p. 754. to p. 765. you will find all theſe texts urg'd for the Supremacy

macy of St. *Peter*, answered in the same manner as is done by the Protestant Writers, and it is shewed how very foreign they are from the purpose intended.

And that the *Rock upon* which *Christ* said he would *build* his Church was not *Peter*, but the Faith which *Peter* then confessed, your Lordship may see the current sense of the Fathers, and consult at your leisure St. *Augustine*, de Verb. Dom. Ser. 13. *Nazianzen* de Vet. Testam. St. *Cyril*, de Trin. lib. 4. St. *Chrysostom*, Hom. 55. in Matth. St. *Ambrose*, com. in Ephes. 2. *Hilary*, de Trin. lib. 2. cap. 6. And there are many others. Mat. xvi. 18.

But nothing that was said of St. *Peter* is so express for an universal Supremacy as what St. *Paul* said of himself, That *the care of all the Churches* lay upon him. And again, *So ordain I in all Churches.* If such a decretal could be produced of St. *Peter's*, I doubt not it would have been made use of towards proving his universal Supremacy: In the *Acts* of the Apostles it is told that St. *Paul* was at *Rome* preaching the Gospel two whole years together, *Acts* xxviii. 30, 31. But not a word of St. *Peter's* being there: And as St. *Paul* planted the Gospel at *Rome*, so he wrote to the Church there as his particular charge; for he says, *I speak to you* Gentiles, *in as much as I am the Apostle of the* Gentiles, *I magnify mine office.* But St. *Peter* was the Apostle of the *Jews*, they were his particular charge; and he himself allowed, *that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to* Paul, *as the Gospel of the circumcision was to himself:* And accordingly he directed his Epistle to the *Jews* of the dispersion who were *Strangers scattered throughout* Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, *and* Bithynia. But he wrote not to the *Gentiles*, particularly not to *Rome*, which would seem strange if he had been Bishop of *Rome*, and that had been his chief and principal charge. And St. *Paul's withstanding him to the Face* before the whole Church of *Antioch*, in behalf of the *Gentiles* whom he had misled, *fearing them who were of the Circumcision*, shews the care St. *Paul* took of those who were more particularly his charge; and seems a behaviour not very suitable to the supreme head of the Church both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, if St. *Paul* had known any thing of St. *Peter's* being so constituted by *Christ*. 2 Cor. xi. 28. 1 Cor. vii. 17. Rom. xi. 13. Gal. ii. 7, 8, 9.

And as little had it become the other Apostles to send their Sovereign upon business, as they sent *Peter* to *Samaria*. Acts viii. 14.

But if, as some say, St. *Peter* was Bishop of the *Jewish* Converts at *Rome*, and St. *Paul* of the *Gentiles* there, St. *Paul* wou'd have had a much greater flock than St. *Peter*, and the Successors of St. *Paul*, and not of St. *Peter*, must have been Bishops there, because the Church of *Rome* is now, and has long been all of the *Gentiles*.

But the surest way to find out the truth is by fact, and not straining expressions, which may have several meanings: The eastern Monarchs have used to give themselves mighty titles, as Son of the Sun, and Brother of the Stars, and King of all the Kings of the Earth, *&c.* but will any believe that any of them was the universal Monarch for all this, contrary to plain fact?

Pray, my Lord, let me ask you, do you think one could write the History of a King? Suppose of King *Charles* the II. and in all the History neither call him King, mention his Restoration, Coronation, or tell of one regal act ever he did, as calling a Parliament, or presiding in it, sending or receiving an Ambassador, or granting a Commission, *&c.* And so of a Pope, could his History be wrote without calling him Pope, or telling of one papal act of his?

LORD. No, it is impossible, for such an History could not be called the History of a King, or of a Pope.

GENT. Now, my Lord, let me apply this: We have the Hiſtory of the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, in which St. *Peter* has a great ſhare, though not ſo much as St. *Paul*, and there is a Council mentioned wherein both of them were preſent; and there is not a tittle of any ſuperiority of St. *Peter* over St. *Paul*, or any other of the Apoſtles, either in that Council of any where elſe throughout that whole Hiſtory, which, as your Lordſhip has determined, is impoſſible if St. *Peter* had that ſupremacy which the Popes have claimed as his Succeſſors.

This is ſo demonſtrative a proof that the Writers on your ſide think it neceſſary for them to endeavour ſome ſolution to it: But the weakneſs of their anſwer is a yet greater confirmation on our ſide: For they can find no other way to get ſome ſuperiority to St. *Peter* in this Council than to ſuppoſe that he opened it, becauſe, as they ſay, he ſpoke firſt, which would not infer the ſupremacy they intend, if it were true; but it is plainly otherwiſe; for it is ſaid, *And when there had been much diſputing*, Peter *roſe up and ſaid*—— Nor did he ſpeak laſt, for after he had done, *Paul* and *Barnabas* declared the converſion of the *Gentiles*, by their means, without putting them under the Law, which was the point in debate; and after they had held their peace, St. *James* who was Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, where the Council was held, did, as Preſident, reſume what had been ſaid by St. *Peter* and others, and gave his definitive ſentence upon the whole, *Wherefore my ſentence is*—— And the decree of the Council was drawn up in the words of St. *James*. So that it is plain he cloſed the Council, whoever'd opened it or ſpoke firſt, which is not ſo material as to be told in this account of that Council; but diſmiſſing the Council, and putting an end to it, ſeems of greater authority: If what is ſaid of St. *James* here had been ſaid of St. *Peter*, I queſtion not it would have been made uſe of as a full proof of his Supremacy, and preſiding in that Council.

Acts xv. 7.

LORD. I muſt confeſs the Hiſtory of the New Teſtament is very barren, as to facts relating to the authority of St. *Peter* over the other Apoſtles: We muſt depend upon the texts before mentioned of *Feed my Sheep*, &c.

GENT. None of theſe texts are ſo expreſs as what I quoted of St. *Paul*. But if they were meant in that extent for which you produced them, it is impoſſible but that muſt appear in the facts of St. *Peter*, eſpecially in the part he bore in that Council at *Jeruſalem*: And facts are the ſureſt explanation of words.

We diſcourſe now only of authority, what authority one Apoſtle had over another, for that is the point wherein we are concerned: We ſpeak not of their Gifts and Graces, and their labours in propagating the Goſpel, wherein one might be more eminent and ſucceſsful than another, but this gave him no authority over the others: And in this alſo St. *Paul* had the preference, for *he laboured more abundantly than they all*. And all the Epiſtles almoſt are his, to the ſeveral Churches: And his Miracles and Converſations of Infidels take up a much greater part in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, than thoſe of St. *Peter*.

1 Cor. xv. 10.

I have ſaid ſo much of this matter, becauſe the ſuppoſed Supremacy of St. *Peter*, his being at *Rome*, and Biſhop of *Rome*, is the whole foundation of that Supremacy claimed by the Biſhop or Church of *Rome*.

And if that be ſo eſſential a point, and upon which the Unity of the Church depends, inſomuch that without it there is no Church at all, according to the Scheme drawn by modern *Rome*; it is inconceivable the Scriptures ſhould be ſo wholly ſilent in it, nay, ſhewing the very contrary in fact, as I have ſaid already concerning St. *Peter*. And when the direct queſtion was put to our bleſſed Saviour, upon the Conteſt among the Apoſtles

ſtles which of them ſhould be the greateſt, *Luk.* xxii. 24. I ſay, if this was ſo material a point as to the very being of the Church, it is inconceivable he ſhould not have determined it, but by his anſwer rather checkt the error of their thought, and left them all upon the level.

3. LORD. I would gladly know your notion of the Unity of the Church, if all Biſhops, as you ſay of the Apoſtles, were upon the level, without any head Biſhop, or Principle of Unity among them; for we are told that *Chriſt* has but one Church upon Earth.

GENT. Your Lordſhip may add, and in Heaven too; for all are one Church to *Chriſt*, of which he alone is the head: And one part being militant, the other triumphant, makes them not two Churches, but two States of the ſame Church; which is called *One Family in Heaven and Earth.* In like manner, Heaven, Earth, and Hell are one Kingdom to the great Creator, for *his Kingdom ruleth over all.* And of the Earth it is ſaid, *The Kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the Governor among the Nations.* All the Nations are one Kingdom to him: But he has appointed no univerſal Monarch as his Deputy of his Kingdom of the Earth, but each Nation is governed by their reſpective Rulers, independent of each other: For ſo his Wiſdom has diſpoſed, according to the capacity of his Creatures, for what Man would be ſufficient to govern the whole World? And where muſt the Seat be of this univerſal Monarch? Muſt he not have as many or more Deputies under him, as there are now Kings or Nations? And what prudence could prevent Defections and Rebellions in far diſtant Provinces. This has overthrown great Monarchies, which have fallen with their own weight: What then could ſupport an univerſal Monarchy? When Nations go to War, other Neighbour Kings and States may interpoſe, aſſiſt the oppreſſed, be Mediators and Guarantees of Peace: But this could not be in caſe of Defection from the univerſal Monarch, for who aſſiſt Rebels are Rebels themſelves. And ſuch Wars could not but end in the utter deſtruction of the one ſide or the other: Therefore God has conſulted beſt for the peace and ſafety of Mankind in diſtributing the World into ſeveral independent Governments, rather than to put all under the Dominion of one.

Eph. iii. 14.

Pſal. xxii. 28.

LORD. But when Nations are at war, where is the Unity of this one Kingdom of God upon Earth.

GENT. It is diſturbed where thoſe wars are, but it is not yet totally diſſolved; for there are Laws of War wherein all agree: There is ſtill what we call the Law of Nations, which as it maintains commerce in Peace, ſo it regulates the fury of War: And there is one Unity which nothing can diſſolve, that is, *God having made of one blood all Nations upon the Earth.* So that here is an Unity of relation, of humanity, and of common principles which all retain?

LORD. But how is this Unity kept?

GENT. Not as it ſhould be: But ſo as is conſiſtent with our fallen ſtate, and the corruptions of Mankind: It is not ſuch an Unity as is in God's Kingdom of Heaven; which yet was once diſturbed by Rebellion.

LORD. But there ought to be a ſtricter Unity in the Church than in the temporal World.

GENT. I wiſh it were ſo, but alas it is not: And the frailty of Man ſhews itſelf in the Church as well as in the State: The many hereſies and diviſions in the Church have rent her to pieces, and broke her Unity, as much as Wars have that of the temporal World.

LORD. That is for not adhering to the Head and univerſal Monarch of the Church.

GENT.

GENT. No, my Lord, it is that pretence in the Church of *Rome* has been the great cauſe of theſe diviſions: It has procured Peace in the Church, juſt as ſetting up an univerſal Monarchy would in the World, that is, fill it with more confuſion and bloodſhed than ever was in it, or could otherwiſe poſſibly be. For which reaſon God has appointed no univerſal Monarch in the Church more than in the State: For as *Gregory* the Great ſaid to *John* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, (who, upon the ſeat of the Empire being tranſlated thither, ſet up for an univerſal Supremacy in the Church) *If the Church ſhould come to depend upon one, it muſt ſuddenly fall.* And St. *Cyprian* ſaid, *That therefore* Chriſt *made the College of Biſhops numerous, that if one ſhould fall or turn heretical, the reſt might interpoſe for the ſaving of the Flock*: For he ſays, *there is but one Flock, and one Epiſcopate, of which every Biſhop has the whole in partnerſhip with the reſt. Epiſcopatus unus eſt, cujus à ſingulis in ſolidum pars tenetur.* This was the frame of the Church in his days, and before from the Apoſtles; this was the very ſtate of the Apoſtles themſelves, who thus ſhar'd of the Apoſtolat, the whole of which was given to each in partnerſhip, or in common with the reſt.

LORD. This then is your notion of the Church, that as all Nations upon the Earth are one Kingdom to God, ſo all chriſtian Churches are one Church to *Chriſt*, without any univerſal Monarch in either caſe: And that as the Unity of the World conſiſts in what we call the Law of Nations, which is common to all, ſo the Unity of the Church conſiſts in the common Chriſtianity wherein all agree.

If ſo, then every one who believeth in *Chriſt* is a Chriſtian.

GENT. Yes ſurely, as every one that believeth in *Mahomet* is a *Mahometan*.

LORD. Then there is no need to be of any Church, if you believe in *Chriſt* that is enough.

GENT. No, we muſt obey his commandments too, which oblige us to live peaceably and quietly as members of that Body or Church whereto we appertain, with chriſtian Love and Fellowſhip with all others, and not to make Schiſms and Diviſions by breaking Communion, where nothing ſinful is required as a condition of it. And when ſuch diſorderly Perſons are caſt out of the Church, or cut themſelves off by a cauſeleſs ſeparation, though they are no longer of the Church, yet they ceaſe not to be Chriſtians; (that is a *Noſtrum* of the Church of *Rome*) and they muſt anſwer for their Schiſm as for other ſins, all of which are damnable in their own nature, without repentance: And yet allowances are made for invincible ignorance occaſioned by the prejudices of Education, *&c.* but not for obſtinacy: No Society of Men will bear ſuch perverſe Members among them.

Now a Church is a Society profeſſing ſuch a Religion, be it true or falſe. Thus there is a Church of the *Jews*, of Heathens, of Chriſtians, and *Mahometans*. And I wou'd ask your Lordſhip which is any of theſe Churches? For inſtance, which is the Church of the *Mahometans*?

LORD. It is the *Turks*, *Moors*, *Perſians*, the great Mogul, *&c.*

GENT. Yet there is no chief Prieſt over all theſe, but every Church as well as Nation is independent of each other; and thus it is among the ſeveral Nations and Churches of the Heathens: The *Jews* were but one Nation, and a ſmall one, therefore they had as one King, ſo one High-Prieſt. There was ſomething like this in that part of the chriſtian Church which was within the *Roman* Empire: But to extend the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome* beyond the limits of the Emperor of *Rome*, even to all the chriſtian Churches in the World, is a fancy never came into the heads of any other Mortals, and is not neceſſary to denominate many Churches profeſſing the ſame

Religion

Religion to be one Church, as of the Heathens and *Mahometans*, all of which are called the Heathen, or the *Mahometan* Church or Churches; without any common head over them all: And there is not one word in Scripture appointing ſuch an univerſal head in the chriſtian Church, or altering this common ſentiment of Mankind, as to the meaning of the word Church, or taking it in any other ſenſe than commonly underſtood by all the World: And thus in our way of ſpeaking, when we ſay the Fathers of the Church, or the primitive Church, we mean not any particular Church, but the whole Body or Church of Chriſtians, tho' divided into many Nations or Churches.

LORD. But all in ſubordination to the Church of *Rome*.

GENT. What, before there was a Church of *Rome?* For there were chriſtian Churches before, as I have told you: And after there was a Church at *Rome*, the Biſhops and Fathers of thoſe times knew nothing of its Supremacy, far leſs of it's infallibility, nor ever appealed to it in their diſputes with Hereticks, which had been the ſhorteſt and the ſureſt way, and impoſſible to have been forgot, had it been known, and received as the current Faith, or but opinion of the Church. But on the contrary, other Churches have contended with that of *Rome*, and aſſerted their own liberties and independency upon her, when her encroachments began to ariſe and diſturb the Peace and Unity of the Church, which I ſhall ſhew you preſently: But this is only to let you ſee, that the Unity of the Church was then underſtood, not as being united under any one ſupreme Biſhop or Church; but in the concord and good agreement of the ſeveral Churches among themſelves, and in the Unity of the common Faith: Which Unity is deſcribed by their all having *one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm, and one Spirit*, from which they are called *one Body*. The *Unity of the Spirit* is their Unity with God, and the *Bond of Peace* is the Unity of the Churches with each other, as Members of the ſame Body: And this is a much ſtricter and cloſer Union than that of the ſecular World. All Churches agree in that ſummary of our Faith called the Apoſtles Creed: And the Church of *Rome* her ſelf muſt think this ſufficient for Salvation, becauſe ſhe requires no other profeſſion of Faith in Baptiſm, or for being admitted into the Church: But the twelve new Articles of Faith which the Council of *Trent* has added to the twelve of the Apoſtles, which we call Pope *Pius*'s Creed, and is required to be profeſſed by Converts, has made many conteſts and diviſions in the Church; and I have not yet met with any Roman Catholick ſo hardy as to ſay, that the belief of all theſe is neceſſary to Salvation, only that we ſhould not deny or oppoſe them, ſuch as Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, *&c.*

Ephes. iv. 3, 4, 5.

4. LORD. The Church pretends not to make new Articles of Faith, but only to explain the old ones: And ſuch are what you call the new Articles of *Trent*.

GENT. What Article in the Apoſtles Creed does Tranſubſtantiation explain? For there is nothing at all of the Sacraments in that Creed.

LORD. Are not the Sacraments then part of our Faith?

GENT. They are the Signs and Seals of our Faith as Circumciſion was called, *Rom.* iv. 11. but not the Faith itſelf, and therefore are not put into that ſummary of our Faith.

LORD. But are they not neceſſary to Salvation?

GENT. They are *generally neceſſary*, as our Catechiſm words it, that is, to be reverendly uſed when they may be had: But they are not abſolutely neceſſary, ſo that if our circumſtances, or places where we live are ſuch as not to afford us the opportunity of receiving the Sacraments, we ſhould be damned for want of them. I think none will ſay this; they are means of

God's appointment, therefore to be uſed, when we can have them; we are tyed to this, but God is not tyed to thoſe means to which he ties us; he can ſave without them.

LORD. But we have ſeven Sacraments, and you have but two.

GENT. That is, we take the word Sacrament in a ſtricter ſenſe than you do; and of the five which you have more than we, you cannot ſay that they are ſo much as generally neceſſary to Salvation, becauſe none can partake of them all, for your Sacrament of Orders excludes all the Laity, and that of Marriage the Clergy.

5. LORD. It is a ſad thing that the Church ſhould be divided about theſe matters. But we are all one, you are miſerably divided: How many Sects or Churches are there among you?

GENT. Not ſo many as with you.

LORD. How can that be? We have but one Church which we own as ſuch.

GENT. If a Church is anſwerable for all that break off from her, then you have all theſe Sects to reckon for, and us too, which is one more.

LORD. A Church is not anſwerable for thoſe who break off from her, becauſe they are no longer of her.

GENT. Then we are not anſwerable for thoſe Sects which break off from our Church.

LORD. But we are all one among our ſelves.

GENT. So is every Church or Sect; that is, thoſe who agree among themſelves, do agree. So that this is no more a mark of Unity than every diviſion of Men can plead, and every Sect.

6. LORD. But we are the great Body of Chriſtians from which all broke off.

GENT. No, my Lord, not the half, or ever were: The *Greek* Church is an elder Church than yours, ſo that you rather broke off from her, by ſetting up your univerſal Supremacy; which ſhe never owned, nor the many other numerous Churches in *Aſia*; nor the great and once famous Churches in *Africa*; nor the Empire of *Ruſſia* of vaſt extent in *Europe*, once a part of the *Greek* Church: Theſe never owned the Supremacy of *Rome*, and by far out number all that ever did own it, or were of her Communion as ſuch: And conſidering how many Kingdoms and Nations have broke off from her ſince the Reformation, her Communion is now reduced to a very ſmall part of the chriſtian Church, in compariſon of thoſe who differ from her.

LORD. But thoſe other Churches do not all communicate with each other.

GENT. Nor *Rome* with any of them, ſo that ſhe ſtands by her ſelf as other Churches do; and the moſt irreconcilable of any, becauſe by her Principles ſhe cannot communicate with any who will not own her Supremacy; which as it never was done by the greateſt part of the Catholick Church, ſo there is little appearance that ever it will be; for it is obſervable that no nation which broke off from *Rome* did ever return to her again: It is a hard matter for one that has eſcaped out of a ſnare, to be inveigled thither again. So that it is very viſible *Rome* has been upon the loſing hand about this two hundred years paſt; and that not only as to thoſe who have quite forſaken her, but as to the change of Principles and lowering her Supremacy and Infallibility amongſt thoſe who ſtill remain in her Communion, which I ſhall ſhew your Lordſhip preſently, and that old and new Popery are

are very different things, and that *Rome* it ſelf has in ſome meaſure been reformed by our Reformation.

I know nothing ſhould hinder me from communicating with the *Greek* Church, if I were there, while nothing ſinful were required of me as a condition of Communion, nor new Creeds to be impoſed on me: And ſo of the Churches of St. *Thomas*, the *Jacobites*, and others in the Eaſt of *Aſia*; of whom we have very imperfect and uncertain accounts: And ſo of the *Abyſſines*, the *Cophties*, and other Churches in *Africa*; the great Church of *Ruſſia* in *Europe*, &c. But *Rome*, while ſhe pretends to univerſal Supremacy, can communicate with none but with her ſelf: So that our Communion is much more extended or extendable than that of *Rome*. And this univerſal Supremacy is that which, moſt of any one thing in the World, hinders the Union and Communion of chriſtian Churches.

7. LORD. But though one Church may be ſupreme, yet the beſt part of the Roman Catholicks place not the infallibility there, but in a general or œcumenical Council where all Churches meet.

GENT. There never was ſuch a Council: The *Roman* Empire had the Vanity to call it ſelf the *Oikumene*, which we tranſlate, *All the World*, Luke II. 1. Hence the Councils called within that Empire ſtyled themſelves œcumenical, but no more truly ſo, than the *Roman* Empire was all the World. But the *Latin* Church was not ſo much as the *Oikumene* of the Empire, for *Greece* and other parts of the *Greek* Church in *Aſia* were in it, eſpecially after the Seat of the Empire was tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*; when they contended with *Rome* for the Supremacy: And the *Latin* Church was not then called by the name of the Church of *Rome*, as the learned *du Pin* ſays in his *Traité de la Puiſſance Eccleſiaſtique*, &c, p. 551. *It is true* (ſays he) *that at preſent the name of the Church of* Rome *is given to the Catholick Church, and that theſe two terms paſs for ſynonymous: But in antiquity no more was intended by the name of the Church of* Rome, *than the Church of the City of* Rome, *and the Popes in their ſubſcriptions or ſuperſcriptions took ſimply the quality of Biſhops of* Rome. *The* Greek *Schiſmaticks ſeem to be the firſt who gave the name of the Church of* Rome, *to all the Churches of the Weſt; whence the* Latins *made uſe of this to diſtinguiſh the Churches which communicated with the Church of* Rome, *from the* Greeks *who were ſeparated from her Communion. From this came the cuſtom to give the name of the Church of* Rome *to the Catholick Church: But the other Churches did not for this loſe their name, or their authority*, &c. Then he goes on to vindicate the Rights of every national Church, independent of the Church of *Rome*, and paſt her power to controul or alter: And the *Proceeding of the Parliament of* Paris, ptinted in the *Appendix*, tells the Pope that his Biſhoprick extends only to the Diocels of *Rome*, and his Patriarchat to thoſe Provinces called *Suburbicarian*; and that by taking upon him to excommunicate others unjuſtly, and where his power did not reach, he had excommunicated himſelf. And then he was ſo far from being head, that he was not ſo much a Member of the Church; and they mind him, as likewiſe *du Pin* in the Treatiſe before-mentioned p. 263. of the ſtout reſiſtence made by the Biſhops of *France* to the Pope who threatned to excommunicate all of them who would not ſubmit to his deciſion; but they reſolutely anſwered, that they would not ſubmit to his will, and that if he came there to excommunicate them, he ſhould go back excommunicated himſelf: *Si excommunicaturus veniret, excommunicatus abiret*. Now what is that head, which can be excommunicated by its Members? What is that Supremacy can be limited and controuled by its Subjects, and of which they are the Judges, and can ſay to it, as God to the Sea, *Hi-*

therto

therto ſhalt thou come and no farther, here ſhall thy proud Waves be ſtayed?

8. LORD. The Church of *France* place the abſolute Supremacy and the Infallibility not in the Pope or Church of *Rome*, but in a general Council.

GENT. Which, as I told you, never was, and it is next to impoſſible ever ſhould be.

And this gives up your whole foundation; for the Popes, and not Councils, pretend to be the Succeſſors of St. *Peter* and Heirs of all the Promiſes made to him.

In the next place, you are not agreed among your ſelves concerning general Councils. *Bellarmin* (*de Concil.* l. 1. c. 6.) gives a Liſt of general Councils which are to be rejected, *Concilia generalia reprobata*, ſome for not being approved by the Pope, ſome for hereſy, and ſome (he might have ſaid all) as not being received by the univerſal Church, but he meant only the Church of *Rome*. And chap. 7. is of general Councils, partly confirmed, and partly reprobated. And chap. 8. is of a general Council neither manifeſtly approved, nor manifeſtly rejected; this is going thro' all the degrees of uncertainty. And *c.* 5. and *de Rom. Pont. l.* 4. *c.* 11. he ſays, the ſeveral things in thoſe Councils allowed to be general were foiſted in by Hereticks, he knows not how: This was to get rid of ſome objections againſt theſe Councils he could not anſwer otherwiſe. And (*de Eccleſ. Milit. c.* 16.) he quotes the laſt Council of *Lateran* condemning the Council of *Baſil*, which he ſays was at firſt a true œcumenical Council, and infallible, but afterwards turned to a ſchiſmatical Conventicle, and was of no authority at all. The Church of *France* receives the Council of *Baſil* and *Conſtance* wholly and throughout; but the Church of *Rome* reject both in part: So that they who place the infallibility in Councils, will need another infallible Judge to determine theſe diſputes concerning the Councils; which are truly general, and which not; and which are partly ſo, and which throughout; and what part of thoſe that are throughout have been corrupted by Hereticks, if that can be called true throughout which is corrupted in any part. And when one Council condemns another, which ſhall we believe? And if we muſt not believe every Council that calls it ſelf œcumenical, we can believe no other Council againſt it, for the ſame reaſon: The ſecond Council of *Epheſus* is generally condemned in your Church; yet it called it ſelf œcumenical, and was as much ſo as any of the others: And what a thing is it to ſay, that a Council is partly right and partly wrong? And who is judge of that? Is there any certainty in this? far leſs infallibility? And we muſt have an infallible method too to preſerve the Acts of theſe Councils, that they be not adulterated, as *Bellarmin* ſays they have been; and they continue ſo to this day in the Volumes of their Councils: Why then are they not amended, and theſe ſuppoſitions and adulterated parts (theſe are *Bellarmin*'s own words) ſtruck out? But the ſeveral Editions of their Councils are in the hands of other Churches, and therefore they can make no alteration in them without being detected.

So that the ſcheme of the infallibility you place in your Councils ſtands thus: The Church of *Rome* makes her ſelf the Univerſal or Catholick Church, inſomuch that all who are not of her Communion (which are by far the greateſt part of the chriſtian Churches in the World) are out of the pale of the Catholick Church; and Schiſmaticks and Hereticks are no parts of a Catholick Council: Thus a ſmall part of the *Latin* Church (excluſive of the *Greek* and all other Churches) are the whole Catholick Church, and theſe little Party Councils, under the direction of the Pope, are univerſal

and infallible! But, as is ſhewn, the Church of *Rome* has no right to the title of the *Latin* Church it ſelf, far leſs of the univerſal. And ſhe has now but a ſmall part of the *Latin* Church left her: The Reformed, with *Ruſſia*, and the *Greek* Church, will out-number her in *Europe*, and ſhe has no national Church in her Communion any where elſe.

LORD. But there are ſome of her Communion in moſt Countries.

GENT. Not ſo many as of the *Jews*, who by this are more univerſal than your Church, and ſo more catholick. And none of the ſcattered Seminaries of *Rome* in other chriſtian Churches can be ſaid to repreſent thoſe Churches in a general Council, more than two or three titular Popiſh Biſhops in *England* could repreſent the Church of *England* as it now ſtands. But, on the contrary, their living in a ſeparate Communion in other chriſtian Churches, ſhews thoſe Churches not to be of their Communion; and therefore cannot be repreſented in any of their Councils: And theſe calling themſelves œcumenical, as the *Roman* Empire did, ſhews only how little criticiſms upon words will avail againſt plain matter of fact; which I have ſhewed to be the caſe as to thoſe texts urged for the Supremacy of St. *Peter:* And that if words would do it, there are more, nay and facts too, for the univerſal Supremacy of St. *Paul*, at leaſt over all the chriſtian Churches of the *Gentiles*, which are now in all the world.

9. LORD. But there muſt be an infallibility ſome where in the Church, and if it be neither in Pope nor Council, or that as you ſay, there never was, nor well can be a general Council, truly ſo called, that is, of all the Churches, in the world, where do you place the infallibility?

GENT. No where, my Lord, nor can it be among Men who are all fallible.

LORD. We truſt not in Men, as Men, but aſſiſted by the infallible Spirit of God: And this he has promiſed ſhall never depart from his Church, as he has ſaid, *My Spirit that is upon thee, and my Words which I have put in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeed, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeed's ſeed, ſaith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.* And he has ſaid, *that the Prieſts lips ſhould keep knowledge, and they ſhould ſeek the Law at his Mouth, for he is the meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts.* Iſa. lix. 21. Mal. ii. 7.

GENT. Read the next words, *But ye are departed out of the way: ye have cauſed many to ſtumble at the Law: ye have corrupted the Covenant of* Levi, *ſaith the Lord.* The firſt is what they ſhould or ought to have done, the ſecond is what they did do, which was quite contrary.

And notwithſtanding the promiſe made in the firſt text you quoted, yet *they were all gone out of the way, they were together become abominable, there was none that did good, no not one.——That all the world might become guilty before God,* as well the Church as the reſt of the world. Rom. iii. 12, 19.

And of the Church it is ſaid, *The whole head is ſick, and the whole heart faint: from the ſole of the foot even unto the head, there is no ſoundneſs in it, but wounds and bruiſes and putrifying ſores.* And God ſays, *Mine heritage is unto me as a lion in the foreſt, it cryeth out againſt me, therefore have I hated it: Mine Heritage is unto me as a ſpeckled bird*—&c. Iſa. i. 5, 6. Jer. xii. 8, 9.

And we have now long ſince ſeen that Church of the *Jews*, to whom theſe promiſes were made, quite thrown off, and the Church of the *Gentiles* come in its place.

LORD. Theſe promiſes were ultimately intended to the chriſtian Church.

GENT. But they were firſt given to the *Jewiſh* Church, and belong even literally to her, and much more unconteſtably than to the Church of *Rome*, to whom no promiſe whatſoever was made: Nor has ſhe any other pre-

tence to the promiſes made to the Church in general, than her ſuppoſed Supremacy over all other chriſtian Churches; which is diſputed with her, and denied by the other Churches. But there was none to diſpute it with the *Jewiſh* Church, for ſhe was then the only viſible Church of God upon Earth. And if the promiſes made to her can fail, in vain does the Church of *Rome*, or even the whole *Gentile* Church claim theſe promiſes as indefeaſible and unalterable to her: For if the promiſes made to the whole Church of God upon Earth can fail at one time, they may likewiſe at another, and there can be no certainty.

LORD. Can the promiſes of God then fail?

GENT. No, that is impoſſible, but we may miſtake his promiſes and not underſtand them aright: And we may not perform the conditions required.

LORD. But the promiſes made to the Church (that particularly which I have named of *Iſa.* LIX. 21.) are poſitive and unconditional.

GENT. But there is ſtill a condition imply'd, that is, of our obedience; which our Saviour has fully exemplified in the parable of the husbandmen who did not render the fruits of the vineyard. As treaſon forfeits an eſtate or honours given by a Prince, though in never ſo poſitive terms, and without any condition expreſſed, but that of allegiance to the Prince is always imply'd: And thus the Church may forfeit her charter. God ſaid to *Eli* the High-prieſt of the *Jewiſh* Church, *I ſaid indeed that thy houſe and the houſe of thy father ſhould walk before me for ever; but now the Lord ſaith, be it far from me; for them that honour me I will honour, and they that deſpiſe me ſhall be lightly eſteemed.* And he ſaid, *Ye ſhall know my breach of promiſe*, or as our margin reads it, *the altering of my purpoſe.* And he has told us plainly that we are thus to underſtand his promiſes as well as threatenings, *At what inſtant I ſhall ſpeak concerning a Nation*, (or Church) *to pluck up, and to pull down, and to deſtroy it; if that Nation againſt whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil I thought to do unto them. And at what inſtant I ſhall ſpeak concerning a Nation*, (or Church) *to build and to plant it, if it do evil in my ſight, that it obey not my voice, then will I repent of the good wherewith I ſaid I would benefit them.*

1 Sam. ii. 30.

Num. xiv. 34.

Jer. xviii. 7, &c.

This was the language of the Prophets to the *Jewiſh* Church: But ſhe underſtood it not, and leant upon the promiſes made to her as unconditional and indefeaſible, let her be as wicked as ſhe would. And this hardened her againſt her Prophets, whom ſhe perſecuted for this reaſon as enemies to the Church, as you find, *Come and let us deviſe devices againſt* Jeremiah, *for the Law ſhall not periſh from the Prieſt.* Here the *Jewiſh* Church ſtuck, and here the Church of *Rome* ſticks at this day.

Jer. xviii. 18.

LORD. But the *Gentile* Church cannot fail like the *Jewiſh*, for then there would be no Church at all.

GENT. The Apoſtle of the *Gentiles* ſays to the *Gentile* Church, *Thou alſo ſhalt be cut off, if thou continue not in the Goodneſs of God.* And that the *Jews, if they abide not ſtill in unbelief, ſhall be graffed in; for God is able to graff them in again.* This ſhews that all the promiſes made either to the *Jewiſh* or the *Gentile* Church are conditional, *viz. If they continue in the Goodneſs of God: Otherwiſe*, ſays St. *Paul* to the *Gentile* Church, *thou alſo ſhall be cut off*; and of all the *Gentile* Churches this was ſaid more particularly to the Church of *Rome*, for this is in the Epiſtle wrote to her, and to her it was ſaid, *Thou alſo ſhalt be cut off.*

Rom. xi. 22, 23.

And of the Church in general, whether *Jewiſh* or *Gentile*, it is ſaid, *When the Son of Man cometh, ſhall he find Faith upon the Earth?* Where will then that viſibility be which *Rome* boaſts of as an eſſential mark of the true Church?

Luke xvii. 8.

LORD. The Church is compared to a city ſet upon a hill, to a candle giving light to all that are in the houſe: This is to ſhew her viſibility.

GENT. She is likewiſe compared to a *Woman perſecuted into a Wilder-neſs*, to a *lodge in a garden of cucumbers*, to a *beſieged city*: And laſtly, that ſhe will be ſo little viſible, as that Faith ſhall hardly be found upon the Earth. This is not to be reconciled but of different ſtates of the Church, and at different times. Rev. xii. 6. Iſa. i. 8.

LORD. *Chriſt* ſays, that *his Church is glorious, not having ſpot or wrinkle, or any ſuch thing, but that it ſhould be holy and without blemiſh*: And he calls her his *beloved*. Eph. v. 27.

GENT. So God called the Church of the *Jews*, *The dearly beloved of his Soul*; yet ſays, he had forſaken her for her wickedneſs, and hated her. And *Iſaiah* repreſents her as moſt filthy and corrupted, chap. i. 4, 5, 6. Jer. xii. 7.

The Church is called holy and beloved becauſe of God's Covenant with her to be his holy and beloved, which will be hereafter in thoſe that are perfected; when the tares and the wheat ſhall be ſeparated; but they muſt grow together till then, when *Chriſt ſhall gather out of his Kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity*. Then, and not till then, will the Church be all *glorious, without ſpot or wrinkle*, &c. As the text ſays, Chriſt *loved the Church, and gave himſelf for it; that he might ſanctify and cleanſe it —— that he might preſent it to himſelf a glorious Church not having ſpot or wrinkle*, &c. But he has not yet ſo preſented it: That time is not come: She is ſtill in her cleanſing ſtate, but not yet thoroughly cleanſed. And the Scripture ſpeaks of both theſe ſtates of the Church; but when we diſtinguiſh not, and would apply to the moſt corrupt ſtate what is ſaid of the moſt glorious, we muſt needs fall into many errors and miſtakes. Mat. xiii. 41. Eph. v. 25.

This is the difficulty under which the Church of Rome now labours: She firſt making her ſelf the catholick Church, and then applying to her ſelf, in this her corrupt ſtate, whatever is ſaid of the Church even in her perfect, glorious, and triumphant ſtate, creates her infinite trouble, and endleſs diſtinctions, to reconcile theſe; which is as impoſſible to be done as to make the ſtate of the Church in Heaven and upon the Earth to be the ſame; and while the corruptions in the Church of *Rome* are confeſſed and lamented by the moſt learned and moſt pious in her own Communion.

And ſhe may as well maintain her impeccability as her infallibility; for ſin is the greateſt error: And therefore I think nothing can be infallible but what is likewiſe impeccable.

10. LORD. The Apoſtles were infallible, but not impeccable.

GENT. As much the one as the other. St. *Peter* erred, and *walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Goſpel*. And *many were carried away with his diſſimulation*. And St. *Paul* owned that in ſome caſes he *had no commandment of the Lord*, only *gave his judgment*, as a private Perſon, and *ſpoke by permiſſion, and not of commandment*. But in other caſes he ſays, *I command, yet not I but the Lord—— And to the reſt ſpeak I, not the Lord*. And it is ſo, *after my Judgment*; *and I think alſo that I have the Spirit of God*. And no doubt great deference was paid to his judgment, as being an inſpired Perſon, but not infallible in every thing, as he himſelf ſaid. The Apoſtles were enabled to work many and great Miracles, which gave them full credence as to what they delivered for chriſtian doctrine: But this was no perſonal nor univerſal infallibility. Gal. ii. 13, 14. 1 Cor. vii. 6, 10, 12, 25, 40.

11. LORD. The Church of *Rome* has her Miracles too.

GENT. What! Both true and falſe? Can both come from God?

LORD. I know you deny our Miracles.

GENT. And you cannot deny the many falſe Miracles which have been notoriouſly detected in the Church of *Rome*. But if one ſham Miracle had been found in the Apoſtles, I am afraid it had diſcredited all the others, and called their miſſion in queſtion whether it was from God or not. The Devil has power (when permitted) to *ſhew great ſigns and wonders*, as we are told *Mat.* xxiv. 24. 2 *Theſſ.* ii. 9. and the reaſon is given *℣.* 12. *viz. as a juſt puniſhment to unrighteouſneſs.* But one falſe or pretended Miracle is ſufficient to diſprove all that come from the ſame hand. Therefore your Books of Miracles, the Legends, muſt either all be believed, or all rejected, all coming from the ſame authority; and the greateſt part of them are ſo very groſs and ſimple, that no Man of ſenſe among you will ſay, that he can believe half of them: And your learned call them *piæ fraudes, holy cheats*, to ſtir up the devotion of the vulgar, who ſwallow all implicitly! And your Lordſhip will have difficulty enough to believe all the Miracles alledged of their Reliques: And, as I ſaid, you muſt take all or none; unleſs you think that God can work true Miracles, and the Devil falſe ones, by the ſame means, and at the ſame time! Can you believe the quantities that have been ſhewn of the Virgin *Mary*'s milk at ſeveral times and places? And ſo of the wood of the Croſs that is ſhewed in many places? Is it the ſame head or body of the ſame Saint that is ſhewn at different Churches, each of which contend that they have the true one? And each have Miracles to vouch the truth of their Relique! You may ſee a large collection of theſe, and the monſtrouſneſs of the Legends out of which they are taken, in a Book entituled, *The Devotions of the* Roman *Church:* Which will prevent my giving inſtances in all the points before-mentioned.

Upon the whole, this pretence of Miracles, the Legends, and ſhops of Reliques, which are bought and ſold, inſtead of a proof, are the greateſt prejudice to Men of ſenſe againſt your Church.

And it is the ſoreſt blow that Chriſtianity has received, while the common People put theſe Legends upon the level with the holy Scriptures, as having both the ſame foundation, that is, the authority of your Church: Whence Atheiſts and Deiſts take a handle to render both alike fabulous.

12. LORD. But after all, we believe the Scriptures upon the authority of the Church.

GENT. This is the old circle out of which you can never conjure your ſelves. You believe the Scriptures becauſe the Church bids you, and you believe the Church becauſe the Scriptures bid you: This is running round, and proving a thing by itſelf.

LORD. No; for we eſtabliſh the authority of the Church in the firſt place thus: We think it inconſiſtent with the Goodneſs of God not to give Men an infallible guide to lead them in the right way to Heaven, ſince our own Reaſon is ſo weak that we cannot truſt to it; and that guide is the Church.

GENT. How do you know that? What have you but your own Reaſon to tell you ſo? And if you cannot truſt your Reaſon, you cannot believe the Church: So that all bottoms upon your own Reaſon ſtill, from which you ſtrive in vain to eſcape.

LORD. But the Scriptures bid us believe the Church.

GENT. This is running into your circle again, to believe the Church for the Scriptures, and the Scriptures for the Church. But I will bring you out of it. For pray tell me, why do you believe a God? It would be blaſphemy to ſay, you believe it upon any authority, for that would place ſuch an authority above God: And it would be nonſenſe to ſay you believe it either from the Church or the Scriptures, becauſe you can believe neither without firſt believing there is a God. What is it then? We believe a God purely upon our own Reaſon: And we cannot be more ſure that there is a God, than we are perſuaded of the truth of thoſe reaſons upon which we do believe it. And if God has given us no other guide but our own Reaſon, with the aſſiſtance of his Grace, to believe in himſelf; if this be all we have, or can have, for the firſt and main article of our Creed, what farther do we require for thoſe of leſs conſequence? And that we cannot have more aſſurance than this, we may perceive by this experiment, *viz.* whether we believe moſt firmly and with greateſt aſſurance, what we have only from our own Reaſon, or what we receive upon the authority of the Church: For example, are you not more undoubtedly aſſured of the Being of a God which you believe purely upon your own Reaſon, than of Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, or whatever you believe upon the authority of your Church?

And to ſay, that God is obliged to give every Man an outward infallible Guide, is making too bold with Providence, and meaſuring his infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs by our ſhort line. He has made Creatures as it has pleaſed him: Some incapable of happineſs or miſery, as the inanimates; ſome capable only of pleaſures or pain of ſenſe, as Animals; and he has endowed others with Reaſon, as Man, and *left him in the hand of his own Counſel, ſet good and evil, life and death before him, and free-will to chuſe which liketh him.* Deut. xi. 26. xx. 15. Eccluſ. xv. 14, *&c.* Again of rational Creatures, ſome he has fixed in happineſs, as the bleſſed of Heaven; others are Veſſels of wrath, as the Angels that fell: But Man is betwixt theſe two, to work out his own Salvation by his obedience to the Will of God; who will judge every Man according to what he has given him; *For as many as have ſinned without the Law, ſhall be judged without the Law; as they that have ſinned in the Law, ſhall be judged by the Law: For there is no reſpect of Perſons with God.* Rom. ii. 11, 12. But according to your argument there is great reſpect of Perſons with him, and his goodneſs has failed the far greateſt part of Mankind from the beginning of the World; for what outward guide is there to *Jews*, Heathens, *Mahometans*, and Chriſtians; and to the many ſubdiviſions among all theſe? And all theſe have guides of their own, and the blind lead the blind with moſt of them; for it is fact that the generality of Mankind do not chuſe for themſelves, but take their Religion upon truſt as they are educated: And we muſt leave all this to God, who will require from none more than he has given; for *the Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.* Pſal. cxlv. 9.

13. LORD. Can any be ſaved then but by *Chriſt?*

GENT. No; but many may be ſaved by him who never heard of him: He died to make Satisfaction to the infinite Juſtice for the ſins of the whole World; and took our Nature upon him, to atone for our fallen Nature, to be applied to ſuch who perform the conditions required. He will judge the *Gentiles* by the Law of Morality, which he has planted in their hearts, and we call natural Religion; but from Chriſtians he requires Faith in *Chriſt*, joined with ſincere repentance.

LORD. Then the *Gentiles* are in better condition than we, becauſe leſs is required of them.

GENT. Is it no advantage then to have the *Glory of God* revealed to us,
2 Cor. iv. 6. *in the face of* Jeſus Chriſt? As the Apoſtle ſpeaks: And the effect of it
chap. iii. ỿ. 18. upon us is deſcribed, *That we all with open face, beholding as in a glaſs the glory of the Lord, are changed into the ſame image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.* The ſight of the wonderful œconomy of our redemption muſt needs fill our Souls with rapture and joy, when we behold the glory of God in all his attributes, each exalting the other to the uttermoſt, as it is ſaid, *Jam.* II. 13. *Miſericordia ſuperexaltat judicium*, that the *Mercy of God exalts his Juſtice:* For Juſtice requires full Satisfaction, it cannot remit a farthing; to remit is Mercy and not Juſtice; and God is Juſtice it ſelf, Juſtice in the abſtract: Here then infinite Wiſdom finds out a full Satisfaction to infinite Juſtice; and infinite Goodneſs affords that Satisfacton, by the Incarnation, perfect Obedience, meritorious Paſſion, and glorious Reſurrection, *&c.* of the only begotten Son of God! This enflames our Devotion, invigorates our Obedience, and
Rom. iii. 23. gives compunction to our Repentance, when we *have ſinned and come ſhort of the glory of God.* God has vouchſafed to make a Covenant with us in *Chriſt*, by virtue of which we may appeal to his Juſtice and Veracity. It is a Pardon ſigned and ſealed by the King, which we may plead in Court. The Heathen have not this, but they are ſtill under his Mercy, they may ſay, God is merciful to forgive us: But we may ſay with St. *John*, that God
1 John i. 9. *is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs.* This is a great, a very great advantage we have above the *Gentiles:* And may not we enjoy it with thankfulneſs, and not damn them all to the pit of Hell? Becauſe God has made a Covenant with us, may we not leave them to his uncovenanted Mercy? Is our Eye evil to them, becauſe he has been good to us? Or would we limit his Mercies to his Creatures, with whom we have nothing to do? *For what have we to*
1 Cor. v. 12. *do to judge them that are without?* —— *Them that are without God judgeth.* And God did judge one who was without, that is, out of the pale of the Church, to be the moſt beloved of God, and that *there was*
Job. i. 8. *none like him in the Earth.* And he is put upon the level with the great-
Ezek. xiv. 14. eſt in the Church, *Though* Noah, Daniel, *and* Job *were in it*, &c. And as
Jam. v. 11. God choſe a *Gentile* to be the great example of patience to all ages. And
Luke vii. 9. of another *Gentile* it was ſaid by *Chriſt*, *I have not found ſo great faith, no, not in* Iſrael. And he who ſaid often to his Diſciples, *O ye of little*
Mark xvi. 14. *Faith*, and upbraided his Apoſtles with their unbelief; yet ſaid to a Woman of *Canaan*, (who would not be diſcouraged for the objection he put againſt her, of her not being within the pale of the Church, but without a-
Mat. xv. 26. mong the Dogs) *O Woman great is thy faith.* And of the ten healed
Luke xvii. 16. there was but one thankful, *and he was a* Samaritan, that is, a Schiſmatick,
ỿ. 18. a Stranger, as *Chriſt* here calls him, and ſaid to him, *thy faith hath made thee whole.* And the pattern of Charity is placed in the Perſon of a *Sa-*
Luke x. 30. *maritan*, in oppoſition to both a Prieſt and a *Levite*; which makes good
Acts x. 34. what St. *Peter* ſaid of *Cornelius* a *Gentile*, *Of a truth I perceive that God is no reſpecter of Perſons: But in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him.* This is the Doctrine which *Chriſt* taught, *Luke* IV. 25, &c. when he minded the *Jews*, that a Widow of *Sarepta*, a City of *Sidon*, and *Naaman* the *Syrian* were preferred to all the Widows and Lepers in *Iſrael*; which ſo enraged the *Jews*, tenacious of the privilege of the Church, that they *thruſt him out of the City, and led him unto the brow of the Hill (whereon their City was built) that they might caſt him down headlong.* And it is ſaid, that they were *filled with wrath.* The like fury they ſhewed when St. *Paul* told them that the Goſpel was to be extended beyond the pale of their

Church,

Church, and that God had ſent him to the *Gentiles: And they gave him audience unto that word, and then lift up their voices, and ſaid, away with ſuch a fellow from the Earth; for it is not fit that he ſhould live. And they cried out, and caſt off their clothes, and threw duſt in the Air.* Acts xxii. 22. And the like rage is ſeen among the zealots of your Church, when they hear of the Goſpel being extended out of the pale of their Communion; though with Chriſtians who hold the three ancient Creeds, and have every thing eſſential to a Church, except what *Rome* has made ſo, *viz.* The univerſal and unlimited Soveraignty of her Biſhop: Which is the great Bone of contention, wherein *Rome* ſtands ſingle by her ſelf, thruſting all other chriſtian Churches from her; like a Man in a Boat who thinks he thruſts the ſhore from him, whereas he only thruſt himſelf from the ſhore; as *Firmilian* ſaid to *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*, *Excidiſti te ipſum, noli te fallere,*— "Do not deceive your ſelf, you have cut your ſelf off from the Church; "for he is truly a Schiſmatick who has made himſelf an Apoſtate from the "Communion of Eccleſiaſtical Unity; for while you think you can excom- "municate all other Churches from you, you have only excommunicated "your ſelf from them. *Dum enim putas omnes à te abſtineri poſſe, te ipſum abſtinuiſti.* Cyprian Ep. 75. p. 228. Edit. Oxon.

But the Church of the *Jews* had a much ſtronger plea for her univerſal Supremacy and Infallibility, becauſe all Proſelytes, of whatever Nations, muſt come in to her; for there was no other viſible Church of God upon Earth, and the Sacrifices were limited to the Temple at *Jeruſalem:* Accordingly we find, *Acts* VIII. 27. that the *Eunuch* came out of *Æthiopia* to *Jeruſalem* for to worſhip.

Now if the chriſtian Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, the moſt ſolemn Worſhip of God, were confined to St. *Peter's* Church at *Rome*, and could be had no where elſe; as the moſt ſolemn Worſhip of God, the legal Sacrifices, which were types of the Chriſtian, were confined to the Temple of *Jeruſalem:* And if the Church of *Rome*, like that of the *Jews*, were the only Church in the World: Yet after all, would the Church of *Rome* have no more pretence to Infallibility and Perpetuity than the Church of the *Jews* had. And as the Church of the *Jews* has been cut off, for her diſobedience to the Law of God; ſo (as before-mentioned) has it been ſaid to the Church of *Rome* particularly, *Thou alſo ſhalt be cut off*, that is, upon the ſame condition, *if thou continue not in the goodneſs of God.* Rom. xi. 22. And we cannot imagine there ſhould be a Church of *Rome* viſibly as now, with a Pope at the head of it, and a number of Biſhops, Cardinals, *&c.* under him, holding the true chriſtian Faith, when that time comes which our Saviour has foretold, *When the Son of Man cometh, ſhall he find Faith on the Earth?* Luke xviii. 8. For then it would be found, and very viſibly at *Rome*.

But that ſtate of the Church is better repreſented by the ſeven thouſand who had not bowed to *Baal*, but of whom *Elijah* knew none, but thought he was *left alone*. This was a ſtate of ſegregation, there were particular Perſons who kept the Faith, but inviſible to the World, or to one another; without any publick Worſhip, or ſo much as private Meetings; for *Elijah* would ſurely have known of theſe, and been the principal among them: Far leſs could they have had an organized Church, with Paſtors and Rulers over them, without being known to *Elijah*, and to many more, even to their Perſecutors; who found out the moſt private Receſſes of the primitive Chriſtians, and their Meetings, though in the moſt ſecret manner, for divine Worſhip; and their Biſhops too, whom they ſeized and hawled to Priſons and to Martyrdom, for they could not lie hid, and the Faith was then viſible, though under Perſecution. Therefore it muſt be a much more univerſal depravity and corruption of the Church of which our Saviour ſpoke, when Faith ſhould not be found, at leaſt viſibly, upon the Earth. Rom. xi. 3, 4.

It will be more like the ſtate of the Church before the Flood, repreſented
1 Pet. ii. 20. by the Ark, *wherein few, that is eight Souls were ſaved.* And as the corruption of the old World was great, we may ſuppoſe the corruption to be greater before the ſecond coming of *Chriſt*, as the deſtruction by Fire is more terrible than that by Water. However ſuch an univerſal corruption is here foretold, as will in no ways conſiſt with the leaſt ſort of that viſibility which the Church of *Rome* requires as a mark of the true Church, and to continue with her for ever.

But on the other hand, if there ſhall be a viſible Church in thoſe days, then that Church, at leaſt the generality, which is the viſibility of it, will fall from the Faith, elſe it would be viſibly to be found upon the Earth; and then Men will be miſled by the Church, and by thoſe marks of viſibility, *&c.* which the Church of *Rome* gives her; in like manner as they were miſled by the Church before, when ſhe commanded them to reject their *Meſſiah.* He came firſt unto his own, the Church of the *Jews*, the
John i. 11. only viſible Church then upon the Earth, but ſhe *received him not*; for ſhe was corrupt and blinded, under the mask of phariſaical Sanctity, and ſtrict obſervance of the Law, even to the tything of Mint, Aniſe, and Cummin; ſhe was zealous in the outward obſervances, but neglected *the weigh-*
Mat. xxiii. 23. *tier matters of the Law, Judgment, Mercy, and Faith*; and ſo it may be at the ſecond coming of *Chriſt*, as it was at the firſt; for there is no more promiſe of infallibility to the one ſtate of the Church, than to the other.

LORD. But it was propheſied in the old Teſtament, that the *Jews* ſhould reject their *Meſſiah* at his firſt coming.

GENT. And in the New Teſtament, that at his ſecond coming *he ſhould not find Faith upon the Earth.*

But the *Jews* did not ſo underſtand theſe Prophecies againſt themſelves. They ſaid that the Church was the only Interpreter of Scripture, and they muſt take the Law from the Mouth of their Prieſts; and the Church did interpret theſe Scriptures otherwiſe than *Chriſt* did.

LORD. But *Chriſt* being come, he was then the Church.

GENT. He was not the Church, for he came to redeem the Church: He did not come to redeem himſelf. He was the Head; the Church, the Body; but the Head is not the Body.

Beſides it is perfectly begging the queſtion of the *Jews*, to ſuppoſe that *Chriſt* was the *Meſſiah*, for that they deny, and bid us prove it; that is the whole queſtion betwixt them and us.

LORD. His heavenly Doctrine, his Miracles, and the Prophecies of him, prove him to be the *Meſſiah.*

GENT. The *Jews* anſwer all this by the authority of the Church, which
John vii. 48, 49. ſaid, *Have any of the Rulers, or of the* Phariſees *believed on him? But this People who knoweth not the Law, are curſed.* And to rivet this
Ch. ix. 22, 24. xvi. 2. Curſe, they excommunicated thoſe who did confeſs *Chriſt:* And they ſaid, that *Chriſt* wrought his Miracles by *Beelzebub:* And who was to be Judge in this caſe, the People or the Church? Upon the foot of the authority of
Mat. ix. 34. xii. 24. the Church, it was impoſſible at that time for any to be a Chriſtian. Therefore of all Men, Chriſtians have the leaſt reaſon to inſiſt upon this.

14. LORD. Then I find you reſolve all upon private Judgment.

GENT. It is all we have for the belief of a God, or of *Chriſt*, and, by your own confeſſion, for the choice of a Church. And then we may well truſt to it in ſmaller matters; in ſhort, we muſt truſt to it in every thing without exception; for it is as impoſſible to believe any thing without our Underſtanding, as to ſee without our Eyes.

LORD. But you believe ſome Myſteries which you pretend not to underſtand or explain, as the Doctrine of the holy Trinity, the Incarnation, *&c.*

GENT. My reaſon tells me, that there muſt be many things in the Nature of God which I cannot underſtand or explain, becauſe he is infinite and incomprehenſible. And theſe I take purely upon the Revelation that is given of them in the holy Scriptures, for my own reaſon could never have found them out, nor can perfectly underſtand them; they are dark to me, like a Country I never ſaw, I cannot have a right idea of it till I come thither; as I cannot of Heaven, or of the ſtate of ſeparate Souls: Yet I cannot help framing ſome conception to my ſelf, of what I know *never entred into the Heart of Man to conceive*, that is, aright, and according as theſe things are. Therefore I take not upon me to explain them, for that would be to involve my ſelf, and I know that I muſt greatly err: And yet it would be as much againſt reaſon to deny theſe things, as to deny there was any Country in the World, or Star in the Firmament, which I had not ſeen; and much more unreaſonable it would be, to think there was nothing in the nature of the infinite Being which I did not comprehend: Or becauſe that cannot be expreſſed to us, but in words adapted to our Underſtanding, therefore to meaſure his Nature by ours; and becauſe *Peter*, *James*, and *John* are three Men, therefore to think that *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt* muſt be three Gods: But when I ſay *three Perſons*, with relation to the divine Trinity, there comes not ſuch a thought in my head as *three Perſons of Men*; but becauſe perſonal actions are attributed to each of the divine three, therefore we call them Perſons, which word the Scripture applies to God, *Heb.* 1. 3. But it is only *ad Captum*, as the Schools ſpeak, that is, condeſcending to our capacity, as when God is ſaid to repent, to grieve, *&c.* it is not that we ſhould think it really ſo, for that would be contradictory to the Nature of God; but it conveys a notion to us, that we ſhould act as if it were ſo, that God were angry or grieved at our ſins, and would repent of the bleſſings he had given or promiſed to us, if we took not heed to walk in his ways which he has ſet before us.

15. LORD. I am afraid the Deiſts will think this a ſtraining the point in favour of Revelation, and ſay that they are much eaſier without it.

GENT. They will not find it ſo, when they conſider that they are in no leſs difficulties upon following their own reaſon only; for example, they allow a firſt cauſe and Creator of all things, becauſe nothing can make it ſelf; and that firſt cauſe muſt have a neceſſary Being, and conſequently from all Eternity; and that Eternity is a duration without ſucceſſion or time, or having any beginning, wherein all is preſent, without either paſt or to come: This the Deiſt is forced to confeſs upon the conviction of his reaſon. But he will not pretend to have ſo much as any idea or conception what this Eternity is or can be, nor can he imagine a duration without beginning, in which there is nothing paſt, or any thing to come: Nor can he expreſs this any otherwiſe than in words of time, which he muſt own are not at all proper or applicable to it; the very word beginning is inconſiſtent with Eternity, and to ſay before the beginning, is a contradiction. Here then he is loſt, and muſt have recourſe to the ſame excuſe which he ridicules in Revelation, *viz.* That we cannot ſpeak properly of God, nor in other words than what belong to Men, and therefore that theſe words are not to be taken ſtrictly, nor argued upon, or conſequences drawn from them, for that this would involve us in numberleſs contradictions. And there is not one objection which the Deiſt or *Socinian* makes againſt the Doctrine of the holy Trinity, the Incarnation, *&c.* but are of this ſort, by arguing from

the Nature of Man to the Nature of God, from the Perſons of the one, to the Perſons of the other, *&c.* which theſe Men of Reaſon think highly unreaſonable in their own caſe, as to argue from Time to Eternity, *&c.*

16. LORD. But, Sir, the Deiſt would ask you, upon what authority you believe that Revelation, *viz.* of the Scriptures? And ſince you will not have it built upon the Authority of the Church, I ſee not what other Authority you can alledge for it.

GENT. Nor I neither, for I put it upon no Authority; it is Evidence and not Authority, upon which my belief of the Scriptures is founded.

LORD. Then you believe upon the Authority of Evidence.

GENT. That expreſſion is not proper, though ſometimes careleſly uſed: For Authority and Evidence are two things: If I believe a thing, for your telling me ſo, without any other reaſon, then I believe it purely upon your Authority; but if a Man I never ſaw before makes a thing very evident to me, and convinces my Reaſon, I believe not then upon his Authority, for he has none with me, but upon the Evidence he has given me; and what that Evidence is upon which we believe the holy Scriptures, is ſet forth in a little Book I had the honour to preſent to your Lordſhip, intituled, *The Truth of Chriſtianity demonſtrated*, &c. which was wrote to convince Deiſts, who believe no Church, or any Church Authority: And if you have no other Evidence but the Authority of your Church to prove the truth of the Scriptures, I ſee not how you will ever convince a Deiſt, who denies both.

But if I tell him that I believe the Scriptures, and the facts therein related, upon the ſame, and much ſtronger Evidence than I have for believing there was ſuch a Man as *Alexander* or *Cæſar*, that there is ſuch a Town as *Rome* or *Conſtantinople*, though I was never there: Yet I believe it, not upon the Authority, far leſs the Infallibility of any Man or number of Men, that tell me ſo; but from the Nature of the Evidence which makes it impoſſible for Mankind to concert ſuch a lye, or to carry it on, without being detected: And if the truth of Chriſtianity, that is, of the Scriptures, can be demonſtrated as plainly as theſe other facts, (which I think is done in the Book I mentioned) then a Deiſt muſt either be convinced or confounded.

Now if you will let your Church come in as part of the Evidence of Chriſtianity, ſhe will not be refuſed, ſo far as her ſhare goes; but upon her Authority, and upon hers alone, the truth of the Scriptures and of Chriſtianity, will be a jeſt to the Deiſts, ſince her Authority can be proved no otherwiſe than by the Scriptures, and then back again, the Scriptures by her Authority!

LORD. But ſeveral parts of the Scriptures have been diſputed, as you reject thoſe Books you call Apocryphal out of the Canon of the Old Teſtament: And the ancient Hereticks forged falſe Goſpels and falſe Epiſtles in the names of the Apoſtles; and as the Canon of the New Teſtament now ſtands, ſome of the Epiſtles have been diſputed by ſome learned Men: And this could not be determined, nor the Canon eſtabliſhed, but by the Authority of the Church.

GENT. As to the Apocryphal Books, we received the Canon of the Old Teſtament from the Church of the *Jews*, which never admitted them into the Canon of their Scriptures: And how ſhould we know their Canon better than themſelves?

Again, we are ſure they were not in the chriſtian Canon in the days of St. *Jerome*, if he knew what was received by the Church as the Canon of Scripture; for in his *Prologus Galeatus*, printed before your own vulgar

vulgar *Latin*, he rejects them as Apocryphal*, and ſays they were not in the Canon of the holy Scriptures.

But as to theſe Books themſelves, let any one but read the concluſion of them, in excuſe for the weakneſs of the performance, and then think it poſſible, if he can, that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould make ſuch a Speech as this ——*If I have done well——it is what I deſired, but if ſlenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.* Or as your vulgar has it, *Si quidem bene, & ut Hiſtoriæ competit, hoc & ipſe velim: Si autem minus dignè, concedendum eſt mihi*; that is, *I ask your pardon; if I have not done my work as it ought to be.* 2 Macc. xv. 38.

But as to a full examination of the Apocryphal Books, and their Authority, I refer your Lordſhip to Dr. *Coſins*'s *Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the Canon of the holy Scripture*, Printed 1657. and not yet anſwered that I can hear of.

LORD. But the Canon of the New Teſtament was eſtabliſhed upon the Authority of the Church.

GENT. No, my Lord, not at all by her Authority, but plainly by Evidence; they proceeded wholly upon Evidence, *viz* whether ſuch an Epiſtle was ſent to ſuch a Church, as to the Church of *Corinth*, *Epheſus*, *Galatia*, &c. who carefully kept the originals, and ſent copies to other Churches, as was commanded, *Col.* iv. 16. And by this Communication of the Churches one with another, the true Scriptures were known, and it is commonly ſet down at the end of the Epiſtles by what hand they were ſent: And by this method the ſpurious Epiſtles and Goſpels forged by Hereticks were at firſt detected, as you will find in the laſt Chapter of the fifth Book of *Euſebius*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, where it is told, that the Hereticks were brought to this teſt, and cou'd not produce the originals whence they took their copies; and that their copies did vary from one another, every one adding what opinion came into his own head; and that they cou'd not tell from whom they had learned ſuch new Doctrines. Thus the Canon of the New Teſtament was ſettled in thoſe ages when theſe Evidences were freſh and notorious; and has been received ſince that time by all the chriſtian Churches in the World, ſo unanimouſly, that there is no diſpute betwixt any Churches concerning the Canon of the New Teſtament. And this is an Evidence too ſtrong for the caprice of ſome particular Men, who would ſhew their wit in making objections againſt this or that part: But this cannot hurt the Faith, becaule the whole Faith is over and over again fully expreſſed and contained in thoſe Goſpels and Epiſtles which are acknowledged by all.

LORD. But there are various lections and tranſlations of the Scriptures into many languages, which agree not exactly, and in every point, with one another. And how ſhall we examine this by Evidence? What Evidence is there in this caſe? Here the Authority of the Church muſt come in to determine between theſe various lections and tranſlations: And theſe various lections or different readings of ſeveral texts are very many, which ſome learned Men have taken pains to collect.

GENT. But there is no difference among them in any thing material or what concerns the Faith: So that this inſtead of an objection (which the Deiſts make uſe of to invalidate the truth of the Scriptures, and the certainty of our Faith) proves a ſtronger confirmation of both, in that among ſo many various readings and tranſlations no material difference is found; or other than may, and without a Miracle muſt, happen in ſo many thouſand copies and impreſſions as have been made of the Scriptures: And none

* *Inter Apocrypha eſſe ponenda—— Non ſunt in Canone.*

I ſuppoſe will pretend that every Writer or Printer is infallible, not to miſtake a Letter or a Word, or miſplace them: But that nothing of this ſort has happened to the detriment of the Faith, or making diſputes in any thing that is material, muſt be attributed to a very particular providence.

And the Church of *Rome* has not undertaken, nor was it worth her while, to attempt the adjuſting of the various readings: For in that tranſlation which ſhe has moſt approved, the vulgar *Latin*, ſome of the various lections are given on the Margin of her own Editions.

But what ſignifies the *Latin* which is not the vulgar language of any Nation now in the World; I ſay, what does this ſignify to the People who underſtand it not?

LORD. Therefore to anſwer your objections of our locking up the Scriptures from the People, we have them now tranſlated into the vulgar Tongues of each Country, particularly in *France*, where they are publickly ſold in the Shops.

GENT. This inſtead of an anſwer to the objection, is a confeſſing to it, and owning it to have been juſt and neceſſary: And thus much your People have gained by our Reformation.

But alas, my Lord, what have they gained? There is ſomething worſe than even a total locking up the Scriptures in theſe tranſlations, that is, a corrupting the text to deceive the People, different from even your own vulgar *Latin* tranſlation, which you have authorized. This is made apparent in the Collection, printed here at *London*, of the many texts thus evidently abuſed, both by adding to them and taking from them, and miſinterpreting them; in the *French* New Teſtament printed in *France* for the uſe of the new Converts there. And this has occaſioned the ſuppreſſion of that New Teſtament, inſomuch that few of them are to be found, at leaſt they are not publickly ſold now at *Paris*.

LORD. If they are ſuppreſſed, then your complaints are anſwered: But have you any objection againſt the *Louvain* tranſlation now printed and ſold at *Paris*, with the approbation of the Doctors and Divines there?

GENT. Yes, my Lord, here is one in my hand, bought in *Rue St. Jaques* in *Paris*, where they are printed, with the approbations before them, in the year 1701. And in this tranſlation there are many miſtranſlations. I will ſhew your Lordſhip one: It is ſaid, *As they miniſtred to the Lord.* The vulgar *Latin* has it in the ſame words, *Miniſtrantibus illis Domino.* But this *French* tranſlation is in theſe words, *Or comme ils offroient au Seigneur le Sacrifice de la Meſſe. When they had offered to the Lord the Sacrifice of the Maſs.*

Acts xiii. 2.

LORD. I ſuppoſe they took that to be the meaning of the words.

GENT. Your Lordſhip may ſuppoſe ſo: But, my Lord, what the import of the words is, or what conſequences may be drawn from them, is what we call expoſition or commenting upon the text; but to alter the words of the text is of another Nature, it is falſe tranſlation, and not an interpretation; and comes under that terrible curſe pronounced *Rev.* XXII. 18, 19. againſt thoſe who add to, detract from, or pervert the words of holy Scripture.

And to ſhew that this was not done by chance, and what uſe they intended to make of this text thus tranſlated, *Acts* XIII. 2. they put upon the Margin, *la ſainte Meſſe, the holy Maſs:* That the People might here find a plain text of Scripture for the Maſs and the Sacrifice of it. And in the *Index* (which is done by the ſame Authority as the tranſlation) upon the word *Meſſe*, this text is named as a proof that the Apoſtles did celebrate Maſs.

This Sacrifice of the Maſs is a plain addition to the text. Let me give one inſtance of ſubſtracting from it. It is ſaid, That *Jacob worſhipped* Heb. xi. 21. ἐπὶ *upon* or leaning *upon the top of his Staff:* But this *French* tranſlation leaves out the word ἐπὶ *upon*, and renders it that he *worſhipped the top of his Staff. Adora le Haut de ſon Baton.* And in the *Index* at the word *Adoration* this text is quoted for the *Adoration of Wood*, *L'Ado-* Heb. xi. 21. *ration fait aux Bois.* Belike they thought there was ſome Image carved or painted on the top of *Jacob*'s Staff which he worſhipped! And ſo this is made a text for *worſhipping their wooden Images and Pictures!* Eſpecially the ſolemn Worſhip of the Croſs every *Good-Friday.* And who knows but that the head of *Jacob*'s Staff was not round but crutch-ways, ſet a-croſs (as is uſual with old Men) and then the Staff was a perfect Croſs!

In the former text concerning the Maſs, this *French* tranſlation adds to the words of their own vulgar *Latin* as well as of the original: But in this laſt, the vulgar *Latin* as well as the *French* ſubſtract from the original, and both render this text the ſame way.

But, to do juſtice to all, the *Port-Royal* Bible delivers this text from the groſs interpretation put upon it, by means of a falſe tranſlation, to favour the worſhipping of Wood.

In the other *French* tranſlation I mentioned before, made for the uſe of the new Converts, this expreſſion 1 *Cor.* III. 15. of ſome that ſhall be ſaved with great difficulty, as if *paſſing through the fire*, is boldly rendred, *the fire of Purgatory*, as the words of the text, without any different character, as is uſed with us, when a word is put in to make *Engliſh* of an *Hebrew* or *Greek* Idiom: But in this *Louvain* tranſlation the text is let ſtand, *ſo as by fire*, only *Purgatoire* is put on the Margin in this Edition made ſince the objections againſt the other tranſlation, in which the addition of Purgatory to this text is particularly taken notice of.

I could give your Lordſhip more of the corruptions of texts in the *French* tranſlations. I have now only named three, one for the Sacrifice of the Maſs, another for the Adoration of the Croſs and of Images, and one for Purgatory.

LORD. The Church is not anſwerable for theſe tranſlations, however approved and recommended by Doctors, Univerſities, *&c.*

17. GENT. But the People are deceived by them. The People believe as they are taught: There is ſmall ſecurity to them in the abſtruſe diſputes concerning infallibility, how far it extends, and where it is placed, and in the diſputes betwixt Popes and Councils about it. Theſe are queſtions of which I ſuppoſe your Lordſhip will eaſily grant the common People are no judges. They know nothing of the matter. How ſhould they, when the learned Men are divided among themſelves concerning them? So that this infallibility, if it could be found and fixed, would be of little uſe to the generality of the People, unleſs their Curates and their Fathers and Mothers who inſtruct them were likewiſe all of them infallible, for, as I ſaid, they believe as they are taught, and examine no farther: Nay, they are forbid to examine, for that implies a doubt, and they are not to doubt of the Religion they are taught, but to receive, without any doubt, what has been told them by their Curates, Fathers, Mothers, or Nurſes, and what is current in the Countrey where they live. This is all the infallibility of which they are capable. And this is the way of all the Earth: It is thus that the generality of Mankind, whether Heathens, Jews, Mahometans, or Chriſtians, receive their Religion. And without examining into what we have been taught, no Man could change his Religion: None could ever have

become a Chriſtian, eſpecially no *Jew*, who had the authority of his Church againſt *Chriſt*, to which Church he alledges promiſes of perpetuity and infallibility.

18. LORD. The Biſhop of *Meaux* has cleared this in his conference with Mr. *Cloud*: Where the Biſhop aſſerts the neceſſity of a living infallible Judge always in being to direct Men: And ſays, that when *Chriſt* was come, he was that living Judge, and ſo the authority of the *Jewiſh* Church was ſuperſeded.

GENT. This is *Gratis dictum*, and begging the queſtion of the *Jew*, as I have ſaid already, who upon the authority of his Church denies our *Chriſt* to have been the *Meſſiah*. I will not repeat, only ask theſe few queſtions farther. 1. Who was this living Judge before the Flood? For the Biſhop ſays there muſt be always ſuch an one in being. 2. Was *Abraham*, who was known only to a few neighbours, and wrought no Miracles to convince others; was he, I ſay, given as ſuch a Guide or Judge to the whole Earth? And *Chriſt* was not ſo great a Traveller as *Abraham*. 3. Where was this living Judge when *Chriſt* was dead? And if there was none for three days, it might be ſo for three, or three hundred years, or for good and all, becauſe the argument fails for the neceſſity of ſuch a Judge always in being. You will not ſay the Church can fail for three days: The Promiſes of God can never fail, no not for a moment.

LORD. *Chriſt* founded his Church before he died, and left his Apoſtles for guides, chiefly *Peter*, the Prince and Principle of Unity to them all.

GENT. And yet of the Apoſtles, one betrayed him, another forſwore him (and that was *Peter*;) all forſook him.

LORD. That was humane frailty, and perſonal; but they retained the true Faith, they were in no error as to that.

John xx. 9. GENT. The greateſt that could be, *For as yet they knew not the Scripture, that he muſt riſe again from the dead.* 1 Cor. xv. 17. *And if* Chriſt *be not raiſed, your Faith is vain: ye are yet in your ſins.* And the reaſon given for chuſing *Matthias* into the room of *Judas*, was, Acts i. 22. *That he might be a witneſs with the other Apoſtles of the Reſurrection of* Chriſt. And what Faith could they have in him whom they had quite given over, and never Luke xxiv. 21. expected to ſee him more? *They truſted that it had been he who ſhould have redeemed* Iſrael. But when he was dead, all their hopes were gone, they expected no redemption from him. This was far from a chriſtian Faith, and could there be a chriſtian Church without this Faith?

To avoid all this, and ſecure the promiſe of indefectibility to the Church, ſome of your Authors of greateſt name have ſaid, that the Church was then preſerved in the Virgin *Mary*: And thence infer that the catholick Church may be preſerved in one Woman, as it was then, and that ſo it may be again, in the times of *Antichriſt*; and the great defection is foretold will be before the *ſecond coming* of *Chriſt*, when *Faith ſhall not be found upon the Earth*, that is very hardly, when it may be confined to one *Laic*, a Woman, or a baptized Infant, as others of your Doctors * allow.

LORD. This is giving up the Church quite, as a ſociety, with government, diſcipline, *&c.* and I hardly believe any of our approved Authors have ſaid ſo much, and not been cenſured for it.

GENT. They are no leſs Men than *Alenſis*, the Author of the *Gloſs* upon the *Decretals*, *Lyra*, *Occam*, *Alliaco*, *Panormitan*, *Turrecremata*, *Peter de Monte*, St. *Antoninus*, *Cuſanus*, *Clemangis*, *Jacobatius*, *J. Fr. Picus*, &c. And to ſave repetition, your Lordſhip will find their Books

* *Bannes com. in* 2. 2. *Quæſt. In Art.* 10. *Dub.* 1.

and words quoted in this ſmall treatiſe in my hand, entituled, *The incurable Scepticiſm of the Church of* Rome, printed here 1688. p. 22, *&c.* I name this little tract becauſe it is ſhort, and will give your Lordſhip no great trouble, and proceeds upon the ſame argument I have undertaken with your Lordſhip, inſtead of the particular points in diſpute betwixt the Church of *Rome* and us, as Invocation of Saints, Purgatory, *&c.* to go at once to the bottom of the cauſe, and examine the ground and foundation of Faith, as taught in the Church of *Rome:* Which is ſhewed, I think to a demonſtration, to be wholly precarious and uncertain; and that there is no greater difference and confuſion among any ſort of Men, upon any ſubject whatſoever, than there is among the Divines of the Church of *Rome*, concerning her rule of Faith, and infallible Judge of Controverſy: And every one of the different opinions about it is in flat contradiction to all the others, ſo that if any one of them be true, all the reſt muſt be falſe: And yet they all pretend to believe with divine Faith, and think it neceſſary in this caſe, becauſe it is the foundation of their Faith.

Now if according to theſe learned Doctors, the whole Church failed upon our Saviour's Death, then the gates of Hell did prevail for a time: And if the Virgin *Mary* were excepted, that would not do much as to the ſtanding of the Church. But have they any revelation to ground divine Faith upon, or upon what grounds do they believe that the Virgin *Mary* knew the Scriptures, or the Reſurrection of *Chriſt*, more than the Apoſtles, and was not under the ſame deſpondency as they were? This ſeems to be that *Sword* which *Simeon* told her ſhould *pierce through her own Soul alſo.* Luke ii. 35.

LORD. To avoid all theſe things, ſome ſuppoſe that the chriſtian Church was not formed till the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt at Pentecoſt, when *Peter* converted about three thouſand, as told in the II. of the *Acts*. And that of this *Chriſt* ſpoke, when he told *Peter* that he would build his Church upon him, and called him a *Rock*, and that it was fulfilled at this time, when *Peter* was made the inſtrument of that firſt and great converſion, which was the foundation of all that followed.

GENT. If the chriſtian Church was not formed, as ſome think, 'till after the Reſurrection, becauſe our Redemption was not till then compleated; or, as others think, till the Aſcenſion, when *Chriſt* commiſſioned his Apoſtles to *go and teach all Nations*; or till the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, when they were *endued with Power from on high:* Yet any of theſe ways it will follow that there was no chriſtian Church before the death of *Chriſt*; and then that the *Jewiſh* was the only true Church while *Chriſt* lived in the World: For the *Jewiſh* Church was to laſt till the chriſtian was formed, elſe there was no Church at all after *Chriſt* came, till his Reſurrection. And then it would follow, that the only true Church in the World did reject our *Chriſt*; and then there will be no choice left us, but either to acknowledge the fallibility of the Church, or to reject *Chriſt* from being the *Meſſiah.* But if the chriſtian Church was formed upon the firſt appearance of *Chriſt* in the World, or upon his ordaining the twelve Apoſtles, and ſending them out to preach, or upon any other Act done in his life; then, as ſaid before, the whole Church failed upon his death: But if the Church cannot fail, no not for a moment, becauſe of the neceſſity of a living infallible Judge always in being, the ſucceſſion of the Monarchy of the Church ought to be Hereditary, where the King never dies; for this ſcheme will not admit of an *Inter-Regnum* for months or years that may be ſpent in the Election of a Pope, in all which time the Church has no Head or Monarch; much leſs when there are Popes and Anti-Popes, which has occaſioned twenty ſix Schiſms in the Church of *Rome*, ſome of them of long continuance. And who is Judge in ſuch a caſe? Is every Man left to his

Mat. xxviii. 19. Luke xxiv. 49.

own

own private Judgment? And is it all one which of the contending Popes he adheres to, whether to the right or the wrong? Or can the Church have two or three oppoſite heads at the ſame time?

LORD. Therefore in *France*, where I received my education, they place not the infallibility in the Pope, but in a general Council.

GENT. I told your Lordſhip before, that there never was a Council truly general; that there are diſputes in your Church concerning general Councils, ſome receiving thoſe, or parts of them which others reject: And who ſhall be judge in this caſe?

But ſuppoſe you were agreed among your ſelves concerning your Councils, and that they were infallible, yet they are not a living Judge always in being; you have not had one ſince that of *Trent*, which began in the year 1545, and concluded in the year 1563; now a hundred and fifty years ago: And there may not be another in twice that time, if ever: Where then is the living Judge always in being, which the Biſhop of *Meaux* and others think neceſſary?

LORD. General Councils may in this ſenſe be called living, and always in being, that their Canons are always in being, and determine Controverſies to thoſe who regard them: And if new Hereſies, or Controverſies, or Schiſms of Popes ariſe, new Councils may be called to determine them.

GENT. And ages may paſs before that can be done; and the Church may be corrupted in the mean time for want of ſuch a living Judge: As *Europe* is now ſituated it would be pretty difficult to have a general Council; and it may be long enough before any Pope may be of opinion to call one, or hazard his Supremacy upon it.

19. But, my Lord, the Canons of paſt Councils are not living, nor can ſpeak for themſelves. There are Volumes printed of the learned in your own Communion giving contrary expoſitions of the Canons. I will inſtance in one: The third Canon of the fourth, commonly called the great Council of *Lateran*, acknowledged to be a true general Council by all of the Church of *Rome*, eſtabliſhed in moſt expreſs and poſitive terms, the Pope's Power of depoſing Princes, and abſolving their Subjects from their allegiance, not only if he pleaſe to call them Hereticks themſelves, but if they do not extirpate all Hereticks out of their Dominions. This is maintained in the literal ſenſe by *Bellarmin* and the *Italian* Doctors. On the other hand, the *Gallican* Church who have condemned the depoſing Doctrine, and yet own this Council of *Lateran*, are put to hard ſhifts, and many diſtinctions to ſolve this; but it is impoſſible, for either that Doctrine muſt be true, or this Council has greatly erred.

LORD. But not in Faith: This is no matter of Faith.

GENT. But is it not matter of Salvation, for which we ſhall be judged at the laſt day? St. *Paul* ſays, *They that reſiſt the* (lawful) *Powers, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation*—— *Wherefore* (ſays he, *v.* 5.) *ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath* (or fear of temporal Puniſhment from theſe Powers) *but alſo for conſcience ſake*, that is, towards God. And what are theſe guides of Conſcience who lead us wrong in this? In the deſcription of the *laſt Judgment* given by *Chriſt*, Matth. xxv. 31. to the end; Men ſhall be judged chiefly for their Practice: There is nothing mentioned there but what Men have done. And have we no guide as to Practice, while we raiſe ſuch contentions about a guide in Faith? Or is the Church a guide in Practice too? And is a general Council the Church? Then the Church has led us into a damnable Practice, unleſs the Pope has Power to depoſe

Rom. xiii. 2.

Princes

Princes at his pleaſure, and that there is no ſin in Rebellion, and all the Blood and Deſolation that follow it, if his holineſs ſo command!

LORD. But the Church does not oblige us to profeſs or ſubſcribe the depoſing Doctrine, no, nor to believe it, ſo that you may be a good Roman Catholick, notwithſtanding all this: Nay you may oppoſe the depoſing Doctrine, as the Clergy of *France* do.

GENT. And may I not be as good a Roman Catholick if I do believe it, defend it, and practiſe it too? And have I not all the encouragement the Church of *Rome* can give me, the frequent practice of the Popes themſelves, and here the Canon of a general Council for it? And have any of the Popes ever yet renounced it?

LORD. But the Doctors do not agreee about the ſenſe of that Canon: You ſee *France* takes it in a quite contrary ſenſe from the Pope and *Italian* Doctors.

GENT. Then your Lordſhip ſees that Canons are but a dead Letter, and that there may be diſputes about them: And where then is the living infallible Judge always in being? You ſee the Canons of former Councils cannot be this Judge; there muſt be another Judge to determine what the true ſenſe of them is: And who ſhould that Judge be but the Pope the Head of the Church? I am ſure if I were a Roman Catholick I ſhould be on that ſide: I could ſhew your Lordſhip ſeveral other Canons of Councils that are in diſpute among your own Doctors; but that can be no wonder, when I have already ſhewed, they are in diſpute about the Councils themſelves; ſo that there is no certainty, what the judgment of your Church is; or rather it is certain that it is moſt erroneous, and in matters that concern our eternal Salvation, as well as the Peace of the World, that is, Rebellion (among other things) which is *as Witchcraft and Idolatry*. I have inſtanced in this Sin, becauſe I know your Lordſhip to be tenacious of your loyalty.

And now, my Lord, ſince the ſaving of our Souls is the end for our being of any Church, I leave your Lordſhip to judge, whether the People are ſafeſt in the Communion of *Rome*, or of the Church of *England*, as to this point?

20. LORD. They are ſafe in the Church of *France*, where the depoſing Doctrine is diſowned.

GENT. My Lord, our diſpute is with the Church of *Rome*: And if the Church of *France* differs from the Church of *Rome*, in matters whereon our Salvation depends, they cannot be ſaid to be one Church, or to have the ſame guides to Heaven.

But, my Lord, the Pope's depoſing Power has extended it ſelf even to *France*, of which you will find frequent inſtances in their Hiſtories. And even ſo late as the holy League againſt *Hen.* III. all the Popes in that time joined with the League againſt the King, and ſupported that Rebellion by their Authority: And the generality of the Biſhops and Clergy of *France*, and their Univerſities took part with the League, and juſtified it by Principle and in Print: The Book *de juſtâ Abdicatione* Henrici III. *Of the juſt Abdication of* Hen. III. *King of* France, was then wrote upon the foot of the depoſing Power, not only of the Pope, but alſo of the People. And *D'Avila* in his Hiſtory of theſe civil Wars in *France* tells*, *A great and ſolemn Proceſſion was made by Order from the Cardinal* Legat, *to implore God's aſſiſtance* (for the ſucceſs of the League againſt the King) *in*

* D'Avila *Hiſt. of the civil Wars of* France. Engliſh Tranſlation, Printed in the *Savoy*, 1678. Lib. XI. Page 459.

which the Prelates, Prieſts, and Monks of the ſeveral religious Orders, walked all in their accuſtomed Habits; but beſides them, armed openly with Corſlets, Guns, Swords, Partiſans, and all kind of Arms offenſive and defenſive, making at once a double Shew, both of devotion, and conſtancy of heart to defend themſelves: Which Ceremony, though to many it ſeemed undecent and ridiculous, yet was of great uſe to augment and confirm the courage of the common People.

And the Cardinal *Legat* ſays in the Declaration he publiſhed to the *Leaguers* *, That *to acknowledge an Heretick for their King, is the Dream of a Mad-Man, which proceeds from nothing elſe but heretical Contagion.*

And the *Leaguers* ſhew wherein they placed their confidence, and ſay †, *They are the moſt holy Fathers* (the Popes) *and the moſt holy See that have ſent us relief: And though many have been called to that ſupreme dignity* (of the Popedom) *ſince theſe laſt troubles, yet hath there not been one of them who hath changed his affection towards us: A moſt certain teſtimony that our Cauſe is juſt.*

And there had been ſix Popes during the League, *viz. Gregory* XIII. *Sixtus* V. *Urban* VII. *Gregory* XIV. *Innocent* IX. and *Clement* VIII. And they ſupported that Rebellion, not only with their bleſſing on it and the Authors of it, and curſing the King and all the loyal Subjects who adhered to him; but they ſent more ſubſtantial relief, *viz.* three hundred thouſand Crowns for the Service of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* ‡, whom they had choſen King, by the name of *Charles* the Tenth, againſt the next in Blood, only becauſe he was a Proteſtant; and fifteen thouſand Crowns a Month to carry on that Rebellion, with an Army of ſix thouſand Foot, and one thouſand two hundred Horſe to aſſiſt theſe holy Leaguers: The Pope went Heart and Hand into this Work, *Which he accounted excellently good* (ſays *D'Avila***) *and of wonderful glory and advancement to the Apoſtolick See.* And afterwards, when the ſucceſs of the King's Arms had induced ſeveral of the Clergy and others to come over to him, the Pope ſent his Monitory Letters to the Prelates and Catholicks, commanding them †† *under pain of excommunication, and of being deprived of their Dignities and Benefices, and of being uſed as Sectaries and Hereticks, that they ſhould withdraw themſelves from thoſe places that yielded obedience to* Henry of *Bourbon* (ſo he ſtyled the King) *and from the Union and Fellowſhip of his Faction.* And the Authority of the Pope prevailed ſo far at laſt, that thoſe Catholicks who had joined with the King formed a conſpiracy againſt him, upon his delay of changing his Religion, wherein the Princes of the Blood were moſt violent, and told him plainly to his face, that if he did not perform his promiſe (to turn Roman Catholick) they would deſert him, and join with the League. See *D'Avila*, p. 611, 612, as likewiſe, 555, 601, and 605.

After his Converſion, and being by that eſtabliſhed upon the Throne they feared his Power, and therefore the Pope (as now) made leſs noiſe, with the depoſing Doctrine, which yet he would not diſown, but kept it *in petto* till a more fitting opportunity: But yet it was not carried ſo covertly, but that, even in their Sermons, wiſe and willing Men might know their meaning. ‡‡ *Ravaillac* upon his Examination, alledged the *Lent* Sermons before his Aſſaſſination of King *Hen.* IV. as the ground and encouragement to that execrable fact: But after that magnanimous Prince had

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* Ibid. Lib. XIII. p. 578. † Ibid. p. 598. ‡ Ibid. Lib. XII. p. 493, 501, 503.
** Lib. XI. p. 431. †† Lib. XIII. p. 613. ‡‡ See King *James* I. his *Defence of the Rights of Kings againſt Cardinal* Perron, p. 4.

thus

thus fallen a ſacrifice to their reſtleſs furious Zeal, and his Son ſucceeded young and fenceleſs to the Government then they ſet up again the depoſing Doctrine on high, becauſe then they durſt do it. With which our King *James* does juſtly upbraid them, particularly his Opponent the Cardinal of *Perron*, in the Preface to his Book quoted on the Margin: For it was but five years after the Murder of *Henry* IV. *viz.* An. 1615. that Cardinal *Perron* in the Aſſembly of the three Eſtates of *France*, and in the name of the firſt Eſtate, that is of the Clergy, did re-aſſert the Power of the Pope to depoſe Kings, with this reaſon, that otherwiſe, *There had not been any Church for many ages paſt; and that indeed the Church* (he meant of *Rome*) *was the very Synagogue of* Anti-Chriſt.

But to come to a freſh Inſtance now on foot, the *Pere Juvency* a *French Jeſuit* has lately Printed a Book at *Rome* in defence of the Pope's Power to depoſe Princes: And the unwillingneſs and ſhifts of the *Jeſuits* at *Paris* to diſown him in this, and to diſclaim that Doctrine fairly and above board, ſhews that it is not yet quite exſtinguiſhed in *France*, but kept in the Embers, as in the reign of *Henry* IV. For all who underſtand that order of the *Jeſuites*, know full well that none of them dare print, eſpecially upon ſuch a ſubject, without the approbation of their ſuperiors. However it is plain by this, that the depoſing Doctrine is ſtill countenanced at *Rome*; and that *France* is not entirely free from the infection: And though the vigor of *Lewis* XIV. has depreſſed it very much, we cannot ſay it is totally extinguiſhed, or that there is no danger of a relapſe, while the Authority of the Pope is ſo revered as head of the Catholick Church, and this Council of *Lateran* is ſtill owned as truly general and infallible: And the Biſhops of *France* ſtill take an Oath of Fidelity and Obedience to the Pope.

LORD. But that Oath is not inconſiſtent with their Fidelity to their King.

GENT. Pray, my Lord, let me ask you, is not an Oath to be taken in the known and declared ſenſe of the impoſer, for whoſe ſecurity it is taken?

LORD. Yes ſurely, for otherwiſe all ſuch Oaths would be equivocal, and no ſecurity at all.

GENT. Then the queſtion will be, what the Pope means by the *Regalia* of St. *Peter*, and all the Rights, Prerogatives, *&c.* of the Apoſtolick Chair, as he calls his own, to which theſe Biſhops are ſworn, *contra omnem hominem*, againſt every Man or Power in the World: For it is the Pope who impoſes this Oath, and it is taken for his ſecurity: And has he not ſufficiently declared what he means by it? Take it in the words of the *Proceedings of the Parliament of* Paris, in the *Appendix*, where they ſay, *That by this decree* (of the *Bulla in Cœna Domini*) *the Popes declare themſelves Sovereign Monarchs of the World.* And this is no more than is given them at their Coronation, as you have it in the *Roman* Pontifical, where the triple Crown is put upon the Popes head with theſe words*, *Receive this Diadem adorned with three Crowns: And know your ſelf to be Father of Princes and Kings, Governor of the World, and Vicar upon Earth of our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt. And muſt not this Governor of the World have power to dethrone all petty Kings and Princes that are under him? Elſe how can he govern the World? And the Popes think that this their Sovereign Power of depoſing Princes is fully recognized to them in the foreſaid Canon of the Council of *Lateran*. And no Pope has ever yet been brought to diſown this Power: So far from it, that the Pope who

* Accipe Thyaram tribus Coronis ornatam: Et ſcias te eſſe Patrem Principum & Regum, Rectorem Orbis, in Terrâ Vicarium Salvatoris noſtri *Jeſu Chriſti*.

moſt of any other aſſerted this *Bulla in Cœna*, and ſet it up on high, cauſing it to be affixed and publiſhed, not only at the Doors of the Churches at *Rome*, but in the field of *Flora*, that all might take notice, as you find at the end of the *Bull*, in *Appendix*; and who practiſed his depoſing Power (the laſt in *England*) upon Queen *Elizabeth*, abſolving her Subjects from their Allegiance, and commanding all the Catholicks in *England* to pay her no more Obedience, nor Taxes, *&c.* I ſay this ſame Pope has been pick'd out to be canonized for a Saint, in the year 1712, by the preſent Pope, with all the ſolemnity and requiſites in the Church of *Rome* for making a Saint: And this preſent Pope, as well as his Predeceſſors, does, every year, thunder out the excommunications of this *Bulla in Cœna*, by Bell, Book, and Candle, which, like *Dracanſor*, cuts down Friends and Foes; for there never was a Roman Catholick King in *England*, or in any other Kingdom, either before the Reformation or ſince, but is excommunicated by this *Bull*, and by the 24th Article, paſt the Power even of the Pope to abſolve him, unleſs he firſt abrogate and annull all the Laws of his Country which are contrary to the tenor of this *Bull*: And this never yet was done, and I dare ſay never will be done, in any Popiſh Country in *Europe*; and there is not, nor ever was any Popiſh Country in any other part of the World, unleſs you will except the late *Spaniſh* Plantations in *America*: And not only the Kings themſelves, but all their Parliaments, Councellors, Judges, Officers, even to Printers or Publiſhers, or any whoſoever that *either directly or indirectly, tacitely or expreſſly, violate, depreſs, or reſtrain the eccleſiaſtical Liberties or Rights of the Apoſtolick See and holy Church of* Rome, *howſoever and whenſoever obtained, or to be obtained*, are all here together excommunicated; as likewiſe all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Clergy, who ſhall do the ſame, and all who ſhall preſume to attempt any oppoſition or contravention to any thing contained in this *Bull*, are left under the *diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and of his bleſſed Apoſtles*, Peter *and* Paul, which is the concluding Sanction of this *Bull*: And here Saints muſt be joined with God, leſt his diſpleaſure ſhould not be ſufficient. By all this it appears, that there is hardly any Roman Catholick in the World above the condition of a Plow-Man, who is not excommunicated by this *Bull*. And here you ſee plainly the Pope aſſuming a temporal or civil Power over all Emperors, Kings, and Princes, limiting them by Artic. 5. as to the raiſing Taxes upon their own Subjects, without his expreſs Licenſe; and exempting all Eccleſiaſticks from being any way taxed by them, Artic. 18. Or being under their Power, even in civil or criminal Cauſes, as by Artic. 19. though it were Treaſon, Murder, *&c.* for which noble Principle *Thomas Becket*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was canonized, for maintaining the liberties of holy Church!

Now, my Lord, I leave it to your ſelf, whether if you were a King, you would deſire all the Biſhops of your Kingdom to be under an Oath of Fidelity to another, who pretended an abſolute and civil Power over you, with Authority to depoſe you, as he had done to ſeveral of your Predeceſſors, and would by no means be brought to diſclaim ſuch his Power; but on the contrary, made a freſh claim of it every year, and of his being the Sovereign Monarch of the World? Nay, he puts in his claim for more, if more can be thought of, as it is worded in the *Bulla in Cœna*, Artic. 24. *All the Rights of the Apoſtolick See and holy Church of* Rome, *howſoever and whenſoever obtained or to be obtained*—— *Howſoever obtained*, that is, you are not to enquire whether right or wrong: And *whenſoever*, that is, you are not to go back to antiquity, or the inſtitution, or look farther than the preſent poſſeſſion, which with him gives right when it is for him: And *to be obtained*, ſecures any new acquiſitions he can

make, and all his future pretences. This is like ſwearing *Et cætera's*. And now I think the plenitude of his Power is ſufficiently guarded! And all this is included in the *Regalia* of St. *Peter*, and the Rights of the *Roman* Church, to which the Biſhops of *France*, as well as of other Popiſh Countries are ſworn, if they take that Oath ſincerely, that is, according to the known and declared ſenſe of the Impoſer.

21. LORD. But I ſuppoſe this Oath muſt have been taken away, if that model of Church government had gone on, which was propoſed by the Parliament of *Paris* (and no doubt with the King's approbation) that a Council of the Biſhops, *&c.* in *France* ſhould be conſtituted by his Majeſty to diſpoſe of vacant Biſhopricks, *&c.* and determine all eccleſiaſtical matters without any appeal or recourſe to *Rome*.

GENT. And it had gone on, but for the ſucceſs of that confederacy formed by Pope *Innocent* XI. againſt the King of *France*, to re-eſtabliſh his Supremacy there, in order to which he ſent a *Nuncio* to our late King *James* to invite him to be head of that confederacy: But he who had learnt no other than *French* Popery, abſolutely refuſed, and oppoſed the encroachments of the Pope's Supremacy, as appears plainly by his concurrence with Monſieur *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador, then reſiding with him, to cauſe the *Proceedings of the Parliament of* Paris againſt the Popes Supremacy, hereunto annexed, to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and printed at *London* in the year 1688, which was his laſt of reigning here: And the Pope had this for his excuſe, that he could not otherwiſe have carried on his confederacy, than by concerting the depoſition of King *James*: Who would not have agreed to the firſt of the Articles ſworn at the *Hague* by the Princes, Allies, and Confederates, in *February* 1691. and printed here at that time, *viz. That no Peace be made with* Lewis XIV. *till he has made reparation to the holy See, for whatſoever he has acted againſt it; and till he annul and make void all thoſe infamous Proceedings againſt the holy Father*, Innocent XI. Theſe are the *Proceedings of the Parliament of* Paris hereunto annexed. And in the Treaty of King *William* with *Spain*, bearing date *Dec.* 31. 1690. it is ſtipulated, Art. 4. *That all things in the Eccleſiaſticks* (in *France*) *ſhould be reſtored as in their former ſtate.*

Now if King *James* would not come in to theſe things, was there not ſufficient reaſon for the Pope to exerciſe his depoſing Power againſt him, in the beſt manner that he could? And if he had ſuch Power from God, then King *James* had no injury to complain of as done to him, being depoſed by his lawful Superior.

LORD. You recall to my mind the aſtoniſhment we were in here at the cold reception, and even ſlights put upon the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, Ambaſſador of King *James* at *Rome*, while a Proteſtant Doctor, no ways acceptable there upon his own account, and ſome others, were careſſed in an extraordinary manner. But the event of things explains their conduct: And now we ſee the reaſon why *Innocent* XI. was then called here the Proteſtant Pope, becauſe he took part againſt King *James*, and helped on the Revolution. And I have been told, that at that time the Pope did require of King *James* his promiſe to uſe his endeavours to have the Oath of Supremacy taken away in *England*; and that his Majeſty did poſitively refuſe it, which ſome of us wondered at here: But that another did promiſe it, and in this, was as good as his word, and has taken this Stumbling-block out of the way.

GENT. King *James*'s fate was very hard: He was abdicated in *England*, becauſe he was a Papiſt: And the Pope wrought his depoſition, becauſe he

was too much a Proteſtant: And ſuch Proteſtants are the *French* reckoned at *Rome*, they are called there *Hæretici Tolerati*, *Tolerated Hereticks*: Nor would they be tolerated, if the Pope could help it, that is, if he durſt imitate the example of his Predeceſſor, the new Saint, Pope *Pius* V. to depoſe the Sovereign, abſolve the Subjects from their Allegiance, and interdict the Kingdom. But that experiment proved ſo fatal to the Pope in *England*, that it is not likely it will ever be tryed again, either in *France*, or any where elſe: The thunder of the Vatican is ſpent, and become a *Brutum Fulmen*: The Emperor keeps *Commachio* ſtill, notwithſtanding it is particularly named, by the *Latin* name *Comaclum*, in the *Bulla in Cœna*. The 2.d Article damns all who appeal from the Pope to a future Council: Yet have we ſeen it done in form by the King of *France* and the Parliament of *Paris*, and that very *Bull* named, and thrown off without any regard: And the whole *Gallican* Church are under this excommunication in almoſt all the Articles of it, by the four memorable Propoſitions, here annexed, which were eſtabliſhed in the general Aſſembly of their Biſhops and Clergy in the year 1682. upon which the Pope refuſed his *Bull* to the Biſhops there, as is complained of in the *Proceedings of the Parliament of* Paris, and was the ground of their quarrel with Pope *Innocent* XI. And the learned *du Pin* wrote his Treatiſe before-mentioned *de la Puiſſance Eccleſiaſtique*, &c. in defence of theſe Propoſitions againſt all the objections of the Pope and Church of *Rome*.

LORD. You ſhould have ſaid the Court of *Rome*.

GENT. I underſtand not the diſtinction: If you mean nothing by the Church of *Rome* but a general Council, then there is no Church of *Rome* now in the World; but if there be a Church of *Rome*, where ſhall we look for it but at *Rome*? And what is it there but the Pope and his Cardinals? And is not that it which you call the Court of *Rome*? Where then is the difference?

LORD. We own the Pope to be the firſt and the chief of the Biſhops, and as ſuch keep Communion with him, as it is ſaid in the *Proceedings of the Parliament of* Paris, p. 51.

GENT. The Precedence of Biſhops is not a matter of that conſequence as to break the Peace of the Church for it, or which of them ſhould be preſident in a Council: If that were all the difference, the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould have it with all my heart, or any other Biſhop they ſhould agree upon: And if this were all that is meant by the Supremacy of the Pope, we ſhould not trouble the World much about it. But he will not be content with any ſuch thing. The Supremacy he claims is no leſs than an abſolute Sovereignty over all the Churches and Kingdoms of the Earth, their Biſhops and their Kings: And this not by any eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, or Grant of temporal Princes, which might be conditional, limited, and revocable, and would infer their Superiority to him; but by a divine and indefeaſible Right, as Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, and Heir of all the promiſes made to him, unalterable, unlimitable, and unaccountable to any Power upon Earth.

LORD. Whatever he means by his Supremacy, we mean no ſuch thing, or other than that he is the firſt or chief of the Biſhops, and as ſuch, think our ſelves obliged to keep Communion with him.

GENT. But when he means one thing by his Supremacy, and you mean another, and he has ſufficiently declared what he means by it, and requires your owning it and ſwearing to it, for his ſecurity; who deal moſt ſincerely with him? We who not believing any ſuch Supremacy in him, will neither own it nor ſwear to it: Or you, who not believing it more than we, in the ſenſe you know he means it, yet own it in general terms, but in a quite contrary ſenſe to what you know he means, and truſts to as his

Secu-

Security? We diſown it, and fight againſt it: You fight againſt it as much as we, yet ſeem to own it.

LORD. But though we differ from the Pope upon the point of his Supremacy, yet we keep Communion with him.

22. GENT. Is not excommunication putting a Man out of Communion?

LORD. Yes, for ſo is the word excommunicate, that is, to put out of Communion.

GENT. Can a Man be ſaid then to be in the Communion of a Biſhop who has excommunicated him?

LORD. No, I think not, elſe excommunication ſignifies nothing.

GENT. Then none can be truly ſaid to be in Communion with the Pope who are excommunicated by him every year, in the *Bulla in Cœna*: And that is all *France*, and you, my Lord, and all who are on your ſide of the queſtion concerning the Supremacy of the Pope; for that is the main, almoſt the only ſubject of that *Bull*.

LORD. But all Caſuiſts do agree, that an excommunication does not bind, which is made *Clave Errante*, that is, where the Judge paſſes Sentence through miſ-information, inadvertence, or of malice, ſelf-deſigns, or other ſiniſter motive: In theſe the Judge has erred, and alſo, where he has exceeded his Authority, and extended it to things that are not ſubject to it; in theſe caſes the Sentence is unjuſt, and will not be ratified in Heaven.

GENT. But who is judge whether the Sentence be pronounced *Clave Errante* or not? And how far the Pope's Authority does extend? He has excommunicated you, all of you, as if each one were particularly named, for ſo it is expreſſed in the *Bull*. On the other hand you deſpiſe this *Bull*, and ſay, with the *Parliament of* Paris, that he has hereby excommunicated himſelf! And ſo you have a head of the Church who is excommunicated! And ſo of every Pope who gives his Sanction to this *Bull*, that is, all the Popes in our time, and long before. And from whoſe Communion is the Pope of *Rome* excommunicated? Is there any other Communion but that of *Rome*? Is a Perſon excommunicated no longer a Member of the Church? And can he then be the head of it? Theſe are matters of no ſmall importance, no leſs than whether we are Members of the Church, or cut off from it? You are cut off, ſays the Pope and Church of *Rome*. No, ſays *France* to them, you your ſelves are cut off: And yet theſe two Churches are the ſame! And is there no judge in this caſe? Is every Man left to his own private Judgment? How then have we been teized with that queſtion, who ſhall be judge? This anſwers all objections with you; for begin at what point of Popery we will, and bring arguments never ſo convincing, we are always ſtopt with this queſtion, who ſhall be judge? And ſo you refer all to the Authority of your Church: But when you anſwer this as to your own caſe, you will have anſwered it as to us too.

If the Pope is ſupreme Head of the univerſal Church, he muſt have Power of excommunication over all in his own Communion, that is, according to his ſcheme, over all Chriſtians in the World: And to diſpute the validity of his excommunication, is a total denial of his Supremacy, and ſetting up another ſupreme above him. And who is that? Who is judge whether his excommunication is valid, or not? And by what Authority does he judge? It muſt be by ſome Authority ſuperior to that of the Pope: And ſo he is ſupreme over the ſupreme.

But if the Pope's excommunication ſtands (without which his Supremacy falls) we may ſay, *who then can be ſaved?* All the chriſtian Kings and Princes that are, or ever were in the World, even thoſe of his own Communion, particularly in *England*, as well before the Reformation as ſince,

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are all together curſed and anathematized to the pit of Hell, by the *Bulla in Cœna*; and with them all their Biſhops, Divines, Parliaments, Judges, Lawyers, Clerks, Printers and Publiſhers, or any others who have any manner of way been aiding, aſſiſting, or conſenting, though tacitely, to the contravention of their Princes to any part of this *Bull*, that is, as I ſaid before, almoſt every one above the condition of a Plough-man, are hereby all damn'd, by all the Authority the Pope has: Therefore have a care of giving him too much, for he will take all any body will give: He accepted this from *Bellarmin* *, That *if the Pope ſhould command the practice of Vice, and forbid Virtue, the Church were bound to believe Vice to be good, and Virtue to be wicked.* Nay his own Canon Law ſaith †, That *if the Pope were ſo wicked, as to carry with him innumerable People by Troops as Slaves to Hell, to be with himſelf for ever tormented; yet no mortal Man whatever muſt preſume here to reprove his faults, becauſe he is judge of all, and himſelf to be judged of none.* So then they muſt keep their reproofs, and not endeavour to ſtop the Career till they are with him in Hell, for then I ſuppoſe his Supremacy ceaſes! Behold the Machine, of humane invention, which God never thought of, nor ever once mentioned of climbing to Heaven by a ſort of Mechaniſm, upon a Ladder of Popes, Cardinals, Councils, *&c.* And tho' we ſee them leading us by Troops into Hell, we muſt give no obſtruction, becauſe it would break the Machine of their being our infallible guides to Heaven!

23. LORD. But after all, if you could find an infallible guide, whom you believed to be ſo, it would give you much eaſe, and be a comfort to you.

GENT. But I muſt have ſome reaſon to believe him to be ſuch a guide: And I could not be more ſure of it than of the truth of that reaſon upon which I did believe it; ſo that all recurs upon my own reaſon ſtill: And if my reaſon miſleads me in this, it is the moſt fatal deluſion, becauſe it ſtops all methods of recovery, when I have once given to another the dominion over my Faith. But this the Apoſtles diſclaimed, for when they exhorted
2 Cor. i. 24. the Churches, they ſaid, *Not for that we have dominion over your Faith, but are helpers of your Joy: For by Faith ye ſtand*, that is, by your own
Gal. i. 8. Faith. And *if we, or any Angel from Heaven preach any other Goſpel unto you, let him be accurſed.* Did not this make them Judges, whether any new Goſpel or Doctrine was preached unto them? And our Saviour
Luke xii. 57. bids them ſtick to their own Judgment, and ſaid unto them, *Yea, and why*
John x. 37. *even of your own ſelves judge ye not what is right?* And, *if I do not the works of my Father, believe me not.* Was not this appealing to their Judgment, whether he did the works of his Father, or not? And as many as followed their own Judgment, they believed on him: But they who were tyed up implicitly to the Authority of the Church, they rejected him;
John vii. 48. they ſaid, *Have any of the Rulers, or of the* Phariſees *believed on him? But this People who knoweth not the Law are curſed.*

LORD. If a Man durſt diſpute the methods of Providence, it would ſeem ſtrange that God did not order it ſo, as that the Church ſhould have firſt known their *Meſſiah* when he came, and have declared him to the People, and then they all would have believed on him.

1 Cor. i. 25. GENT. The Apoſtle ſays, *That the fooliſhneſs of God is wiſer than Men.* And he gives the reaſon in the words following, why *God choſe the fooliſh things of the World to confound the wiſe, that no Fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence, but he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.* And

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* De Rom. Pont. *l.* 4. *c.* 5. † Decret. *Part.* I. diſt. 40. can. 6. Si Papa, *&c.*

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he applieth this to the caſe we are upon, to the Revelation of *Jeſus Chriſt* when he came: For if he had been received upon the Declaration and Authority of the Church, we had gloried in the Church, whoſe Authority would have been prior and ſuperior to that of *Chriſt* himſelf, as being the ground upon which we believed him. But as the Sun cannot be ſeen but by his own light, ſo God and *Chriſt* cannot otherwiſe be known; no adventitious or borrowed light can ſhew the original light whence all leſſer lights are deriv'd, which, like the Moon and Stars, diſappear at the preſence of the Sun: So the Church diſappeared at the preſence of *Chriſt*, who was known by his own light only, *We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.* Here was no going to the Church to know which was he? Or if you had, ſhe would have miſled you: It would have been like going to the Moon to ask where the Sun was. The Church is the Moon, and the Stars are the particular Biſhops, and Doctors, and other eminent Men: But *Chriſt* is the Sun of righteouſneſs, and he will not give his glory to another. John i. 14.

LORD. But few believed *Chriſt* when he came, or in all his life, for it is ſaid, that *He was to the* Jews *a Stumbling-block, and to the* Greeks *fooliſhneſs.* 1 Cor. i. 23.

GENT. The Stumbling-block to the *Jews* was the Authority of their Church againſt him, as I have ſhewed; and the *Greeks*, that is, the *Gentiles*, could not till after the Reſurrection of *Chriſt* have any notion of the œconomy of our Redemption by him. Nor was he preached unto them till after the Viſion of the Sheet to St. *Peter*, Acts x. For the Goſpel was to be preached to the *Jews* firſt, but when they rejected it, leaning upon the infallibility of their Church, then it was ſent to the *Gentiles*: Who being free from that Stumbling-block of the Church, received it readily, and now make up the whole Body of the chriſtian Church throughout the World. Acts xiii. 46.

And this teaches us another thing, that is, that an infallible guide (ſuppoſing ſuch a one) would not be an infallible aſſurance to us, unleſs we were infallible too: For beſides our not knowing him, or miſtaking another for him (for there has been falſe *Chriſts*) we might miſ-underſtand his Doctrine, and turn it to quite contrary purpoſes from what he intended. This was the caſe in our Saviour's time: He was a guide truly infallible, and yet how few followed him, notwithſtanding all his Miracles and heavenly Doctrine? Therefore while we are fallible our ſelves, and liable to errors, and miſtakes, in vain do we grope after an infallible aſſurance, otherwiſe than the evidence of things makes them plain to that reaſon which God has given us.

The Angels of Heaven fell: *Adam* fell from his innocency: And the ſeven Biſhops who were the ſeven Stars in the right hand of *Chriſt*, and the ſeven golden Candleſticks, the ſeven Churches in the midſt of which he walked, theſe all are fallen; and what are we that we expect infallibility? What Biſhop, what Church, now is ſo infallibly ſeated as theſe beloved ſeven were? What Church has a promiſe of being exempted from that general defection which is foretold will be before the ſecond coming of *Chriſt*, when he ſhall not find Faith upon the Earth? Or may we not rather think, that the plea of infallibility in the Church of *Rome* (ſo many ways detected) which hides repentance from her eyes, and hinders her to return from any of her errors, which by this means continually flow without any ebbing on any ſide, I ſay, may we not think this always encreaſing corruption the chief cauſe to bring on that univerſal defection in the latter times? Does it not ſeem to haſten apace, to be even at the doors, when we ſee no abſurdity ſo great, no text of Scripture ſo full and expreſs, to be too hard Rev. i. 20.

for this infallibility? Not the denying of all our outward ſenſes at once, and owning that we neither ſee, hear, feel, taſte, nor ſmell! Not the expreſs inſtitution of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, to which the Council of *Conſtance* claps a *Non Obſtante*, and takes away the Cup from the Laity! Not the authority and ſtrong reaſoning of the Apoſtles, 1 *Cor.* xiv. againſt publick Prayer in an unknown Tongue! All theſe are over-ruled by infallibility! And many more we have to inſtance in the particular Doctrines in diſpute with the Church of *Rome*: In all which, by virtue of her unlimited and infallible Power of interpretation, ſhe leaves no text of Scripture of any meaning, other than ſhe thinks fit to put upon them, let the words be never ſo expreſs. And this indeed is no other than taking the Scriptures wholly from us, while we muſt not read them with our own Underſtanding: And the reſult of this, is, that the whole foundation of our Faith is in the Church of *Rome*, without Scripture or any thing elſe, becauſe the Scripture and every thing elſe is put abſolutely and implicitly in her Power. And yet no Man alive knows what this Church of *Rome* is, or where to be found: I mean that Church of *Rome* to which the infallibility is annexed: For if you travel to *Rome*, you will ſee nothing there but what, by a modern diſtinction, you call the Court of *Rome*. Where then is this infallible Church of *Rome*? Some place it in the Pope alone, as the only Heir of St. *Peter*, and living Judge of Controverſy, and therefore above all Councils, and the whole Body of the Church put together. Others like not this; and becauſe ſome Popes have proved heretical, and have been cenſured and depoſed for it; and others of them have proved moſt wicked and flagitious Men, who beſides the viciouſneſs of their own lives, have filled the world with Blood, Rebellions, and Uſurpations, in purſuance of the depoſing Power they have aſſumed over Princes; for theſe and other reaſons they would not have the infallibility truſted with the Pope, but lodge it in a general Council, as ſuperior to the Pope, with Power to reform and even to depoſe him. A third Party approve of neither of theſe ways, for as they think the Pope alone without a Council, not to be infallible, ſo neither the Council without the Pope, who is the head of it, and without whom there cannot be a lawful Council, as not a Parliament without the King; theſe are for King and Parliament, and place the ſupremacy and infallibility in neither Pope nor Council apart, but only when both together and agreeing: But becauſe this will defeat ſeveral of thoſe Councils called general, and ſplit others, as when the Pope or his Legates withdrew from the Council (like a King leaving his Parliament) then ſuch was no longer a lawful Council, but a ſchiſmatical Conventicle, as was ſaid of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, &c. and becauſe there have been Popes againſt Popes, and Councils againſt Councils; and that the requiſites neceſſary to conſtitute a lawful Council and conſequently infallible, are ſome of them diſputed, as the Authority of ſummoning and convening the Council, and preſiding in it; and other requiſites allowed by all to be neceſſary, are impoſſible to be known with any certainty, as, that all the Fathers there met ſhould uſe all diligence to examine and canvaſs to the bottom every point that comes before them, and that they ſhould be under no terror or fear of any, nor byaſſed by Party, hopes of preferment or gain, or any other corrupt paſſion, but doing all things out of true zeal to the glory of God, and good of the Church; otherwiſe that there is no infallibility follows that Council; and this being impoſſible for any to know but God alone, conſequently the infallibility of all Councils is rendered precarious, and no certainty at all in them; or rather it is certain, by the Hiſtories of all general Councils, that theſe humane paſſions not conſiſtent with infallibility, had an influence in all or moſt of them; ſo that we cannot be certain of the infallibility of any Council,

cil, unleſs we are infallibly ſure that none of theſe humane paſſions had a mixture in it: This makes a fourth Party in the Church of *Rome*, that is, of thoſe who place the infallibility neither in Pope nor Council, jointly or ſeverally, but in the Church militant, as they ſpeak, that is, the Church diffuſive, or all Churches up and down the World. We muſt then travel and learn. Here is a wide mark, and we are plainly left at laſt to our own private Judgment, to collect and compare, to approve or reject what we find ſcattered in all the diſtant Churches upon Earth: And no Man's life or capacity will be ſufficient to make the inquiry, in any tolerable meaſure.

And now, my Lord, which of theſe four ſorts of infallibility will you take? There are three to one againſt you, chuſe which you will: And all theſe are of the Church of *Rome*: And what difference is there betwixt having no guide, or one you cannot find?

LORD. If I cannot find him, I have him not; and that is all one as to have none.

Miſerable Man! If he has no infallible guide, and is fallible himſelf; and yet upon his going right depends his eternal either happineſs or miſery.

24. GENT. You may as well find fault with the Creation. *Shall the Clay ſay to the Potter, why haſt thou made me thus?* Who was guide to the Angels that fell? Who was guide to *Adam?* Who was, or who is, guide to all the Earth? To the Heathens, to *Mahometans*, to *Jews?* Theſe laſt ſtick to their Church, as an infallible guide, and therefore are moſt obſtinate, and the moſt inveterate Enemies to Chriſtianity. Who is guide to Infants and to Idiots? And ſhall we interrogate the Almighty what he will do with theſe, or why he created them? And perhaps the greateſt part of Mankind die before they come to the years of diſcretion: And when they are of age, how few are capable to judge, or have opportunity or capacity to examine the different pleas betwixt Church and Church, Religion and Religion? And do we not ſee the generality of the World take up their Church and Religion juſt according to their education? My Lord, if you and I had been born and bred in *Turkey* we might have been *Mahometans*.

LORD. Is Religion then nothing but a chance, according to the place, we are born in, or where we receive our education?

GENT. No, my Lord; truth is truth, though all the World ſhould depart from it: And there have been Converts in all Nations and Religions; but none where Men cannot be perſuaded to overcome the prejudice of education, and examine impartially for themſelves: But infallibility barrs all examination, for that implies a doubt, and brings us to private Judgment; and where then ſhall we wander? And yet you muſt apply to every Man's private Judgment when you would make him a Convert to your Church, why elſe do you argue or reaſon with him? Muſt he not then examine all the arguments and motives you give him for the infallibility of your Church; and judge for himſelf whether they are well grounded, and will bear the teſt of reaſon? Or muſt every body have reaſon and examine but your ſelves? Believe it then you are in the moſt dangerous condition of any: And you are the Men who receive your Religion by chance, juſt according to your education. Suppoſe another ſhould return your own anſwer to you, and ſay, I will not examine, I am infallibly ſure, and I will hear no more: What would you think of ſuch a Man? Every Enthuſiaſt will tell you the ſame: He will take his Oath that he is infallible! And will hear no more than the deaf Adder the charms of reaſon; but he will bid you ſilence your reaſon, for that is it which blinds you, though *Solomon* calls it

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the *Lamp of God*, which he hath planted in our heart, *Prov.* xx. 27. This is the *Image of God* in which he created us, and will be our Judge and Witneſs in the laſt day, as it is given us for our guide here: But inſtead of trimming this Lamp, to make it burn clearly, we hear the general cry from your ſide, *Put it out*——*Put it out*——We cannot deal with you 'till that Lamp be extinguiſhed, it thwarts us at every turn, and ſtarts a hundred objections, that we cannot believe peaceably for it. But when it is quite taken away (if that were poſſible to be done) then you offer to ſhew us a Meteor of infallibility (about which your ſelves are not agreed, nor know where to find it) which will keep us from ever doubting any more: As when a Man's Eyes are put out, he cannot ſee a dirty ſtep or a precipice before him, and then he is in that ſtate of ſecurity you propoſe.

LORD. You ſee how this guide of yours, this Lamp of Reaſon has miſled the Nations; for Heathens, *Mahometans*, &c. all plead Reaſon.

GENT. And we have no other method with them than to Reaſon on ſtill with them, and ſhew them that Reaſon is of our ſide: And vaſt multitudes of them have been thus converted, even all the chriſtian Churches now in the World; for all of them are of the *Gentiles:* And for thoſe who yet remain unconverted, or have not had the Goſpel ſufficiently propoſed to them, we muſt leave them to God who made them, and will require from no Man more than he has given him, but will judge all People righteouſly. Of this I have ſpoke before.

25. But I obſerve that ſince this notion of infallibility came into the Church of *Rome*, it has rooted out all Charity, and her Religion has been chiefly employed in curſing and damning all the World but her ſelf. Her Canons are tagged with Anathemas upon every occaſion, and you hear little in them of who ſhall be ſaved, but every page is full of who muſt be damned. And the *Bulla in Cœna* pins the Basket, and leaves very few to eſcape, even of the *Roman* Communion it ſelf.

It is a common argument with which your Prieſts frighten Women and Children, *viz. You Proteſtants ſay it is poſſible for a Papiſt to be ſaved: But we Papiſts ſay, it is impoſſible for a Proteſtant to be ſaved: Therefore it is ſafer being of our ſide.* But this has turned to their confuſion, for as there is nothing in it but a confident averring, it ſhews that they have no Charity, which is greater even than Faith it ſelf, 1 *Cor.* xiii. 13. And therefore that they can be no chriſtian Church: Their want of Charity being by this much plainer than our want of Faith. Take *Chillingworth*'s anſwer to this, Chap. vii. of his Works, p. 306. "*You* (ſays he to "*Knot* the *Jeſuit) vainly pretend, that all Roman Catholicks, not one* "*excepted, profeſs that Proteſtancy unrepented deſtroys Salvation.* From "which generality we may except two at leaſt to my knowledge, and theſe "are, your ſelf, and *Franciſcus de Sancta Clara*, who aſſures us, that ig- "norance and repentance may excuſe a Proteſtant from damnation, tho' "dying in his error: And this is all the Charity, which by your own con- "feſſion alſo, the moſt favourable Proteſtants allow to Papiſts.

Militiere was perſuaded that King *Charles* I. was happy in Heaven, becauſe he preferred the Catholick Faith before his Crown, his Liberty, his Life. [Now it is known to all the World that King *Charles* I. lived and died in the Communion of the Church of *England*, which he declared with his laſt Breath upon the Scaffold.] But Arch-biſhop *Bramhal* gave him this Anſwer, "That which you have confeſſed here concerning King *Charles*, "will ſpoil your former demonſtration, *That the Proteſtants have neither* "*Church nor Faith.* But you confeſs no more here than I have heard "ſome of your famous *Roman* Doctors at *Paris* acknowledge to be true in

" general; and no more than that which the Biſhop of *Chalcedon* (a Man " that cannot be ſuſpected of Partiality on our ſide) hath affirmed and pub- " liſhed in two of his Books to the World in print, That *Proteſtantibus* " *credentibus*, &c. *Perſons living in the Communion of the Proteſtant* " *Church, if they endeavour to learn the Faith, and are not able to at-* " *tain unto it*; *but hold implicitly in the preparation of their minds, and* " *are ready to receive it when God ſhall be pleaſed to reveal it* (which " all good Proteſtants and all good Chriſtians are) *they neither want Church* " *nor Faith, nor Salvation.*

LORD. *Militiere* ſuppoſed that King *Charles* I. ſecretly and inviſibly in the laſt moments of his life, was by God's Spirit united to the Roman Catholick Church.

GENT. Then no Proteſtant, at leaſt no Proteſtant King need deſpair— But to theſe Divines let us add ſome royal Teſtimonies. King *James* I. in his *Premonition to Chriſtian Monarchs* tells us, That his Mother (Queen *Mary*) as ſhe was ready to lay her head upon the Block, ſent him this meſſage; *That although ſhe was of another Religion than that wherein he was brought up, yet ſhe would not preſs him to change, except his conſcience forc'd him to it*; *not doubting but if he led a good life, and were careful to do Juſtice and govern well, he would be in a good caſe in his own Religion.*

This was perfectly agreeable to the Sentiments of his Grandſon the late King *James* II. who often ſpoke to thoſe Divines who had the inſtruction of both his Daughters, to be diligent in making them religious and good Chriſtians, in the way of the Church of *England*, without ſo much as hinting at any change of their Principles towards the Church of *Rome*, as I have heard my ſelf from two of them, Dr. *Turner* late Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Ken* late Lord Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*. And neither before nor after his coming to the Crown would he ſuffer any attempt to be made upon them as to Religion, of which there is an eminent Witneſs now alive, who knows if I ſpeak truth. And when a certain Zealot preſſed him to endeavour their reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*, and offered his Service for the purpoſe, the King anſwered, *No, let him alone, they are ſo good they will be ſaved in any Church.*

LORD. It is ſtrange then he ſhould be a Roman Catholick himſelf.

GENT. Not at all, for he might think that beſt for him, without thinking thoſe in hazard who were ſincerely of the Church of *England*, and lived up to the rules of it.

LORD. He could not think it lawful to be preſent at your common Prayers.

GENT. He did not think it unlawful, becauſe he heard them at his Coronation.

LORD. That was upon a particular occaſion: But does any Roman Catholick think it lawful to hear them conſtantly or frequently?

26. GENT. They did think ſo; for after the Reformation the Roman Catholicks of *England* came to our Churches and to our Common Prayer without any ſcruple. And this continued till about the tenth year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when Pope *Pius* V. forbad it by his *Bull:* So that he made the ſeparation; and if he had not ſufficient Power to do it, or that there was not ſufficient cauſe for it, then he made the Schiſm too, and it lies wholly at his door. Now it is the undoubted Right of every national Church to reform, alter, and model their Liturgy, as ſhall be moſt convenient, provided there be nothing put into it that is contrary to the Faith, which is not ſo much as alledged againſt our publick Offices. They

have a Breviary at *Milan* and in other places, different from that at *Rome*. And in *England* before the Reformation there were divers in ſeveral Dioceſſes, as what was uſed in the Church of *Salisbury*, of *Hereford*, of *Bangor*, of *York*, of *Lincoln*, &c. as is mentioned in the *Preface* to our *Common-Prayer-Book, concerning the Service of the Church*. But theſe differences did not break Communion, nor did the alteration made at the Reformation, 'till the Pope by the Plenitude of his Supremacy, and to be revenged upon Queen *Elizabeth*, took upon him to break the Communion. For which as there was no ſufficient cauſe, our Liturgy being all orthodox, even our Enemies being Judges; ſo on the other hand, the Pope's Supremacy did not extend to break in upon the Rights and Liberties of any national Church, as has been and is ſtill maintained by the whole *Gallican* Church, and others the moſt learned in the Church of *Rome*. And, my Lord, I know ſome Roman Catholicks of figure and good ſenſe in *England*, who merely upon this account have come over to our Church, and thought themſelves obliged to return to the Communion of their national Church, and to heal the breach made by that exceſs of the Pope's Supremacy, which no ſober Man on this ſide the *Alps* will own. It is ſtrange to own it in fact, and yet deny it in words. Whoever own this *Bull* of *Pius* V. for breaking Communion in *England*, muſt alſo own the full extent of the *Bulla in Cœna*, which has his Authority, in a particular manner, as well as of all the Popes ſince. And it damns almoſt all the Papiſts, as well as all who are not Papiſts.

27. LORD. We deſire not to be called Papiſts, we think it a word of contempt, as if we were only Partiſans for the Pope, and of that party or faction of Chriſtians who would raiſe his power above the Church and every thing elſe.

GENT. I am glad your Lordſhip thinks ſo, and indeed the Church of *France* (where you were bred) are not Papiſts in this ſenſe. They are got free, in a good meaſure from the ſervitude of the Pope: But they are ſtill Roman Catholicks.

LORD. We do not delight in that word neither, as if our Catholiciſm were tyed only to *Rome*; we term our ſelves Catholicks in general, as Members of the catholick or univerſal Church.

GENT. We call our ſelves ſo too, and in the ſame ſenſe, and pray every day for the Catholick Church in our Liturgy. Therefore we call not you Catholicks, becauſe it would not diſtinguiſh you from us: But Roman Catholicks is calling a part the whole.

LORD. You know the meaning, not that the particular Church of *Rome* is all the Churches in the World, but ſhe is called Catholick, as being the Head and Principle of Unity and Communion to all other Churches.

GENT. If this be the frame of this Catholick Church, it muſt have been ſo always.

LORD. Yes ſurely, for there was always a Catholick Church, that is, ſome particular Church, ſo called, in the ſame ſenſe as *Rome* is now.

GENT. Pray then, my Lord, tell me what particular Church was ſo called, in this ſenſe, before there was a Chriſtian in *Rome?* And how came that Church to loſe it? And how was it transferred to *Rome?*

Every Biſhop, every Church, and every Member of it, may be called Catholick, and were ſo called, as being included in the general notion of the Catholick Church; but in the ſenſe you have mentioned, as Head and Principle of Unity to all Churches, no Biſhop or Church ever had it, till taken up in the latter times by the Biſhop and Church of *Rome*.

28. LORD.

28. LORD. But how came the Biſhop of *Rome* to that great ſway he has long obtained in the Church?

GENT. It is very obvious, becauſe *Rome* was the *Metropolis* of the Empire: And conſequently her Biſhop muſt be more conſpicuous than any other, have more reſpect paid him, and more applications made to him, eſpecially after the Emperors became Chriſtian. And for the ſame reaſon, when the Seat of the Empire was tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*, the Biſhop of that Church took upon him, and aſpired further to an univerſal Supremacy, but was oppoſed by *Gregory* the great, Biſhop of *Rome*. There was no other conſideration then for the ſuperiority of one Biſhop or Church, but the ſecular dignity of the place; for which reaſon the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem* (which was unconteſtably the Mother Church of all) was poſtponed, and made the loweſt of all the Patriarchs. But for divine Right, and *Chriſt* having named any one Biſhop or Church as head and ſuperior to all others, there is not a word. And it could not be *Rome* before *Rome* was Chriſtian; and *Chriſt* never named her upon any occaſion whatſoever, or gave the leaſt hint towards her, or that poſſibly can be applied to her. Strange and unaccountable! If he meant to build the whole chriſtian Faith upon her, and to make her the Catholick Church, as including all other Churches of Chriſtians, and in all ages throughout the whole World!

But, my Lord, fact (as I ſaid before) is the ſureſt way to give us a true light of things. And the frame or government of the Church is a fact, which muſt be determined by Hiſtories and Records, not criticiſing upon words that afford no certainty. Let us look therefore into the frame of the Church from the beginning. I hope I have made it plain from the Hiſtory of the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, that there was none of them appointed as Sovereign over the others, whatever words may be ſtrained in favour of St. *Peter*; for if he was called a *Rock* or *Foundation*, ſo were all the others, they are called the *twelve Foundations of the Church*: which is ſaid to be *built upon the foundation of the Apoſtles, and Prophets*, Jeſus Chriſt *himſelf being the chief corner Stone*. And not any particular Prophet or Apoſtle. And if the *Keys* of *Heaven* were promiſed to *Peter*, this was fulfilled in giving them to him jointly with all the others, without any mark of ſuperiority in him. As in the Commiſſion to *Teach all Nations*, it was equal to them all. And we find in fact that it was exerciſed by them all with equal Authority.

Rev. xxi. 14. Eph. ii. 20. Matth. xvi. 19. John xx. 23. Matth. xxviii. 19.

And all the *Regimen* of the Church which the Apoſtles appointed was that of Biſhops in their ſeveral diſtricts, without any Head or Sovereign Biſhop over them all, as ſupreme Judge of Controverſy: Of which there is not the leaſt tittle to be found in any of the Hiſtories or Writings of thoſe ages next after the Apoſtles; though there were many Controverſies even in Faith among them, which an appeal to this Judge had ſpeedily ended; but no ſuch thing appears, which could not have been miſſed had it been known. *Metropolitans* were early, that is, the Biſhop of the *Metropolis* or chief City of a Province, who did preſide in the Synods of that Province; and had other eccleſiaſtical Priviledges granted him, by the common conſent of the Biſhops of the Province, for order ſake, and greater harmony of diſcipline. But a Patriarch with juriſdiction over ſeveral *Metropolitans* or Provinces was never heard of in the Church till the Council of *Chalcedon*, four hundred and fifty years after *Chriſt*. And many Provinces were not put under theſe Patriarchs, but had exempt juriſdiction of their own as before, of which *Britain* was one; for the Patriarchat of *Rome* extended only to *Italy* and the Iſles adjacent. But the firſt pretence to univerſal Supremacy was ſet up by *John*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, after the Seat of the

Empire was tranſlated thither, againſt whom *Gregory* the great wrote, and ſaid that though his See of *Rome* had always the precedence of *Conſtantinople*, yet that none of his Predeceſſors, the Biſhops of *Rome*, had ever aſſumed ſuch an arrogant title*, which he calls a *Luciferian* Pride, and declares him who ſhould take it to be the fore runner of *Anti-Chriſt*. And yet his next ſucceſſor but one, that is *Boniface* III. did take it, being given him by *Phocas*, that Traytor and Uſurper, who murdered his Maſter *Mauricius*, the Emperor, and ſeized his Throne, whom *Boniface* owned and abetted, and was made univerſal Biſhop for his reward, in the beginning of the ſeventh Century. Thus the Supremacy now claimed by *Rome* was introduced, and has been maintained *pro Viribus* ever ſince. And under this *Britain* has been ſubdued, which never was under the Patriarchat of *Rome*. So much has the Government and Unity of the Church been altered from what it was in the Apoſtle's time, or in the firſt ages of the Church: And thus has *Rome* uſurped the name of the Catholick Church, and placed all its Unity in ſubmiſſion to her Biſhop! Here we ſee the degrees by which this encroachment crept on; the Patriarchat began in the fifth, and the univerſal Supremacy in the ſeventh Century. And *Britain* which held it out againſt the Patriarchat of *Rome*, was at laſt conquered by the more apparent Uſurpation of her univerſal Supremacy, ſo obtained as I have told.

And yet I have heard ſome *Britains* ſay, that though they thought the Church of *Rome* the moſt corrupt part of the chriſtian Chnrch, both as to Doctrine and Worſhip, and to be a Cage full of unclean Birds; yet that they muſt be of her, and enter into that Cage, becauſe ſhe was the Catholick Church. This is like that deſperate Maxim in the Canon Law, I quoted before out of the Decretals, That *though the Pope ſhould draw infinite numbers of People with him into Hell, yet we muſt not find fault with him, nor reprove him*, &c.

29. And I muſt obſerve alſo here, that though *France* has thrown off the Pope's infalllibility, and his depoſing Power over Princes, and has limited his Supremacy, that is indeed taken it wholly away; for no Supremacy (properly ſo called) can be limited, for then it ceaſes to be ſupreme: Yet *France* remains ſtill in the dreggs of the corruptions of *Rome*, both as to Doctrine and Worſhip. The Religion of the People there, is, the Adoration of the Hoſt, and of the Croſs, Invocation of Saints, Worſhip of Images, praying Souls out of Purgatory, telling their Beads, and going to Confeſſion.

30. LORD. I have heard your ſelf ſay, that Confeſſion was a good thing rightly uſed.

GENT. And ſo I ſay ſtill, but not in that ſenſe it is generally uſed with you, and is expreſſed in your *Catechiſm ad Parochos, de Pœnitentiæ Sacramento*, Sect. 46, 47. That ſuch a repentance as God will not accept, nor pardon for it, is made ſufficient by the *Sacrament of Penance*, and all our ſins remitted by it; and that *Pauciſſimi*, very few can be ſaved without it. They might have ſaid, none, for they here require in repentance acceptable to God, a ſenſe and ſorrow for ſin that ſhall be fully equal to the demerit, *Ut cum ſcelerum magnitudine æquari conferrique poſſit*, which is impoſſible for mortal Man; and therefore all muſt be damned without this *Sacrament of Penance*. And they ſay, it was neceſſary that God ſhould inſtitute this Sacrament, as an eaſier way for Men to get to Heaven. *Quare neceſſe fuit ut clementiſſimus Dominus faciliori ratione communi hominum ſaluti conſuleret*. An eaſy way indeed! Confeſs to a Prieſt and get

* Epiſt. l. ii. Ep. 32, 36, 38. l. vii. Ep. 30, 36, *&c.*

abſo-

abſolution, and this makes up the defects of your repentance, and you are ſaved *ex opere Operato*, by the *Work wrought* the bare performance of this Sacrament. And the Council of *Trent* anathematiſes all thoſe who ſay that the very Sacraments of the Goſpel do not confer grace in the ſame manner, by the bare performance. *Si quis dixerit per ipſa novæ legis Sacramenta ex opere Operato non conferri gratiam——Anathema ſit.* Seſſ. 7. Can. 8. It is true that God did inſtitute his Sacraments as means of grace (for which we bleſs his Name daily in our general Thankſgiving) but this turns them into charms, when the very Sacraments themſelves, *ipſa Sacramenta*, confer the grace, *ex opere Operato*, by the bare performance of the Work.

Let us exemplify this to our ſelves by the like uſe made of the Inſtitutions of God under the Law. The *Jews* had got this notion of the *Opus Operatum*, that the bare performance of the Letter of the Law, in their Sacrifices, Feaſts, Faſts, and other obſervances was all that was required of them. Whence the Voices of all the Prophets were againſt theſe Inſtitutions; they call them iniquity, abomination, and hateful to God: Nay, God denies that he did require them, or ever did inſtitute them: That is, as a dead Carcaſs without a Soul, and working like charms by the bare *Opus Operatum*. God did never inſtitute ſuch, nor does require them at our hands. And may we not ſay? No more under the Goſpel than the Law. For the Goſpel introduced a more pure and ſpiritual Worſhip, but the Council of *Trent* by naming only the Sacraments of the new Law, applies the *Opus Operatum* to them alſo, if not chiefly. Iſa. i. 11, 12, 13, 14. Jer. vii. 22.

What elſe is the meaning of tying Men to the repetition of ſuch a preciſe number of *Ave*'s and *Pater*'s, and *Credo*'s, at ſuch particular times, whether the mind goes along with them, or not? For you will ſee People in the Markets, buying and ſelling, and diſcourſing of common buſineſs, and dropping their Beads all the while, to keep count if they have rightly performed their task of the *Opus Operatum*.

But if Prayers and Sacraments, which are means of grace of God's own Inſtitution, may be thus abuſed, and rendred hateful to God; what ſhall we ſay of thoſe means of grace which are of Man's mere invention? None can appoint the means but he who has the beſtowing of the end to be obtained by thoſe means: As if I have a thouſand Pounds to beſtow, I may put what conditions I think fit, and appoint the means for the obtaining it; and none elſe can appoint the means. Now grace is the gift of the Holy Ghoſt, and none can appoint the means of maintaining it, but who has the beſtowing of the Holy Ghoſt; which it is the higheſt Blaſphemy for any Creature to aſſume to himſelf; hence *Chriſt*'s ſending the Holy Ghoſt is a ſure proof of his Divinity: But the Church of *Rome* takes upon her to appoint means of grace, many and various; the whole *Pontifical* is made up of the forms of Conſecration of every thing almoſt one can think of into means of grace, as Bells, Books, Candles, Water, Salt, Oil, Aſhes, Palms, Swords, Banners, and Veſtments of divers ſorts, even to Children's Clouts, beſides Croſſes, Pictures, Images, *Agnus Dei*'s, &c. By the uſe of which, in the manner preſcribed, ſeveral graces, both ghoſtly and bodily, are ſaid to be obtained, as beſides the favour of God, and the remiſſion of ſins, the ſaving from Fire, from Diſeaſes, from Storms at Sea, Thunder, Lightning, and Tempeſt at Land, at which times they ring their conſecrated Bells, to allay the Winds, and chaſe away the Demons of the Air, who ſeeing the Sign of the Croſs upon ſuch Bells, and hearing their ſound, ſhall be frighted and fly away, as it is expreſſed in the Form of Conſecration of Bells in the *Pontifical*. Nay there is nothing in the World ſo inſignificant (as a Roſe, or a Feather) which the Pope may not conſecrate into a means of

grace, and is in uſe every day: And at *Rome* they are counted Atheiſts who have not Faith in theſe things: So much they place their Religion in them!

LORD. The Diſſenters object all this to you, as to your Rites, Ceremonies, Habits, &c.

GENT. But without any ground, for we conſecrate none of theſe things, nor do we attribute any virtue, ghoſtly or bodily to the uſe of them, as to the wearing a Surplice, hearing a Bell or an Organ, &c. they are purely for Decency and Order, and we may change them, or take them quite away every day, as our Governors think fit. Can they ſhew any outward action or thing appointed in our Church, by the uſe of which evil Spirits may be chaſed away, Women helped in Labour, or Storms at Sea quell'd? All which and many more virtues are attributed in your Church to the uſe of what you call holy Water, and many other ſuch like Inſtitutions of mechanical means of grace.

31. But that which makes up the bulk of the Romiſh Devotions is, the Worſhip and Invocation of Saints and Angels, the Adoration of their Images, and of the Reliques of Saints departed, pieces of their Bodies or of their Veſtments, &c. to which great Miracles are attributed, and therefore they are made, ſtrictly and properly, means of grace.

LORD. We deſire the Prayers of one another upon Earth, why not much rather of the Saints and Angels in Heaven?

GENT. Becauſe the one is commanded, the other not, nay forbidden, as I will ſhew you.

LORD. It ſeems to be giving greater glory to God, and more humility in us, not to approach his preſence directly and immediately our ſelves, as we do not to any earthly King, but by the introduction and recommendation of ſome eminent Courtier whom we know to be in his favour.

GENT. Your ſimile will halt on all four, for God is nearer to us than any Saint or Angel; *in God we live and move and have our Being*; but the Angels and Saints departed are at diſtance from us, and we know not where to find them, or that they hear our Prayers, for they are not every where; that is an attribute of God alone.

LORD. Therefore our School-Men ſay, they ſee our Prayers *in Speculo Trinitatis*, in the *Looking-Glaſs of God.*

GENT. Do they ſee every thing in that Looking-Glaſs? Then they know as much as God! But if not, then how do we know they ſee our Prayers there? And how will this ſort with your ſimile of an earthly King, that the Courtier muſt go to the King to know what I deſired the Courtier to ask of him?

Rom. iv. 16. Jam. ii. 23. *Abraham* is *the Father of us all. And he was called the Friend of God:* Therefore it is likely that he ſaw as far into that Looking glaſs as another. Yet it is ſaid, *That* Abraham *is ignorant of us.* And are not we as ignorant of their ſtate, and what knowledge they have of us below? We are told that they have no knowledge of it. *His Sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not; and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them.*

Iſa. lxiii. 16. Job xiv. 21.

LORD. It is ſaid, that the Angels of Heaven rejoice over a Sinner that repenteth.

GENT. That is when it pleaſeth God to let them know it, or that the Sinner comes thither. But that they know of every penitent upon Earth, is no where ſaid, nor do I know it aſſerted by any.

But inſtead of the School-Men's Looking-Glaſs and their vain Philoſophy, if we would look into the plain directions of holy Scripture, we ſhould

ſhould ſettle our ſelves upon a much ſurer foundation. See then what the Apoſtle ſays upon the very caſe in hand, *Let no Man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility* (or being a *voluntary in humility*, as our Margin reads it) *and worſhipping of Angels, intruding into thoſe things which he hath not ſeen, vainly puff'd up by his fleſhly mind; and not holding the Head, from which all the Body by Joints and Bands having nouriſhment miniſtred, and knit together, increaſeth with the increaſe of God.* Col. ii. 18, 19. And after ſays, *Which things have indeed a ſhew of Wiſdom in Will-Worſhip and Humility*——Here is a full anſwer to all your pretenſions for this Will-Worſhip of Saints and Angels, for both go upon the ſame foot. It is called, *Intruding into things we have not ſeen*, of which we are altogether uncertain, and therefore ſinful in the practice, by the Apoſtle's rule, That *whatſoever is not of Faith, is Sin.* This was ſpoke in reſpect of Meats, but is much more ſo as to our Worſhip and ſolemn Devotions to God——Your compariſon of acceſs to an earthly King, is here called a fleſhly or carnal thought, meaſuring God after the manner of Men——And the reſult of this is no leſs than loſing our reward, that is, Heaven; for it is forſaking the Head, which is *Chriſt*, whoſe Members we are, and receive nouriſhment from him; not ſo from Saints or Angels; God has given *Chriſt* to us as the *one Mediator between God and Men.* 1 Tim. ii. 5. But we have made to our ſelves many Mediators to aſſiſt and help him, as if his Mediation and Interceſſion were not ſufficient. And we make more applications to them than to him, or to God himſelf: You have ten *Ave Maria's*, for one *Pater Noſter.* ŷ. 23. Rom. xiv. 23.

And you have multiplied theſe Saints to your ſelves without number, like the Heathen Deities, and new Canonizations are going on every day. Every Country, City, Pariſh, and almoſt Perſon have a particular Saint for their Patron. You have Saints, as they had Gods, for the Sea, for the Air, Fire, *&c.* for Peace, for War, for Learning, and all ſorts of Trades and Occupations. St. *Chriſtopher* and St. *Clement* are for the Sea, eſpecially the Virgin *Mary* to whom the Sea-Men ſing *Ave Maris Stella.* St. *Agatha* is for the Fire, and they make Letters on her day to quench Fire with. St. *Nicholas* and St. *Gregory* are for Scholars, St. *Luke* for Painters, *&c.* and they have Saints for all Diſeaſes: St. *Cornelius* cures the Falling-ſickneſs, St. *Roche* the Pox, St. *Apollonia* the Tooth-ach, *&c.* And they have particular Saints for all Beaſts and Cattle. St. *Loy* preſides over the Horſes, and St. *Anthony* over the Swine, *&c.* And they bring their Cattle to be bleſſed by theſe Saints on their particular days. And they pray to theſe Saints jointly with God: A Scholar ſays, *God and St.* Nicolas *be my ſpeed:* And when one ſneezes, *God help and St.* John: And to a Horſe if he ſtumbles, *God and St.* Loy *ſave thee*, &c. And upon every ſurprize they cry, *Jeſu Maria.*

32. LORD. You ſhould not compare theſe to the Demons of the Heathens, for they were evil Spirits. And they called them Gods.

GENT. The word Gods is frequently given in Scripture to Angels and to Men as Miniſters of God. And thus the Heathens underſtood it, and ſuppoſed their Gods to be ſuch Miniſters; as *Æolus* to govern the Winds, *Neptune* the Sea, *&c.* Therefore they call them *Dii Medioxumi, Inferior Gods*, as ſtanding in the middle betwixt the ſupreme God and us, to ſuccour or puniſh us, according to his Orders. St. *Auguſtine*, who knew them well, tells us what they argued for themſelves; they ſaid*, *We do not wor-*

* Non colimus mala Dæmonia; Angelos quos dicitis, ipſos & nos colimus, Virtutes Dei magni, & Myſteria Dei magni, *Auguſtin. Pſal.* xcvi.

ſhip

ſhip evil Demons or Spirits, but we worſhip thoſe whom you (Chriſtians) *call Angels, the Powers of the great God, the Myſteries of the great God.* But St. *Auguſtine* anſwered them, that they muſt be evil Spirits whom they worſhipped, becauſe they required Worſhip from Men; as the Devil did from our Saviour, which the good Angels always refuſed, and he quotes *Rev.* XIX. 10. XXII 9. Where the Angel forbade *John* to worſhip him. And the ſame did the Saints upon Earth, as *Peter* refuſed it from *Cornelius*, and *Paul* and *Barnabas* from the Men of *Lyſtra*, &c.

Acts x. 26. xiv. 14, 15.

LORD. But we ſuppoſe not that the Heathens had any notion of the ſupreme and true God, but that they worſhipped every one of their Gods as ſupreme and independent.

GENT. Some Men make Monſters of others, to hide their own Deformity! Your guides have ſet up this notion to hinder the parallel betwixt the heathen Worſhip of their inferior Gods, and yours of Saints and Angels. For there is nothing more evident than that the Heathen did acknowledge the one ſupreme and true God, though in much ignorance and ſuperſtition. St. *Paul* ſaid that they *knew God*, that he was manifeſt unto them, *even his eternal Power and Godhead. So that they were without excuſe in their fooliſh imagination, to change the glory of the uncorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible Man*, &c. And he told the *Athenians*, *Whom therefore ye ignorantly worſhip, him declare I unto you.* He did not preach a falſe God unto them, but they had blended the Worſhip of God with theſe inferior Gods or Demons, which was their Superſtition, for ſo the word ſignifies, Δεισιδαιμονία, *the fear of theſe Demons*, and it is thus rendred every where in the New Teſtament, which we tranſlate Superſtition, and ſo your own vulgar *Latin*, *Acts* XVII. 22. and XXV. 19. And the *Latin* word *Superſtitio* means the ſame thing, and is derived, as *Servius* has it, from *Super Stare*, as being a fear of thoſe heavenly Powers, who *Supra ſtant* ſtand over us, and ſo Superſtition is *Superſtantium rerum timor.* Others derive it from *Superſtites*, that theſe *Divi ex homiuibus facti*, *Men deify'd after their death*, are ſtill *Superſtites*, and the fear of them as ſuch is Superſtition; or *qui Superſtitem memoriam defunctorum colunt*, *who worſhip the Memory of theſe dead Men.*

Rom. i. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

Acts xvii. 23.

The Worſhip of theſe leſſer Gods is what is forbidden in the firſt Commandment, which reſpects the object of Worſhip, that no religious Worſhip is to be given to any but to the ſupreme God alone. The ſecond Commandment relates to the manner of Worſhip, that is, by Images. But this your Church has hid from the People, and divided the tenth into two to keep up the number, that the People might think they ſtill have the ten Commandments: And it is thus in your very *Catechiſm ad Parochos.* But of this hereafter.

The Heathens had their good and evil *Dæmones*, as their good and evil *Genii*; but according to St. *Auguſtine*'s rule, they muſt be evil Demons who accepted the Worſhip of Men, which were all the heathen Demons: Therefore the word *Dæmon* is taken in the worſt ſenſe, and tranſlated *Devil* throughout the New Teſtament, and what we tranſlate *the Doctrines of Devils*; is the Doctrine of the *Dæmones*, or of the Worſhip of the *Dæmones*, διδασκαλίαι Δαιμονίων, and a various Lection has it νεκροῖς λατρεύουσες, *who Worſhip the dead.* The *Dæmones* of the Heathen were their dead Heroes, whom they made *Divi* by an *Apotheoſis*; as the Pope does Saints by a Canonization. But it is too groſs to put it upon the Heathen, that they thought every one of thoſe Gods whom they made was the ſupreme God who made themſelves. They owned theſe to be leſſer Gods, and only the Virtues and Powers of the great God; and they thought that they

1 Tim. iv. 1.

honoured the ſupreme God the more, by doing honour to his Subſtitutes; and all their Worſhip was ultimately referred to him. So that * *He only was worſhipped in all their Gods and Goddeſſes; for they made him King of all their Gods and Goddeſſes.*

And the common appellation given to *Jupiter* in *Homer* is, Πατὴρ and Βασιλεὺς ἀνδρῶν τε Θεῶν τε, *The Father and King of the Gods as well as of Men.* And he repreſents him as commanding all the other Gods, ſending them on his Errands, calling them to account, and ſometimes chaſtizing them. He was called *Majus Deus*, the *Great God. Lucian* in his Dialogues brings in *Neptune* making Suit to *Mercury*, that he might ſpeak with *Jupiter.*

But beſides all theſe, we have ſufficient Teſtimony in Scripture of the Heathens acknowledging the one ſupreme and true God, *Nebuchadnezzar* calls him, *God of Gods, and Lord of Kings——The moſt high God——* And ſays, *I bleſſed the moſt high, and I praiſed and honoured him that liveth for ever and ever, whoſe Dominion is an everlaſting Dominion, and his Kingdom from Generation to Generation. And all the Inhabitants of the Earth are reputed as nothing: And he doth according to his Will in the Army of Heaven, and among the Inhabitants of the Earth: And no Man can ſtay his hand, or ſay unto him, What doeſt thou?* Dan. ii. 47; iii. 26, 29. iv. 34, 35.

Cyrus calls him the *Lord God of Heaven.* And *Darius* the ſame, in as high expreſſions as any Chriſtian could uſe, *The living God, and ſtedfaſt for ever, and his Kingdom that which ſhall not be deſtroyed, and his Dominion ſhall be even unto the end,* &c. Ezra i. 2. vi. 10, 12. Dan. vi. 26.

LORD. It is ſtrange that when they acknowledged the great God ſo fully, they did not forſake their own little Gods.

GENT. No, for they did not think it inconſiſtent to acknowledge one God above all, and yet to ſuppoſe that every Nation had its own God, or Gods, in ſubordination to the ſupreme God, and as Deputies under him. This was their notion. And they ſuppoſed that *Judæa* had its own tutelar Gods, as well as other Countries. Therefore the King of *Aſſyria* having conquered it, ſent to teach his People who went thither, *the manner of the God of the Land*; to appeaſe his wrath who had plagued them with Lions. But yet they forſook not their own Gods, for it is ſaid, *They feared the Lord, and ſerved their own Gods.* And they allowed the ſame liberty to the *Jews*, who were not required in any of their captivities to renounce their own God; but only to worſhip the Gods of the Nations where they lived. And of theſe tutelar Gods, they ſuppoſed one might be ſtronger or more powerful than another, and therefore they would boaſt of their Gods, one Country againſt another; thus ſaid *Senacherib, Who are they among all the Gods of the Countries, that hath delivered their Country out of mine hand, that the Lord* (the tutelar God of *Judæa) ſhould deliver* Jeruſalem *out of mine hand? Where are the Gods of* Hamath, *and of* Arpad, *&c?* When *Moſes* and *Aaron* told *Pharaoh* that the God of the *Hebrews* had met with them, he was not offended that they had another God beſides thoſe which were worſhipped in *Ægypt*; he took it as a thing granted, that every People had their own tutelar God. 2 Kin. xvii. 26, 27, 33. 2 Kin. xviii. 34, 35.

This then was the difference betwixt the *Jews* and the *Gentiles*, the *Gentiles* thought it lawful to worſhip the tutelar God of any Country, but ſtill in ſubordination to the moſt high God, as has been ſhewed: On the other hand, the *Jews* were obliged to worſhip the Lord God, the ſu-

* Hi omnes Dii Deæque ſit unus Jupiter. *Auguſt. de Civit. Dei l.* iv. *c.* 11. Ipſum enim Deorum omnium Dearumque Regem eſſe volunt. *Ib. c.* 9.

preme God, and him only, and they were forbid to worſhip any of the Gods of the Nations.

But this ſin they often fell into; they worſhipped theſe Gods, but ſtill in conjunction with the Lord their God, as it is ſaid, they did *Worſhip and ſwear by the Lord, and ſwear by* Malcham. But *Samuel* told them, *If ye return unto the Lord with all your hearts, then put away the ſtrange Gods, and* Aſhtaroth *from among you——and ſerve him only—— Then they did put away* Baalim *and* Aſhtaroth, *and ſerved the Lord only.*

Zeph. i. 5.

1 Sam. vii. 3, 4.

LORD. But it is ſaid, that they had forſaken the Lord.

GENT. It is called forſaking the Lord, when we will not obey his Commandments, but worſhip him otherwiſe than he has required, and join others with him which he has forbidden: He ſaid, *The houſe of* Iſrael *is eſtranged from me, ſeparated from me through their Idols; yet they come and enquire of a Prophet concerning me.* And again, *When they had ſlain their Children to their Idols, then came they the ſame day into my Sanctuary.* And he ſays to them, *Will ye burn Incenſe unto* Baal, *and walk after other Gods, and come and ſtand before me in this houſe which is called by my Name?* It is ſaid, *They feared the Lord, and ſerved their own Gods, after the manner of the Nations.* But it follows immediately, *They fear not the Lord, becauſe they do not after his Statutes,* wherein he commanded them *not to fear other Gods.* And again, *They feared the Lord, and ſerved their graven images.* Yet this was departing from the fear of the Lord, but not a downright denial of the ſupreme God, or throwing him off from being any more their God, and taking any other Gods in his room as the ſupreme God. No, but it was taking other Gods with him, of which he ſays, *Oh do not this abominable thing that I hate.*

Ezek. xiv. 5, 7.

chap. xxiii. 39.

Jer. vii. 9.

1 Kin. xvii. 33, 34, 41.

Jer. xliv. 4.

This was the firſt ſin againſt which God took care to guard in the firſt Commandment, *Thou ſhalt have none other Gods before me,* or *with me.* And for the diſtinction that the Worſhip of inferior Gods or Miniſters of God is not here forbidden, we ſay, *Ubi Lex non diſtinguit, ibi non eſt diſtinguendum, Where the Law does not diſtinguiſh, we muſt not*; for there is no Law but may be diſtinguiſhed away. And this is exactly the ſame notion the Heathen had of their *Dæmones.* And the worſhipping of theſe or fearing them, is literally what we call Superſtition: It is a means of grace which God has not appointed.

Exod. xx. 3, 23.

LORD. But we have reaſon to ſuſpect that ſeveral of the Heathen *Dæmones,* or Men deify'd after they were dead, were ſuppoſititious, and that no ſuch Men ever were in the World.

GENT. Many ſuch will be found in the Catalogue of your Saints. What think you of the ſeven Sleepers, who ſlept three hundred and ſixty two years, and thought it but one Night? What think you of the eleven thouſand *Engliſh* Virgins, all martyred together at *Cologne*; and the fine Legend told of them? What do you believe of St. *George*'s killing the Dragon, and reſcuing the King's Daughter? As true as our Ballad of the Dragon of *Wantly.* Yet there are days kept for all theſe, and offices made for them, with Prayers to them, and to God, that we may be ſaved by theſe their merits. There are multitudes of the like, which you will find even to a ſurfeit, in the Devotions of the *Roman* Church, with their Breviaries, Miſſals, Legends, and Authors quoted at large. And can theſe Prayers be in Faith, to Perſons that never were in Being, and for the merit of actions that were never done? This is a means of grace of our own invention indeed!

Beſides, many have been canonized for notorious crimes, as our St. *Thomas Becket* of *Canterbury*, whoſe merit was, that he would exempt all Eccleſiaſticks from the ſecular Power, tho' even in civil or criminal cauſes; which was called aſſerting the liberties of holy Church, and it is fully aſſerted in the *Bulla in Cœna*. But notwithſtanding all theſe Authorities, it is a wicked Principle, and diſſolves all civil Government; it exempts from the King's obedience, the firſt of the three Eſtates of the Realm, which has or ought to have the greateſt influence upon the People; and transfers their allegiance to another Sovereign, which is the higheſt Treaſon, by the Laws of all well governed Nations, as well as by the Laws of God. Yet for aſſerting this *Becket* was canonized; and for not giving way to it, the King was whipped by the Monks of *Canterbury*, to which he was forced to ſubmit, in thoſe times of papal Supremacy.

Such another was your lately Sainted Pope *Pius* V. the greater Aſſerter and laſt Practiſer of the Power of the Pope to depoſe Princes; and who broke the Communion of the Church of *England*.

But there is one Saint (truly ſo) of whom I have reſerved to ſpeak in the laſt place, becauſe of the exceſſes of your Church in their Devotions to her, bordering even upon Blaſphemy to any common Ear. No leſs than a canonized Perſon St. *Bonaventure* has publiſhed what he calls, *The Pſalter of the bleſſed Virgin* Mary, wherein every one of the hundred and fifty Pſalms, as likewiſe the *Te Deum*, and other moſt ſolemn adorations of God, are all turned to the Virgin *Mary*. Roſaries and Books of Devotion to her are many; there is one tranſlated into *Engliſh* for the uſe of the Roman Catholicks here, intituled, *The Devotion of Bondage, or the Practice of perfectly conſecrating our ſelves to the Service of the bleſſed Virgin. Permiſſu Superiorum*, 1632. It is licenſed and highly recommended both to Clergy and People by the Biſhop of St. *Omers*, with ſeveral indulgences granted to thoſe who ſhall devoutly make uſe of it; wherein we offer up our ſelves, both Souls and Bodies, as Bond-ſlaves to the bleſſed Virgin: Among whoſe high Prerogatives you will find this the ſixth, p. 32. *The Sovereign Dominion that was given her, not only over the World, but over the Creator of the World.* This indeed might well ground that Petition made to her, *Jure Matris, impera Filio. By the Right of a Mother, command your Son.* And her being call'd, *The Mother of the whole Trinity*, in the *Miſſal Polon.* fol. 237. In the *Primer or Office of the bleſſed Virgin* Mary, Printed in *Engliſh*, 1699. (and in the *Expoſition* before it ſaid to be of *great Antiquity, and compoſed by the Church, directed by the Holy Ghoſt)* you will find many Prayers to the Virgin *Mary*, not only of Interceſſion or praying for us, but to grant us Grace, Pardon of Sin, and eternal Life, in as full and poſitive terms as could be asked of God himſelf. See the Hymn, *Memento rerum Conditor*, p. 34. And *Ave Maris Stella*, p. 53. And the Prayer to her, p. 59. *Under thy Aid*—— *Sub tuum Præſidium*——which is taken out of the *Roman Pontifical* in the Office for conſecrating an Image of the bleſſed Virgin, where we pray for aid, *&c.* from her ſelf directly, without mentioning any Interceſſion: Nay, they bleſs in her name, which was never done to any Creature. The Prieſthood was ordained by God, to *Bleſs in his Name*. No Apoſtle or Angel ever bleſſed the People in his own name. But in this *Primer*, p. 16. You will ſee the Prieſt give the bleſſing in theſe words, *The Virgin* Mary, *with her pious Son, bleſs us.* To which the People anſwer, *Amen*. Here the principal part is given to the Virgin, her Son only bleſſes with her, and ſhe is firſt named. But if ſhe be not preferred, yet ſhe is here put upon the level with her Son at leaſt, and bleſſes the People jointly with him. Deut. x. 8.

LORD,

LORD. Why may not the Virgin *Mary* bleſs as well as any Angel?
Gen.xlviii.16. And we find that *Jacob* prayed the Angel might bleſs his Grand-Sons.

GENT. That Angel was God, and ſo it is expreſſed, *God, before whom my Fathers* Abraham, *and* Iſaac *did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bleſs the Lads.* This Angel was *Chriſt*, who often appeared before he took Fleſh. He was the Angel which wreſtled with this ſame *Jacob*, and bleſſed him. He was the Angel appeared to *Moſes* in the buſh, and ſaid, *I am the God of* Abraham, *&c.* which no created Angel could have ſaid. It was he who appeared to *Joſhua* as *Captain of the Hoſt of the Lord*, and
Joſ. v. 14,15. ſaid, as before to *Moſes*, *Looſe thy Shoe from off thy Foot, for the place whereon thou ſtandeſt is holy*, which no mere Angel ever ſaid. So that this will be no precedent for bleſſing the People in the name of the Virgin *Mary*.

Epiphanius reckons the worſhip of the Virgin *Mary* * (not then ſo rank) among the Hereſies, under the name of the *Collyridians*, who offered Cakes to the Moon as Queen of Heaven, which is the ſame name they give now
Jer. vii. 18. to the Virgin, and ſhe is painted ſtanding upon the Moon her repreſentative.
xliv. 19. *Epiphanius* obſerves that our bleſſed Lord fore-ſeeing the Superſtition that would come into the World on account of his Mother, treated her always at a diſtance, never once called her Mother, no not upon the Croſs, or by any other appellation than that of Woman, and checking her forwardneſs
John ii. 4. ſaid unto her, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* She is as little named as poſſible in the Goſpels, where *Chriſt* pronounces a greater bleſſing
Luk. xi. 28. to thoſe that hear his word, than to the Womb that bare him: And ſhe is not reckoned among thoſe who ſaw him after his Reſurrection. She is but once named in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, and that upon no other account than that ſhe with other Women, continued in the Communion of the A-
Acts i. 14. poſtles after the Aſcenſion of our Lord: But none of her Acts or Miracles are recorded, though abundance in the Legends. And ſhe is not once named, upon any account whatſoever, in any of the Epiſtles. Strange! That this ſhould be ſo forgot, which makes now ſo great a part in the Devotions of the Church of *Rome!*

But there is an honour of an extraordinary nature paid to her at the head of all the Saints, in the office of the Maſs, where, before the Conſecration, the Elements are offered up to God in memory of the Paſſion, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and for the honour of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, &c. *in honorem beatæ Mariæ ſemper Virginis.* Did *Chriſt* then ſuffer, riſe, and aſcend, for her honour? It was for the honour and glory of God indeed, but to thruſt her in or any of the Saints to ſhare in this, looks a little too familiar, and putting them, at leaſt her, near upon the level with the Almighty, ſince more could not be ſaid to him.

And here we may ſee a good reaſon why God would not have any religious Worſhip paid to theſe, or any Miniſters of his Kingdom, nor would be worſhipped with them; for he ſaw there would be encroaching, and coming nearer to him than was fit for the condition of Creatures. They would have a ſhare with him: Nay that they might come at laſt to advance theſe above God himſelf, and prefer the Saints even to *Chriſt!* As it has been ſaid †, *That* Chriſt *did nothing which St.* Francis *did not do, yea, that he did more than* Chriſt *himſelf.*

And now we ſee the reaſon why your *Index Expurgatorius* ‡ would not not have it ſeen in the Fathers, that *God only is to be worſhipped*, for

* Hær. 78, 79, † Lib. Conform. fol. 1149. ‡ Adorari ſolius Dei eſt: *Deleatur ex Ind. Operum* Athanaſii *Indice Lib. Prohib. & Expurg.* p. 52. Madrit. *An.* 1627. *item ex Ind. Op. S.* Auguſt. *ibid.* p. 56.

they

they have expunged this out of the *Indices* of their Works, that they might not be found by the People, who might take offence to ſee their Worſhip divided betwixt God and Creatures.

Was there ever ſo ſhameleſs a thing done by any Church as to take upon them to correct and alter the Fathers? It is plainly to ſtifle the Evidence againſt themſelves: And renders every thing at leaſt ſuſpected that they quote out of them; and the Scriptures had been purged too, but that they are ſo common in the hands of Proteſtants, that it could not be done without manifeſt detection. But how far they have gone towards it, by miſtranſlations, adding or leaving out ſome words, I have ſhewed already. But to purſue the ſubject we are now upon.

34. Not only the Souls of the Saints in Heaven, but their dead Bodies or bits of them, a Finger, a Toe, or a Tooth, or a ſcrap of their Clothes, a Girdle, or a Book, or any thing elſe that they uſed are worſhipped, and great Miracles ſaid to be done by them.

LORD. Was not a dead Man raiſed by touching the Bones of *Eliſha?* 2 Kings xiii. 21.

GENT. Yes, God may work Miracles by what means he pleaſes. But does this conſecrate the dead Body of every Saint to be a means of grace, and a worker of miracles? Many Miracles were wrought by the rod of *Moſes*; is every rod therefore a means of grace, either ghoſtly or bodily? Or may we conſecrate any rod to be ſuch a means? Nothing is ſuch a means to us but what God has commanded and appointed to be done, as Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper. It is the inſtitution, not an example, that makes any thing a means of grace to us. Elſe we might go and imitate all the miraculous actions of *Moſes* or of *Chriſt*, and call them means of grace to us, becauſe ſo uſed by them.

But as to the reliques in your Church, many of them have been notoriouſly detected, and it has been found out, that the dead Bodies of Malefactors have been taken for the reliques of Saints, and great miracles ſaid to be done by them. The ſame relique of ſuch a Saint, the Head or Finger is ſhewn in ſeveral places, and each contend that theirs is the right, and each have miracles avouched for them. Many inſtances of this, with vouchers undeniable, you will find in *The Devotions of the Roman Church.* How then can you worſhip ſuch reliques in Faith? Without which it is a Sin!

35. But not only the Saints, and their reliques, but their Images are with you made a diſtinct means of grace; for in the conſecration of the Image of a Saint, it is ſaid, that whoever ſhall worſhip ſuch a Saint, *coram hâc Imagine, before this Image*, may obtain ſo and ſo, for which end the Image is bleſſed and ſanctified. So that it is not enough to worſhip the Saint, but if I do it before ſuch a conſecrated Image, I ſhall obtain more grace than otherwiſe. This makes the Image it ſelf a means of grace, for there is virtue there. Why elſe would it not do as well to pray, and not before ſuch an Image? Why elſe indeed are ſuch Images ſo formally conſecrated, if there be no virtue in the Conſecration? And why do Men go Pilgrimages, or ſend Vows to *Loretto*, or any other diſtant place, if they think there is no virtue in the Image there, more than in forty of the ſame ſort which they may have at home? And the Saint repreſented by the Image is as near them in the one place as in the other; there muſt be then ſome virtue communicated to one Image more than to another.

LORD. Then you are againſt any Pictures or Images of the Saints, or paying any honour to the holy Men departed.

GENT. No, my Lord, we are not ſo ſtingy, we ſcruple not Pictures for Ornament, but not for Worſhip, or for worſhipping before them, as you ſpeak. And we honour the Saints departed, as far as we think lawful, and as we are verily perſuaded, as far as they deſire; ſince according to St. *Auguſtin*'s rule before-mentioned, if they accepted our Adoration, it would prove them to be evil Spirits. And then you are to conſider, that inſtead of Interceſſors, as you hope for by your Worſhip of them, they will vindicate themſelves, and become your Accuſers. But in our honour of them, we firſt take care not to ſpecify any particular Perſon as a Saint, but who is ſo recorded in holy Scripture; for we underſtand not Canonizations by Men who know not the heart: In the next place, we limit the honour we pay them by the rule of God's Commandments, which we ſuppoſe moſt pleaſing to them. We keep particular Holy-Days for the Apoſtles, St. *John* Baptiſt, St. *Stephen*, &c. we bleſs God for them, commemorate their virtues, and pray that we may follow their good examples. We have one day for all the Saints in general, and another for St. *Michael* and all Angels. Thus we honour them, and for this we bear the reproach of our four Diſſenters, as if we were too much inclining to Popery. You think we give too little honour to the Saints, and they think we give too much! But we hope we keep the mean. We abſtain from the Pictures or Images of the Saints in our Churches, becauſe they have been abuſed to Superſtition, and to avoid Offence: But in places not dedicated to Worſhip, as in private Houſes, we think them not unlawful, more than the Picture of any good Man.

Epiphanius was very zealous againſt having them brought into Churches, and tells *John*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, in a Letter tranſlated by St. *Jerom*, that finding a Linen Cloth hung up on a Church Door, (it is likely, to keep out the Wind) whereon was a Picture of *Chriſt*, or of ſome Saint, he tore it, and ordered a dead Corps to be buried in it. And he lamented the Superſtition he ſaw coming, by theſe Pictures and Images then beginning to creep into the Church.

The abuſe of things, tho' otherwiſe lawful, which are not inſtituted by God for ſtanding means of grace, as Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, may juſtly take away the uſe of them. Thus the Brazen Serpent was appointed by God as a means of grace for miraculous Cures in the Wilderneſs, and was preſerved until the days of *Hezekiah*; but when they burned Incenſe to it, it became an Idol, was broke to pieces and called by a contemptible name *Nehuſhtan*, that is, *A bit of Braſs*. How much more reaſon is there to remove the Pictures and Images of Saints (which God never appointed) out of our Churches, when we ſee Incenſe burned to them, and they worſhipped in your Churches, as means of grace? And yet there is no evil in the Pictures themſelves.

2 Kin. xviii. 4

36. But there is one Picture I think has evil in it, and is unlawful any where; and yet it is ſeen in your Churches, and commonly over the Altar, that is, the Picture or Image of God the Father, like an old Man, *&c.* We are forbid to make it, and then we cannot worſhip it. See how poſitively God forbids it, *Take good heed unto your ſelves, for ye ſaw no manner of ſimilitude* (that is of God) *in the day that the Lord ſpake unto you—leſt ye corrupt your ſelves, and make you a graven Image, the ſimilitude of any Figure, the likeneſs of Male or Female*, &c. And again, *They changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible Man*, &c.

Deut. iv. 15, *&c.*

Rom. i. 23.

LORD.

LORD. Both theſe Texts are quoted and anſwered in our *Catechiſm ad Parochos*, upon the *firſt Commandment*, and the anſwer is this, * that the ſin here forbidden is to paint or carve *Imaginem Divinitatis, a Picture or Image of the Divinity*, or of the divine Nature.

GENT. Pray, my Lord, did you ever know a Painter or Statuary who attempted to draw a Picture, or make an Image of a Thought, or of a Soul?

LORD. No, for they cannot be ſeen. Pictures and Images are made for the Eye. How then can a likeneſs or ſimilitude be drawn of what is inviſible?

GENT. And is not the great God more inviſible, and the divine Nature much more incomprehenſible even to our thoughts or imagination? How then can it be repreſented to our Eye? I dare ſay there never was a Man ſince *Adam* who would own any ſuch thing, or ever had ſo fooliſh a thought: No, but when they drew any Picture or Similitude of God, it was only meant to expreſs ſome of his Attributes or Perfections; as by Fire, his Purity; by a Giant with many Hands, his Power; with many Eyes, his Providence, *&c.* And ſo you own that by an old Man you only mean to expreſs his Antiquity. And will not this excuſe the Heathen as well as you? See the ſame Excuſe made by *Maximus Tyrius*, *Diſſert.* 38. *Whether Statues were to be made for the Gods?* But here you would put an impoſſible meaning upon the prohibition of God, to make it of no effect, and which will excuſe the Heathens as much as your ſelves.

LORD. Our *Catechiſm ad Parochos* (which is our Text) in the place laſt quoted, *Sect.* xxxiv. teaches us, that the Heathen when they made Images of Serpents, Beaſts, *&c. they worſhipped all theſe as God. Hæc enim omnia tanquam Deum venerabantur.* And that the *Iſraelites* thought the ſame of the *golden Calf*, for that they ſaid, *Theſe are the Gods that brought thee out of Egypt*, and therefore that they were Idolaters, becauſe they thus *Changed their Glory into the ſimilitude of a Calf that eateth Graſs.* Pſal. cvi. 20.

GENT. It is very abſurd to ſay, that the Heathen thought their Images to be the things of which they were the Images: That was impoſſible, for then they would not be the Images but the Things themſelves. Who ever ſaid, that a Man's Picture was himſelf? Though they are called the Perſons, as when we look upon Pictures we ſay, *This is ſuch a Man, or ſuch a Man*: But if any ſhould put it upon us, that we meant the Perſons themſelves, we muſt think them Idiots, or School-Men, that loved Diſtinctions and Wrangling. *Maximus Tyrius* in the *Diſſertation* before quoted, tells us, that they had many Images of the ſame God, as of *Venus*, *Diana*, *&c.* and yet that they did not think there was more than one *Venus* or one *Diana*. Have not you multitudes of the Pictures and Images of the Virgin *Mary*? And yet you ſay not that there is more than one ſuch Virgin. Now the Heathen worſhipped their Images, and if you believe your own *Catechiſm*, you muſt think that they took every one for God, for *hæc omnia*, they worſhipped all theſe as God!

And it is as abſurd to think that they took that Serpent or Beaſt whoſe Image they made, to be God. Or if they meant not any particular Serpent or Ox (for example) by the Image, they muſt think every Ox or Serpent to be God: But they were not ſo ridiculous, as *Maximus Tyrius*, and all, as many of them as have wrote, will ſatisfy you. But that they made uſe of their Images only as Symbols, which being dedicated to ſuch a God, they thought that this God would afford his Preſence with his Symbol, and

* De Cultu & Invocatione Sanctorum, *Sect.* xxxiv, xxxv.

by it ſecure to them his Favour and Protection. How near your Conſecration comes to their Dedication of Images, I leave to your ſelves to judge: But you put ſuch monſtrous things upon the Heathen, as they diſown, deteſt, and abhor: And yet you muſt do it, that your Caſe and theirs may not appear ſo very like.

But you muſt draw in the *Jews* too, elſe all this will ſtand you in no ſtead. And you have no Mercy upon them, you ſuppoſe them full as ignorant as you have made the Heathen. They muſt believe that the *golden Calf*, on the ſame day they made it, to be the great God who made themſelves and all the World, and to have brought them out of *Ægypt* long before itſelf was made! But the *Jews* will not let this go with you more than the Heathen: They were not quite ſo fooliſh: They had learned the uſe of Images and Symbols in *Ægypt*; and it is plain they did here imitate it. They had ſeen *Oſiris* worſhipped in *Ægypt* under the figure of an Ox, from which they took their figure of the Calf: And it was to ſecure God's preſence among them, upon the ſuppoſed loſs of *Moſes*, by whom they had received their Law from God, and directions from him upon all occaſions. But *Moſes* had been abſent from them forty days, and took neither meat nor drink with him, ſo that they thought he had been quite gone or dead, and that they ſhould never ſee him more. And then how ſhould they do to ſecure the preſence of God among them? And they took to this way of an Image or Symbol of God, not that they forſook God, but to take care that he might not forſake them: And they meant his Worſhip in that of the *golden Calf:* Therefore they proclaimed the dedication of it, *A Feaſt*
Exod. xxxii. 5. *unto the Lord:* And that it was wholly for the want of *Moſes* they did it, (by whom they had found, by long experience, the preſence of God ſecured
℣. 1. among them) they themſelves gave the Reaſon: *Up*, (ſaid they) *make us Gods which ſhall go before us; for as for this* Moſes, *the Man that brought us up out of the land of* Ægypt, *we wot not what is become of him.*

Pray, my Lord, let me ask you, ſuppoſe it were made Treaſon to draw a Picture of the King, or to bow to it, would you venture your Life upon all theſe diſtinctions and excuſes which are made for the Pictures of God? Yet we venture our Souls upon it, if it be a ſin; and though we think it may be beneficial to us, as putting us in mind of him, or paying reſpect unto him.

Now by this let us learn how dangerous a thing it is to make means of Grace of our own invention, and to think that by our conſecrations or dedications, without warrant of God's Word, we can ſecure his Preſence with us, and procure the Grace of Health or any benefit either to Body or Soul: This is turning Religion into Superſtition.

37. But the ſtrangeſt inſtance of this that ever was in the world is that of Tranſubſtantiation, a mere ſchool-nicety which no Man alive underſtands, and yet transformed into an article of Faith by the Council of *Trent*.

Chriſt ſaid, *This is my Body*, but as to the manner or means how it was ſo, he ſaid not a word, whether only ſacramentally, figuratively, or ſymbolically: Or on the other hand, whether ſubſtantially, con-ſubſtantially, or tranſubſtantially. Theſe are inventions of our own, from our poor Philoſophy! And yet about theſe is our whole diſpute; which has tormented the chriſtian Church in our later age more than all the other myſteries of Religion. Had we kept to the words of Inſtitution as *Chriſt* left them, and gone no farther, there might have been various opinions in the Schools concerning the manner of the preſence of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament; and they who had nothing elſe to do might have ſpent their idle hours and vain diſtinctions about it: But it had never broke the Communion of the Church,

ſ it had not been adopted into an Article of Faith, and made a condition of Communion: And now we muſt diſpute it. And the firſt thing I have to ſay is, that it ſeems very ſtrange there ſhould be any diſpute about it. For our Saviour was then fulfilling a type of himſelf, which was the Paſſover, and he kept to the ſame Phraſe or Form of Words which was cuſtomary with the *Jews* in their Celebration of it, only putting himſelf in the room of his type, as inſtead of *This is the paſchal Lamb which was ſlain for us in* Ægypt, he ſaid, *This is my Body which is given for you.* And when *Moſes* ſprinkled the Blood, it was with this form of words, *This is the Blood of the Teſtament which God hath enjoined unto you.* Inſtead of which Old Teſtament, *Chriſt* ſaid, *This is my Blood of the New Teſtament.* In which words there is no difficulty at all, for no mortal ever underſtood theſe words of *Moſes* in a tranſubſtantial ſenſe, and why ſhould they the ſame words when *Chriſt* ſpoke them, following the very form of the words of *Moſes?* This made it familiar and eaſy to the Apoſtles, who called many things hard ſayings which were not ſo difficult as this, and yet expreſſed no wonder or aſtoniſhment at theſe words of *Chriſt*, which had been impoſſible for them not to have done, if they had taken them in the ſenſe of Tranſubſtantiation, for it was a new thing never before heard or thought of in the World! To deny all their ſenſes at once!

Heb. ix. 20.

Mat. xxvi. 28.

LORD. I wonder you ſhould ſtand ſo much upon this; you object your ſenſes and your reaſon, and yet you muſt give them both up in the Myſtery of the Trinity, Incarnation, *&c.*

GENT. No, my Lord, I muſt give neither of them up, for I cannot believe any Revelation but by my Reaſon, upon the evidence that appears for it: And my Reaſon tells me that there muſt be many things in the infinite nature which I cannot comprehend, and therefore I acquieſce in the Revelation, being once fully ſatisfied of it. This I have diſcourſed already: But for the other point that of contradicting my outward ſenſes, I think it an invincible objection.

LORD. Why, muſt you not give them up too, as to the Trinity, and Incarnation?

GENT. Not at all, my Lord, they contradict none of my ſenſes. Pray tell me, which of them do they contradict? Is it the ſenſe of ſeeing, hearing, or ſmelling?

LORD. They are not objects of ſenſe.

GENT. Therefore they contradict them not. But in Tranſubſtantiation they are every one contradicted. And I ſtand upon it, that ſince the Creation of the World God never did or ſaid any thing which contradicted the ſenſe of any Man. It would be deſtroying the certainty of every thing. Miracles are appeals to our ſenſes, and without believing our ſenſes, we can truſt to no Miracle, and conſequently to no Revelation.

LORD. I mean not a general diſbelief of our ſenſes in every thing; but if a Revelation (which you are ſatisfied is true) ſhould bid you diſbelieve your ſenſes, in ſuch a particular only——

GENT. It is a needleſs Suppoſition, for there is no ſuch Revelation. But if there were, if an Angel ſhould appear to me, and bid me believe that I ſaw him, but not to believe any thing elſe that I ſaw of a hundred things I ſaw round about him; I ſhould without more ado either believe that I ſaw the other things I did ſee, or if I muſt not believe I ſaw them, I ſhould not believe I ſaw him: And I take it as a certain rule, that we muſt either believe our ſenſes in every thing or in nothing. Had not the Apoſtles at the Lord's Supper as much reaſon to doubt whether it was *Chriſt* they ſaw, and that he ſpoke to them, as that it was Bread which they ſaw and eat? If

you come once to *deceptio Viſûs*, it will go quite through, and you cannot be ſure of one thing more than of another; becauſe the fault is in the Eye, not in the Objects: So that if Tranſubſtantiation be true, there is nothing elſe in the World true but it!

And it is no ſmall prejudice to this Miracle of Miracles, and contradiction to it ſelf and to all other Miracles, and to every thing elſe in the World, that it ſhould be put upon us juſt for —— nothing —— but to ſtagger our Faith, and make us doubt of every thing!

For if all the benefits of the death of *Chriſt* be conveyed to us in this Sacrament, by a figurative and ſymbolical repreſentation of his Body and Blood, and that it be ſo inſtituted for this end; it is to all intents and purpoſes as beneficial to us, as if we had eat the Fleſh of *Chriſt* off his Bones, or drank the very Blood, that came out of his ſide; which is abhorrent to think, and to avoid which you call this an unbloody Sacrifice. But how is it unbloody, if it be real Blood, even the ſelf ſame Blood which was ſhed upon the Croſs? Yet you your ſelves allow, that this muſt be taken in a ſpiritual, not a carnal ſenſe, becauſe *Chriſt* himſelf ſaid, ſpeaking of this Sacrament (as you own) and to ſolve that hard ſaying at which many were offended, of giving them his Fleſh to eat, he made it eaſie to them by this explanation, *It is the Spirit that quickneth, the Fleſh profiteth nothing; the words that I ſpeak unto you they are Spirit, and they are Life.* May we not then take his words in a ſpiritual ſenſe?

John vi. 63.

LORD. But you would have the words of Inſtitution taken figuratively, as when *Chriſt* ſaid, *I am a Vine, I am a Door*, &c.

GENT. There is not one Man in your Communion but muſt own that the words of Inſtitution are figurative, for example, *This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood, which is ſhed for you.* Here is firſt the Cup for the Wine, by a Metonymy, called *Continens pro Contento.* Then the Cup being the New Teſtament, I ſuppoſe you will allow is another figure. And it is another, to ſay *which is ſhed*, for *which ſhall be ſhed*, for his Blood was not then ſhed. This laſt figure you have boldly avoided in y o r Maſs, where it is put *Effundetur, ſhall be ſhed*, inſtead of *Effunditur*, or *Effuſum*, according to the *Greek* ἐκχυνόμενον. However the two former figures ſtand unalterable.

Luke xxii. 20.

But to ſhew that the words were figurative, and that the Elements did not loſe their Nature by the Conſecration, they are called by their own names after the Conſecration, as the Wine is called the *Fruit of the Vine*, after the Conſecration. And it is called Bread which they eat in the Sacrament. And we are called Bread becauſe we partake of that Bread. We are Bread by the ſame figure that Bread is Fleſh.

Mat. xxvi. 29. Mark xiv. 25. 1 Cor. xi. 26, 27, 28.

LORD. We believe that there is no Bread in the Sacrament, but we are ſure we are not Bread.

GENT. You are no more ſure of the one, than of the other. But ſee now the arbitrarineſs of your interpretation: When it is ſaid of Bread, *This is Fleſh*, that is ſo very plain it muſt be taken literally; but when it is ſaid of the Bread in the Sacrament, *This is Bread*, the expreſſion is ſo obſcure, that it muſt be taken figuratively! Is not this deſtroying the meaning of all expreſſions, to take words figuratively or literally, juſt as you think fit, and contrary to the common uſage as underſtood in all other things?

LORD. No, it is not as we think fit, but as the ancient Church and Fathers did underſtand it. Here we ſtick.

GENT. And to this we appeal. *Tertullian* ſays, that *Chriſt* made the Bread his Body, by ſaying, * *This is my Body*, that is, the *Figure of my Body.*

* Hoc eſt Corpus meum, *id eſt*, Figura Corporis mei. *Contr. Marcion.* l. iv. c. xl.

Origen ſays of it, that it goes into the belly, like other meat, and ſo into the draught, but ſays he ſpeaks * concerning the typical and ſymbolical Body of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament.

It was ſaid of the Body of *Chriſt*, † that it ſhould not ſee corruption; but we know the Sacrament will corrupt, therefore it is not the ſame.

Theodorit likewiſe calls it the ‡ *Symbols* of the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*: And ſays, that ** upon their Conſecration they are changed indeed, and made other things, but ſtill remain in their own proper Nature, and Subſtance, and Shape and Form, and are viſible and tangible, as they were before.

And writing againſt the *Eutychians*, who ſaid that the human Nature of *Chriſt* was abſorpt or ſwallowed up in his Divinity, ſo that there remained now none but the divine Nature in him, and that he was no more a Man; and uſed this compariſon, that it was in like manner as in the Sacrament, where the Bread was changed into the Body of *Chriſt*; †† *Yes*, ſaid *Theodoret, it is in the ſame manner, that is, in no manner at all*; for that the Bread though changed in its uſe and ſignificancy, yet loſt not its Nature, but remained truly and properly Bread as before. But had he believed Tranſubſtantiation, this had been a full and abſolute confirmation of the *Eutychian* Hereſy, inſtead of a confutation; for then there had remained no more of the human Nature in *Chriſt*, than you believe the Subſtance of the Bread to remain in the Sacrament. This explains the meaning of *Theodorit*, even beyond his words, and he ſays in the ſame place, *That our bleſſed Saviour, who called himſelf the living Bread and Wine, hath alſo honoured the viſible ſigns with the title and appellation of his Body and Blood, not changing their Nature, but adding to Nature, Grace.*

Pope *Gelaſius* ſays, ‡‡ *That the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of* Chriſt, *which we take, is a divine thing, by which we are made partakers of the divine Nature: And yet it ceaſes not to be the Subſtance and Nature of Bread and Wine: And certainly* (ſays he) *the Image and Similitude of the Body and Blood is celebrated in the Myſteries.*

And *Facundus* ſays the ſame, *** *Not* (ſays he) *that the Bread is properly his Body, or the Cup his Blood; but that they contain the Myſtery of his Body and Blood.*

And St. *Auguſtin* ſays, ††† *If Sacraments did not bear ſome ſimilitude to the things of which they are the Sacraments, they would not be Sacraments at all: But from this ſimilitude they often take the name of the things themſelves.* —— *As*, ſays he, *the Sacrament of Faith, which is Baptiſm, is called Faith.*

And St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaking of the Veſſels in which the Sacrament was put, ‡‡‡ *In which*, ſays he, *there is not the true Body of* Chriſt, *but the Myſtery of his Body is contained in them.*

But, my Lord, not to trouble you with more quotations, I refer you to Biſhop *Coſin* his *Hiſtory of Tranſubſtantiation*, where beginning at the Inſtitution, he ſets down in every century the words of the Fathers upon this point: A little Book, long printed both in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, not yet anſwered, (that I hear) and I believe unanſwerable; wherein you will ſee a

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* *Hæc quidem de Typico Symbolicoque Corpore.* In Matth. c. xv. † Pſal. xvi. 10. Acts ii. 27, 31. ‡ Τὰ σύμβολα τ σώματ τ Δεσποτικ καὶ τ αἵματ. Dial. 2. ** Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τ προτέρας φύσεως, οὐσίας, καὶ τ χήματ, καὶ τ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἐστι, καὶ ἁπτὰ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν. *Ibid.*

†† See his Dialogue called *The Immoveable.* ‡‡ *Et tamen non deſinit eſſe Subſtantia vel Natura Panis & Vini: Et certè Imago & Similitudo Corporis & Sanguinis* Chriſti *in Actione Myſteriorum celebrantur.* Gelaſ. contr. Neſtorium & Eutychetem. *** Non quòd propriè Corpus ejus ſit Panis, & Poculum Sanguis; ſed quòd Myſterium Corporis ejus, ſanguiniſq; contineant. lib. ix. c. v. ††† *Si Sacramenta*, &c. Ep. xxiii. And contr. *Fauſt. Manich.* l. x. c. ii. *Sic Sacramentum Fidei quod Baptiſmus intelligitur, Fides eſt.* ‡‡‡ *In quibus non eſt verum Corpus* Chriſti, *ſed Myſterium Corporis ejus continetur.* See St. *Chryſoſt.* opere imperf. in *Matth.* and *Epiſt. ad Cæſarium*, in *Biblioth. P.* Colon. 1618.

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cloud of witneſſes, through the firſt ages of the Church, and ſo downwards, in perfect contradiction to this new article of your Faith.

And as the Scriptures, primitive Church and Fathers are all againſt you, ſo have you nothing in the world on your ſide but an unintelligible jargon of Metaphyſicks, upon which the School-Men ring changes, till the noiſe of their Bells have deafen'd common Senſe and Reaſon. Such are their Subtilties upon Subſtance, Accidents, Subſiſtence, Moduſes, and Modalities, and many more ſuch Quiddities; and their Diſtinctions of *materialiter* and *formaliter*, *per ſe & per accidens*, and a thouſand more, to ſolve all difficulties, and reconcile contradictions! No abſurdity can be named out of the reach of a Diſtinction: And when we underſtand it not, it operates moſt effectually, becauſe then we may ſuppoſe there is ſomething in it! Pray, my Lord, let me ask you, do you know the difference betwixt Subſtance and Accident?

LORD. Subſtance is that which *Sub ſtat*, ſtands under or ſupports another thing; ſo the Subſtance ſtands by it ſelf, and the Accidents do adhere or ſtick in it: Therefore we ſay, that *eſſentia Accidentis eſt inhærentia*, that *inherence or inſticking is the eſſence or very being of an Accident*, ſo that there cannot be an Accident without it, for whatever ſticks muſt have ſomething to ſtick in.

GENT. When the Subſtance then is gone, what becomes of the Accidents?

LORD. They are no more, for their eſſence is gone, which is inherence, and they cannot inhere or ſtick in nothing.

GENT. Now to apply this; when the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament is gone, as you ſuppoſe, then their Accidents are no more, for there cannot be Accidents of nothing, nothing has no Accidents: And they cannot be the Accidents of Bread when there is no Bread: * And you will not endure they ſhould be called the Accidents of the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*: Therefore they are the Accidents of nothing, that is, they are Accidents and no Accidents; they are Accidents without the eſſence of Accidents, which is inherence: There is roundneſs and nothing round, whiteneſs and nothing white, a taſte and nothing taſted, liquidneſs and nothing liquid, *&c.* And if theſe Accidents ſtand by themſelves, why are they not Subſtances? For that is the definition you give of Subſtance. If you ſay they ſtand by Miracle, then by Miracle they are Subſtances: And there is an end of the jargon! But who ſees not that roundneſs without any thing round, and the like which you call Accidents are nothing at all in nature, but abſtracted notions of our own heads, creatures of our making, which, like *Ens Rationis*, have no exiſtence but in our brains? Yet we diſpute about theſe as if they were real things, which we come at laſt to fancy, by their being dinned ſo long in our ears at the Schools: And we fight for them, as *pro Aris & Focis*; we make them articles of our Faith, and excommunicate for them!

LORD. Notwithſtanding your ridiculing Philoſophy, you will not ſay that we can ſee the Subſtance of any thing: But that whatever comes under our outward Senſes, that is, whatever can be ſeen, felt, heard, ſmelled, or taſted, are only the Accidents of things.

GENT. And the ſame Philoſophy will tell me that neither can Accidents be ſeen, felt, *&c.* For example, a round or a white thing is a Subſtance, but the roundneſs or the whiteneſs are the Accidents: Now I cannot ſee or feel roundneſs or whiteneſs, they are only conceptions in my mind, and come not under any of my outward ſenſes, they are too thin to bear either

* *Catechiſ. ad Paroch. de Euchariſt. Sacram.* Sect. xxv. xliv.

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my ſight, ſmell, touch, or taſte: Nay, I will ſay that they are beyond my imagination too, for who can think of roundneſs or whiteneſs without ſome thing that is round or white? Therefore if I ſee or feel any thing, it is the Subſtance I ſee or feel, that is, ſome thing which is round or white. What colour, taſte or ſmell, has inſticking or inherence? For that is Accident. Is it more like Bread than a Tulip? Thus eaſily may we diſpute our ſelves not only out of our ſenſes, but out of our thoughts too: And the Miracle of Accidents without Subſtance muſt not only work upon our ſenſes, but give us new thoughts, new conceptions, which never before came into the head of mortal Man! This is that Philoſophy and vain deceit or fallacy which the Apoſtle ſays will *ſpoil* or hurt our *Faith*. Doting *about queſtions and ſtrifes of words—— Perverſe diſputings—— And oppoſitions of ſcience falſely ſo called: which ſome profeſſing, have erred concerning the Faith.* 1 Tim. vi. 4, 5, 20, 21.

But if you are in earneſt about this Logick of Subſtance and Accident, will you lay a good wager upon it?

LORD. *Hudibras* ſays, *Fools for arguments lay wagers.*

GENT. Yet you have laid all your Honour and Eſtate upon it—— But are you ſo ſure of it that you would take your oath upon it?

LORD. Theſe are fooliſh queſtions, and were never asked in any Shool-diſpute.

GENT. Nor ought to be, if you had let them ſtay there. But when you will bring them out of your Schools into your Creed, and make them articles of Faith, you do as good as take your oath upon the truth and certainty of them; and you guard them with *Anathemas*. And it is impoſſible you can believe Tranſubſtantiation, or know any thing of it, unleſs you be perfectly skilled in the nature and difference of Subſtance and Accident, and how far their Powers do reach: You muſt diſtinguiſh between Subſtantiation, Conſubſtantiation, and Tranſubſtantiation, and determine whether the Nature of Accidents will beſt agree with *Sub*, *Con*, or *Trans*.

LORD. I trouble not my head with any of theſe things, but I believe as the Church believes, and there is an end of it.

GENT. Can you believe as the Church believes, without knowing what ſhe believes? This is believing nothing, it is implicit indeed! At this rate you need but one article of your Creed, to believe the holy catholick Church: And all the reſt may go off implicitly, though you ſhould know nothing of any other of the Articles: And what a Man knows nothing of, he can give no reaſon for. But St. *Peter* bids us *be ready always to give an anſwer to every Man that asketh us a reaſon of the Hope* (or Faith) *that is in us.* 1 Pet. iii. 15, Which ſuppoſes our underſtanding it our ſelves, and not an implicit Faith in others, of we know not what.

So that if you make Tranſubſtantiation an article of your Faith, you are obliged to underſtand it aright.

But there is ſomething yet more terrible behind, for if there be no Tranſubſtantiation, then you worſhip Bread and Wine with *Latria*, by which you mean the ſupreme Worſhip due to God alone.

Nay tho' Tranſubſtantiation were granted, and fully underſtood, yet it is impoſſible for any Man to know whether he worſhips plain Bread and Wine, or the Body and Blood of *Chriſt?* Becauſe in the Rubrick of the Maſs, *de defectibus circa miſſam*, there are ſeveral caſes put wherein the Conſecration is void, and there is no Sacrament made, and then there is nothing there but plain Bread and Wine: One of theſe caſes is, if there be a greater mixture of any other grain than of wheat in the wafer; another is, if the wine be made of ſour grapes, or grapes not ripe, *Si vinum fit ex uvis acerbis, vel non maturis*; which is pretty hard for the People to know,

who never taſte it, or the Worſhippers who ſee or taſte neither but only a *Pyxis* or a Cup they look not into: And in both theſe caſes (beſides others) it is ſaid, *Non conficitur Sacramentum, there is no Sacrament made*. And ſo it is ſaid if the intention of the Prieſt be wanting, which is impoſſible to know: Upon which head they put a pleaſant caſe, as ſuppoſe a Prieſt intends to conſecrate ten Wafers (for example) and after Conſecration there be found eleven or more, then none of them are conſecrated, becauſe the intention going only to ten, it cannot be known which theſe ten are. But if there be nine or fewer, they are all conſecrated, becauſe the intention going to ten, it includes all within that number. Beſides you muſt take it wholly upon truſt, whether there be any Conſecration at all; becauſe your Prieſts do not conſecrate before the People when they adminiſter the Sacrament, but at ſet times they conſecrate numbers of Wafers together, which they reſerve for occaſions, and for daily worſhip. Again it is ſaid in ſome caſes, *Dubium eſt an conficiatur Sacramentum*, that it is doubtful whether the Sacrament is made or not. And what ſhall we do in this caſe? Is it a doubt whether we worſhip God or a Creature? Or is it indifferent to which we give *Latria?*

LORD. If there ſhould be a miſtake in any of theſe matters, and we worſhip mere Creatures, not knowing it, for which we have been charged with Idolatry, we have an anſwer ready, that this could amount to no more than material Idolatry, but it could not be formally ſo, while our intention was right, and we meant our worſhip to God.

GENT. Theſe School-diſtinctions are Cobwebs, and will bear no weight; for material Idolatry is Idolatry, elſe it were not material Idolatry. And if our intention will ſolve it, it will ſolve it alſo as to the Heathen, who directed their worſhip and referred it ultimately to the true God, as has been ſhewn. But I hope you will not make *Solomon* ſo ſtupid as you have made the Heathen, and to think that he believed *Aſhtaroth* the Goddeſs of the *Zidonians*, and *Milcom* the abomination of the *Ammonites*, and the other Gods of the Nations whom he worſhipped, to be every one of them the one only ſupreme God! Yet he is charged with Idolatry, whether material or formal is not the queſtion, nor is there a word of it in the Scriptures, for Idolatry is Idolatry, let it be of what ſort it will. And theſe diſtinctions are only to excuſe it, and let it looſe among us. God has forbidden it generally, of every kind and ſort. The *Arians* were charged with Idolatry for worſhipping *Chriſt*, ſuppoſing him but a Creature: And they were ſo far from diſowning the true God, that it was his honour they pretended in denying Divinity to *Chriſt*. So of the *Socinians*, and our *Uniturians* among us, who give themſelves that name for their ſupporting the Unity of the Godhead. Yet they are charged with Idolatry for worſhipping *Chriſt* as an inferior God. And they have the ſame diſtinction as you of *Latria* and *Dulia*, a higher and lower degree of Worſhip: But all religious Worſhip is forbidden to any but to God alone. Theſe degrees of it are of humane invention, to excuſe our breach of the commands of God. But we are to keep far from the forbidden thing, not try how near we can come to it, by diſtinctions of our own coining. We ought to *make a Hedge about the Law*, as the Phraſe of the *Jews* was, to guard againſt any approaches towards the breach of it. Or in the Apoſtles words, to *abſtain from all appearance of evil*. And remember that we venture our Souls upon theſe diſtinctions. Which then are in the ſafeſt way, we who follow the direct rule of God's Commandments as they are plainly laid down to us in holy Scripture, without *Turning to the right hand or to the left, without either adding to them, or diminiſhing from them*, as we are commanded:

1 Kin. xi. 5.

1 Theſſ. v. 12.

Deut, iv. 2. v. 32.

Or you who diſtinguiſh the plaineſt Precepts, and make them ſpeak Metaphyſicks?

By which the worſhip of the Devil may be juſtified; for it is plain that when he offer'd to our Saviour all the Kingdoms of the World, he meant not that he was the ſupreme God and ſovereign diſpoſer of them, but only as having received this power from the ſovereign diſpoſer; for he ſaid, *That is delivered unto me, and to whomſoever I will, I give it.* And it is as plain by the anſwer our Saviour gave him, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*, that all ſort of religious Worſhip was forbidden to be given to any but to God only. And St. *Auguſtine* makes all to be Devils who require or accept it: *Latria* and *Dulia* ſignify both the ſame thing, that is, Service; and here all religious Service is reſerved to God only. The diſtinction of the Schools is vain, and meant only to elude the commands of God, and introduce all Superſtition. Luke iv. 6, 8.

There are other unworthy caſes put in the *Rubrick* of the Maſs, which flow from hence, as if a Dog or a Mouſe ſhould eat the Sacrament—— If the Prieſt ſhould vomit it up again, in which caſe, he is to lick it up reverently, unleſs it be nauſeous, (that was well put in) and then it is to be diſpoſed of ſo and ſo. And again, if a Fly ſhould drop into the Cup, how the Fly was to be dealt with——And one reaſon given for taking the Cup from the Laity was, That the Laity (at that time I ſuppoſe) wore long Beards, and leſt the Blood of *Chriſt* ſhould drop upon them, or ſtick to their Whiskers! All theſe are the genuine effects of Superſtition, occaſioned by the notion of Tranſubſtantiation.

And here, my Lord, let me obſerve, that the natural effect of Superſtition is Atheiſm or Deiſm. As one extreme runs into another, like Eaſt to Weſt: For Men of ſenſe muſt find out the deceit that is in Superſtition, and then placing all Religion on the ſame foot (as in your Communion upon the Authority of your Church) they muſt think the whole to be a Deceit, or in the modiſh word, Prieſt-craft, and the contrivance of thoſe who gain by it. Whence it is, that the holy Scriptures and the Legends have the ſame foundation in the Church of *Rome*, that is, her Authority; therefore the common People believe them both alike, and the Men of Senſe believe neither. And this does ſo lead towards the general defection foretold, that in a great meaſure it is it; for it deſtroys the foundation of Religion, and turns it all to Superſtition. And when the infidelity which that begets ſhall come to be publickly owned, then where ſhall Faith be found upon the Earth? It is now acted in the *Opus Operatum*. And inſtead of the two Sacraments which *Chriſt* has appointed as a means of grace, the whole Face of your Religion is covered with ten thouſand of your own invention. The unlimited Power taken in your Church of conſecrating every thing into a means of grace, your worſhip of Saints (many of them Legendary) their Reliques and Images, of Croſſes, and of the Hoſt, make up the bulk of your Religion and Devotions.

38. But not only the Hoſt, or Body of *Chriſt* ſuppoſed to be corporally in the Sacrament, but the Croſs of *Chriſt*, or any Effigies of that Croſs; and the Images of *Chriſt*, are worſhipped in your Church with the ſupreme divine Adoration of *Latria*. As is told us by a great Saint of your Church, whom you call the Angelical Doctor, St. *Thomas Aquinas*, who ſays that * *Crux Chriſti eſt adoranda adoratione* Latriæ. And again, *Crucis Effigies in aliquâ aliâ materiâ*——Latriâ *adoranda eſt*. And in the *Roman Pontifical* it is ordered, that in the Proceſſion of the Emperor and a Legate of

* Par. 3 Qu. 2 Art. 4. in Cor. Concluſio.

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the Pope, the Legate's Croſs ſhall be carried on the right hand of the Emperor's Sword, becauſe * *Latria* is due to the Croſs.

And in the Adoration of the Croſs upon *Good-Friday* (which is the principal part of the office for that day) the Croſs being veiled, is diſcovered to the People by degrees, firſt one Arm of the Croſs, then another, and at laſt the whole Croſs is unveiled: And at each time the Prieſt ſays; *Ecce lignum Crucis, Behold the Wood of the Croſs:* And the People anſwer, *Adoremus, Let us Worſhip:* And then the Prieſts firſt, and afterwards the People, come upon their Knees and pay their Adoration to the Croſs; and remember that it is the Adoration of *Latria* which they give to it.

Now for Images, the ſame *Aquinas* before mentioned tells us the worſhip we pay them is, † *Religionis Cultus, a religious Worſhip*, and that it is not a different *Latria* which is given to *Chriſt* and to his Images, but ſays, ‡ *That when worſhip is paid to the Images of* Chriſt, *the reaſon of the* Latria *is not different, nor the virtue of Religion.*

If then there be but one *Latria*, and the ſame that is paid to *Chriſt* and to his Images, it will juſtify what *James Naclantus*, Biſhop of *Clugium* writes in his *Expoſition of the Epiſtle to the* Romans, chap. 1. ** *That the faithful ought not to worſhip before an Image (as ſome perhaps out of caution ſpeak) but to worſhip the Image it ſelf, without any ſcruple at all, and with the ſame ſort of worſhip as the Proto-type, or whom it repreſents; and if that is to be worſhipped with* Latria, *ſo its Image with* Latria, *if with* Dulia, *or* Hyperdulia, *ſo the Image is to be worſhipped with the ſame worſhip.*

39. There is another ſtrange *Latria* paid to the *Præputium* of *Chriſt*, or the fore-skin which was cut off at his Circumciſion. Your Doctors are at great pains to know what is become of it. They might as well ask what is become of the parings of his Nails! Whither will Superſtition run? They had it at *Antwerp*, but the Hereticks took it away. From thence it travelled by many Miracles to the Church of St. *John Lateran* at *Rome*, and how it was thence tranſlated to the Church of *Cornelius*, and *Cyprian* at *Calcata*, about twenty Miles from *Rome*, I have read the account at large in a Book in *Folio*, intitled, *De Baſilicâ & Pariarchio Lateranenſi, ad Alexand. VII. Pont. Max. auctore Cæſare Raſpono, ejuſdem Baſilicæ Canonico.* Romæ, 1656. p. 364, &c. And of the miraculous difference it ſhewed when it was touched by Virgins and by married Women! See the *Devotions of the* Roman *Church*, p. 31. where you will find other Authors quoted, as *Bollandus, Act. Sanct. ad Jan.* 1. *de Præputio Chriſti*, and *Rivet. Apologia pro S. Maria Virgine: Lib.* 1. *c.* xvii. Cardinal *Tolet, in cap.* ii. *Luc. Annot.* 31. and *Salmeron, in Evang. Tom.* 3. *Tract.* 36. And that though it is ſtill at *Calcata*, yet it is carry'd about at *Podium* with great veneration upon the Feaſt of the Aſcenſion. *Salmeron* in the place above quoted tells out of the Legend of *Jacobus de Voragine*, that the bleſſed Virgin gave this *Præputium* firſt to *Mary Magdalen*, and that it was brought afterwards by an Angel to *Charles* the great at *Aken*, and how after it came to be laid up in the *Lateran*. Whence theſe Verſes,

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* Quia debetur ei (Cruci) Latria. † 2da. 2dæ. Quæ. 81. Art. 3. Reſp. ad 3. ‡ Quod imaginibus Chriſti exhibetur cultus, non diverſificatur ratio Latriæ, nec virtus Religionis. ** Ergo non ſolum fatendum eſt, fideles in Eccleſiâ adorare coram Imagine (ut nonnulla ad cautelam forte loquuntur) ſed & adorare Imaginem, ſine quo volueris ſcrupulo, quin & eo illam venereantur cultu, quo & Prototypon ejus; propter quod ſi illud habet adorari *Latria*, & illa *Latria*, ſi *Dulia*, vel *Hyperdulia*, & illa pariter ejuſmodi cultu adoranda eſt. *Venetiis.*

Circumciſa caro Chriſti, *Sandalia ſacra,*
Atque Umbilici viget hic Præciſio chara.

Put thus into *Engliſh.*

Chriſt's *fore-skin and bleſt Sandals are kept here,*
And what was cut from off his Navel dear.

I ſuppoſe they meant the cutting of his navel ſtring. And his *Sandals* (though it is not ſaid that he wore any, he is always painted bare-foot) will come in here too for *Latria*, for the ſame reaſon which *T. Aquinas* gives for *Latria* as due to the Croſs, **Propter Membrorum* Chriſti *contactum*, becauſe it touched the Body of *Chriſt*. Then all his Clothes muſt come in for the ſame reaſon, and the Nails and Spear that pierced him. And why not the Spittle that was thrown in his Face? For the Croſs was as much his Enemy (as far as Wood could be) as any of the other, or the Spittle it ſelf. And I know not why the Crucifiers ſhould not be admitted too, though they touched him with a hoſtile mind, as ſome have ſainted *Judas*, becauſe he was an inſtrument in our Redemption. For there is no ſtop in Superſtition more than in other Arts.

But I muſt not forget my Friends the School-Men upon this occaſion, they diſpute, that the fore-skin being of the intireneſs of the Body, it muſt have been re-united to the Body of *Chriſt* upon his Reſurrection, elſe that the intire Body did not ariſe. † *Suarez* therefore concludes, that the Body of *Chriſt* at the Reſurrection had a fore-skin, and has now in Heaven: But what then will he do with that fore-skin, which is ſhewed in the Church here below? He ſays, that the fore-skin belongs to the intireneſs of the Body, *non formaliter, ſed materialiter, not formally, but only materially*; and ſo the buſineſs is made up! But he adds, that *Innocent* III. did call in queſtion the truth of this fore-skin upon Earth: Is it a queſtion then? And do the People ſtill pay *Latria* to it? How comes this to be ſuffered in the Church? In the Church that is infallible!

But ſeveral parcels of the Blood of *Chriſt* ſhed upon the Croſs are likewiſe ſhewed, and ‡ *Creſſy* quotes *Matth. Paris* for a ſignal Teſtimony of it.

To this ſays *Aquinas*, ** that *whatever belongs to the nature of an humane Body was wholly in the Body of* Chriſt *when he roſe, as his Fleſh and Bones, and his Blood, and that entirely without any diminution, otherwiſe* (ſays he) *it had not been a perfect Reſurrection.* And afterwards, †† *that all the Blood which flowed from the Body of* Chriſt, *roſe again in his Body. But as for that Blood* (ſays he) *which is preſerved in ſome Churches for Reliques, it did not flow from* Chriſt's *ſide, but is ſaid to have flowed miraculouſly from a certain Image of* Chriſt *that was pierced.* Yet the People pay *Latria* to it, grounded wholly upon a Legend! And *Aquinas* gives no farther aſſurance of it, than that it was ſaid. Is not this worſhipping in Faith? What Blood was that which came out of the Image? Was it *Chriſt*'s Blood? And how was it made ſo? Was it tranſubſtantiated? Or was it Blood materially, though not formally? Or had it only the colour of Blood, the Accidents remaining without the Subſtance? *Vaſquez* comes pretty near this when he ſays, ‡‡ *That no parti-*

* Par. 3. Qu. 2. Art. 4. *in the Concluſion.* † Suar. in 3. Par. Qu. 54. Act. 4. Diſp. 47. §. 1.
‡ Ch. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 13. ** Part. 3. Qu. 34. Artic 2. *Reſpondet Dicendum.* †† *Ibid.* act. Tertium.
‡‡ In 3. par. Thomæ. Qu. 5. Artic. 2. Diſp. 36. c. 8. *See alſo* c. 4.

on of the Blood of Chriſt *did remain on Earth under the form of Blood, but only under its Colour,* amiſſâ formâ Sanguinis, *having loſt the form of Blood.*

LORD. What is this matter and form with which they keep ſuch a ſtir?

GENT. They make three conſtituting Principles in every thing; theſe they call *materia, forma, et privatio.* That is, the matter of which any thing is made; the form, which is wholly unknown to us; and the want of that form; for you muſt know that we muſt want a thing, before we have it!

LORD. Trouble me no more with this *Jargon:* I pin not my Faith upon School-Men.

GENT. Yet this Article of your Faith, that is, Tranſubſtantiation, is nothing elſe, as I have (I hope) made it plain. And I will ſhew you another inſtance wherein you follow them too, and are groſly miſled by them that is, the diſtinction of Concomitancy.

LORD. What is that? I know it not.

40. GENT. I have before told of ſeveral injuries done to our Lord *Chriſt*, in adding to his Commandments, and making to our ſelves means of Grace which he has not inſtituted. What I am to ſpeak of now is an error on the other hand, that is of ſubſtracting from his Inſtitutions, and the means of Grace which he has appointed: I mean in taking away the Cup from the Laity in the holy Sacrament. *Chriſt* inſtituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood as an effectual means of Grace, calling it the *Communion of his Body and Blood:* Particularly of the Cup it is ſaid, *The Cup of bleſſing which we bleſs, is it not the Communion of the Blood of* Chriſt? And that we all partake of the Cup, according to ſeveral Manuſcripts of your own vulgar *Latin, Omnes de uno pane, & de uno calice participamus.* But that the Laity might not think themſelves deprived of this ſo beneficial a means of the greateſt Grace, the Schools have invented a diſtinction they call Concomitancy, which is, that in all Fleſh there is ſome Blood goes along, or is concomitant with it, ſo that whoever eat the Fleſh partake alſo of the Blood.

1 Cor. x. 16, 17.

LORD. And is not that true?

GENT. Really, my Lord, I know not. But I am ſure it is a nicety: For Fleſh may be ſo dryed that no Blood ſhall appear in it, and in a Wafer there can be none, without having recourſe to Miracle. I think it is making too bold, to throw off the inſtitution of *Chriſt*, upon ſuch imaginations of our own; which imply that there was no need of the inſtitution of the Cup, for if it be not neceſſary now, it was not ſo then. But, my Lord, this Sacrament was ordained, not only to expreſs the death of *Chriſt*, but alſo the manner of it, that is, by the ſhedding of his Blood, according to the bloody types of him under the Law, as it is ſaid, *without ſhedding of Blood there is no Remiſſion. It was therefore neceſſary*, ſays the Apoſtle. But whatever Blood may be concomitant in the Fleſh, yet here is no ſhedding of it expreſſed in the Wafer.

Heb. ix. 22.

LORD. But the Cup always goes along with the Bread in our Church, to compleat the Sacrifice, though the Prieſt only who officiates partakes of the Cup.

But when the *Hoſtia* is carry'd in Proceſſion, as upon *Corpus Chriſti* day, or frequently to the ſick there is no Cup, nor does the Prieſt himſelf communicate. But however, if the People are to partake of the Sacrifice, as it was under the Law, here they are defrauded of half of it! And they are as much commanded to partake of the Cup as of the Bread. And the

Church may as well take away the Bread, and leave only the Cup, and ſay, that the Fleſh is contained in the Blood, as well as the Blood in the Fleſh. Strange power of Church! What Inſtitution of God can ſtand at this rate? Suppoſe the *Jews* had neglected to pour out or ſprinkle the Blood of their Sacrifices as commanded, and ſaid it was ſufficient that it was by concomitancy in the Fleſh; would this diſtinction have ſerved in that caſe? And why not as well in this?

It is obſervable that *Chriſt*, as foreſeeing this taking away of the Cup from many, added the word *All* to the drinking of the Cup, *Drink ye all of it.* And it is ſaid, *they all drank of it*; it is not ſaid ſo of the Bread. Mat. xxvi. 27. Mark xiv. 23.

LORD. There were none there but the Apoſtles: So that this refers not to the Laity.

GENT. So you may ſay of the Bread, and take that too from the Laity by the ſame rule, and you take the Cup from the Prieſts who do not officiate. But *Chriſt* ſaid to the People to the Laity, *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you.* And this is underſtood by all you of the Church of *Rome* as ſpoken of the Sacrament. Joh. vi. 53.

LORD. * *Bellarmine* ſays, that the *And* there, *And drink*, is to be underſtood as an *Or*, that is, except ye either *eat or drink.*

GENT. That is to ſay, I may underſtand all the *Ands* in the Creed to be *Ors*, and inſtead of I believe this, *And* this, *And* this, I may ſay, I believe this, *Or this, Or this*, ſo that if I believe any one article, it is ſufficient, though I believe never another. If you ſend your Servant to Market, and bid him bring Beef and Mutton and Pork, and he buys only Beef, and ſays, he underſtood all your *Ands* for *Ors*. And ſo if you bid him bring ſo much meat and ſo much drink, and he brings only the meat, for the ſame reaſon—— Thus we may eaſily get over all the commands of God, and give the reverſe to St. *James*, that *he who offends in one point is guilty of all.* No, but *he who keeps one point, keeps the whole Law.* This is bantering inſtead of arguing: And it ſhews a cauſe to be very deſtitute, when ſo great a Man as *Bellarmine* could content himſelf with giving ſuch an anſwer. Jam. ii. 10.

And the doctrine of concomitancy will not do here, for if I eat a piece of Fleſh, ſuppoſe ſome Blood may be ſaid to be concomitant there; yet I cannot be ſaid to drink where there is not one drop: And the threatening is, except ye *drink* there's no Life in you.

If it be but a Man's Teſtament (ſaith St. *Paul*) *yet if it be confirmed, no Man diſannulleth, or addeth thereto.* This holy Sacrament was the laſt Teſtament which *Chriſt* left to his Church, inſtituted the evening before he entered upon his ſacred Paſſion. Therefore Pope *Gelaſius* had good reaſon to call it † Sacrilege in any who ſhould mutilate this Sacrament, and commanded that they who would not drink of the Cup ſhould be denied the Bread too. Gal. iii. 15.

LORD. This was only to diſcover the *Manichæans*, who would not drink of the Cup, for other reaſons than the Church of *Rome* had to take it from the Laity.

GENT. I never heard a tolerable reaſon for it except becauſe they were Laity: But the diſpute is not about the reaſons for it, but the thing itſelf. To take away the Cup is to mutilate the Sacrament: And that is ſacrilege by *Gelaſius* his determination.

And this laſt Teſtament of our Lord, which was confirmed by the practice of the Church for fourteen hundred years was mutilated by the

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* De Sacram. Euchariſt. l. 4. c. 25. † Apud *Gratian.* can. *Comperimus* de *Conſecr.* Diſt. 2.

* Council

* Council of *Conſtance*, and the Cup taken from the Laity, with a *non obſtante* as well to the Inſtitution of *Chriſt*, as the practice of the primitive Church. It was declared no Sacrilege, and the Prieſt was excommunicated who ſhould communicate the Laity under both kinds.

The Council of *Trent* † likewiſe puts in its caveat to the Inſtitution in both kinds, and that notwithſtanding the Laity muſt be excluded from the Cup. And they make it a hereſy to ſay, that whole *Chriſt* is not under each ſpecies. Then the Fleſh is as much in the Blood, as the Blood in the Fleſh: And it is all one which ſpecies we take. But ſince the Body and Blood of *Chriſt* were ſeparated at his Death, and he ordained them to be ſo ſeparated in the Sacrament of it, I ſee not how we can take away either part upon the account of their not being ſeparated.

LORD. Our *Catechiſm ad Parochos* gives ſix reaſons for taking away the Cup. ‡ *Firſt*, The danger of ſpilling it. *Secondly*, Of its turning ſour. *Thirdly* and *Fourthly*, For our health, becauſe ſome could not bear the taſte or ſmell of Wine without being ſick. *Fifthly*, That Wine was very dear in ſome places. And the *Sixth*, That we might believe whole *Chriſt* to be under each Species. *Gerſon*'s reaſon about the long beards of the Laity, before mentioned, comes under the firſt of theſe heads concerning ſpilling.

GENT. Now, my Lord, I leave it to your ſelf, whether theſe reaſons be not very childiſh, or are of weight to maim the Inſtitution of *Chriſt*?

There muſt no compariſon be made betwixt the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, as to preference, or which is moſt valuable: But our Redemption is oftner attributed in holy Scripture to his Blood than to his Body. *We are ſaved by his Blood*——*Propitiation through his Blood*——*By the ſprinkling of his Blood*——&c.

LORD. There is mention made ſometimes of the breaking of Bread, when there is nothing ſaid of the Cup; and this we make uſe of as an argument that the Cup is not neceſſary. This is mainly inſiſted upon in our *Catechiſm*, the Chapter you juſt now named, *Sect.* lxx. And *Joh.* vi. 51. is quoted, *I am the living Bread*——*If any Man eat of this Bread*——*And the Bread I will give is my Fleſh.*

GENT. We take not this to be ſpoke of the Sacrament, but of Faith in *Chriſt*, here expreſſed by Eating, that is, ſpiritually, as himſelf explains it, ℣. 63. *It is the Spirit that quickneth, the Fleſh profiteth nothing: The words that I ſpeak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are Life.* But let it be taken of the Sacrament, as you do, you will find the Blood joined with the Fleſh, in the next words, ℣. 53. *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood*—— as before quoted. And again, ℣. 54. *Whoſo eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood*—— And ℣. 55. *For my Fleſh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed.* And ℣. 56. *He that eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood*—— Is not the Blood here named with the Fleſh? But if it were not, there are a hundred places, as I now obſerved, where the Blood of *Chriſt* is named as *cleanſing*, as *redeeming* us, *&c.* without any mention of his Fleſh or Body. Are they therefore excluded? This is ſuch a ſort of reaſoning, as if I invite you to eat with me, you muſt have no drink to your dinner, becauſe it was not named. But if by eating we commonly mean the whole meal, and drinking is likewiſe included, this criticiſm upon the Lord's Supper, of calling it Eating, will appear what it is, and not be thought ſufficient to exclude the Cup in

* Licet *Chriſtus*——— Adminiſtraverit ſub utrâque ſpecie Panis & Vini——— tamen hoc non obſtante——— Et ſim liter quòd licèt in primitivâ Eccleſiâ hujuſmodi Sacramentum reciperetur à fidelibus ſub utrâque ſpecie; tamen——— Præcipimus ſub pœnâ excommunicationis quòd nullus Preſbyter communicet Populum ſub utrâque ſpecie Panis & Vini. Seſſ. 13. † Seſſ. 21. Can. 1, 2, 3.
‡ De Euchariſt. Sacrament. Sect. lxx.

the Sacrament. And other foundation you have none in Scripture. But if I once call it eating the Lord's Supper, and ſeveral times call it both eating and drinking, will not the latter explain the former? Or will eating exclude drinking, though drinking be expreſſly named? To eat the Lord's Supper is the only Phraſe we uſe, I never heard any Body call it drinking the Supper: And you may thence prove that we have not the Cup in our Sacrament, as well as that the Apoſtles had it not, becauſe it is ſaid they eat Bread, or broke Bread. But I have over-laboured this point, becauſe you lay ſo much ſtreſs upon it.

I will now ſhew you another reſtriction your Church has made upon the inſtitutions of God. As ſhe has taken the Cup from the Laity, ſo has ſhe taken another of your Sacraments, that is Marriage from the Clergy. I paſs by the politick views and advantages the Court of *Rome* has in this, as giving the Pope the more abſolute command, and making him in effect Heir of all the great poſſeſſions of the Clergy, for the Canon Law obliges the regular Biſhops not to diſpoſe of their Eſtates by * Will, and the other Clergy not to be too liberal of their alms in their ſickneſs. And what they leave, the Pope diſpoſes of, as grand Treaſurer of the Church. But waving all this, I will inſiſt now only upon what relates to Conſcience. You reckon it a defilement in your Church for a Clergy-Man to marry. No great complement to the married ſtate, which yet was inſtituted by God in Paradiſe while Man was in his innocence. And the Apoſtle ſays, *Marriage is honourable in all, and the Bed undefiled.* And *forbidding to marry* is reckoned one of the *Doctrines of Devils.* And directions are given how a Biſhop ſhould govern his Wife and Children, *for if a Man know not how to rule his own Houſe, how ſhall he take care of the Church of God?* Yet your Interpreters would have this Wife and this Houſe to be the Church! St. *Peter* was a married Man, and forſook not his Wife after he was an Apoſtle, but *led her about* with him as other Apoſtles did. And that in the primitive Church the Clergy did marry is plain from *Socrates*'s *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* lib. i. cap. 11. and l. v. c. 22. The vow of ſingle life was not impoſed upon the Clergy till Pope *Hildebrand.* See *Matth. Weſtmon.* ad An. 1074. *Vincent.* Spec. Hiſt. l. 24. c. 45. *Antonin.* l. 16. c. 1. ſſ. 21. And it was *without Precedent* (ſays *Sigebert.* Chron. ad An. 1074.) *and, as many thought, out of an indiſcrete Zeal, contrary to the opinion of the holy Fathers.* But *Hildebrand,* was not obeyed in this in *England* for above a hundred years after, for our ancient Records ſay, † *All thoſe decrees availed nothing, for the Prieſts by the King's conſent ſtill had their Wives as formerly.* And *Gregory* the great ſaid, ‡ *That it was lawful for ſuch of the Clergy as could not contain to marry.* And *Pius* the ſecond ſaid the ſame, ** *That they may be allowed to marry.* And your greateſt Canoniſt *Panormitan* ſays, †† *There is as great reaſon to allow Prieſts to marry now, as ever there was to reſtrain it.* Let St. *Bernard* bear witneſs in his time what reaſon there was for allowing it, he ſays, ‡‡ *There are many who cannot be hid for their multitude, nor do ſeek to be concealed through their impudence, who, being reſtrained from the nuptial Remedies, run into all filthineſs.* And another ſays, *** *That few in thoſe days were free from Fornication.* And *Matthew Paris* tells that the Pope thought it almoſt a Miracle that a Candidate for a Biſhoprick was ſaid to be a pure Virgin. Whence the *Gloſſ. ad Gratian.* in the place juſt before quo-

Heb. xiii. 4. 1 Tim. iv. 3. Chap. iii. 5. 1 Cor. ix. 5.

* Decretal. Gregor. lib. 3. de Teſtam. tit. 26. cap. 7, 9. † Hiſtor. Petriburg. An. 1127. ap. Spelm. T. 2. p. 36. ‡ Reſponſ. ad Interrog. Secund. Aug. Cantuar. ** *Pius* 2. in Geſt. Concil. *Baſil. See alſo* Platina *in his Life,* p. 329. †† De Clericis conjug. can. *cum olim.* ‡‡ De Converſ. ad Cleric. cap. 29. *** Gloſſ ad Gratian. Diſt. 82. c. 5.

ted, calls * Fornication but a venial Sin. And it is tolerated, if not allowed, † however it was reckoned a leſs Sin in a Prieſt than Marriage: For this reaſon, deadly Sin is added to Fornication in our Litany. But why was Celibacy enjoined to the Prieſts? And why Marriage a greater Sin than Fornication? Becauſe the firſt is a breach of the command of the Church and the latter of the command of God! And the difference of the Puniſhment of theſe in your Church, ſhews that ſhe thinks ſo; for a Prieſt committing Fornication comes off for a ſmall Penance, whereas if he marries he is degraded. May we not then ſay to the Church of *Rome*, as *Chriſt* to the Church of the *Jews*, in a parallel caſe? *Full well ye reject the Commandment of God, that ye may keep your own Tradition.*

Mark vii. 9.

But if Marriage be ſuch a defilement as is unworthy a Prieſt, how came you to make a Sacrament of it? I ſuppoſe you cannot mean leſs by a Sacrament than a means of grace; you have made many leſs things ſo, as is ſhewed before. And would you deprive the Clergy of any means of grace? Or is it your modeſty to put them upon the level with the Laity for depriving them of the Cup in the Sacrament of *Chriſt*'s own Inſtitution?

Marriage is honourable and undefiled in all, ſays the Apoſtle: *No*, ſay you, *it is neither in a Prieſt.* He ſays, *If Men cannot contain, let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn*; no, ſay you, *it is better to burn than to marry.* And this you muſt ſay, unleſs you ſuppoſe that all the many thouſands of your Clergy, and many of them young Men, are every one of them endowed with the gift of Continency. Which would be a Miracle, if experience did not contradict it.

1 Cor. vii. 9.

All ſober Chriſtians, and even the Heathen, look upon Marriage as a preſerver and not a breach of Chaſtity. St. *Peter* calls it a *chaſte Converſation.* If it were not ſo, we may preſume that *Chriſt* would not have honoured it with his own Preſence, and with his firſt Miracle, nor made it ſo frequently as he does, the type and repreſentation of Heaven, and of his Union with the Church, calling himſelf the Bridegroom and her his Spouſe.

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It is ſtrange that you who have ſo many means of grace of your own, ſhould not let thoſe very few which *Chriſt* has made, ſtand as he left them!

41. But you extend yours farther than he did his, for he appointed none to be uſed for thoſe in the other World: But you have offices to deliver Souls out of Purgatory.

LORD. That ſeems a charitable office.

GENT. But it is a very dark one. We have not a word in Scripture of any ſuch ſtate of the dead, where Souls are put under pains equal to thoſe of Hell, except for the duration.

LORD. No unclean thing can enter into Heaven.

1 John. i. 9. GENT. Is not the Blood of *Chriſt* ſufficient to cleanſe us *from all unrighteouſneſs?*

LORD. Yes, ſurely: But though God pardons the guilt of Sin, yet his Juſtice will puniſh in ſome degree.

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† *Ibid.* Diſt 34. Can. 7.

GENT. Then the guilt is not fully forgiven.

LORD. Not ſo, but that we may be puniſhed for it, as when afflictions, diſeaſes, &c, are ſent to us here upon Earth. God ſaid to *David, I have put away thy Sin, but the Child ſhall die.* 2 Sam. xii. 13.

GENT. And the reaſon is given in the next words, *becauſe by this deed thou haſt given great occaſion to the Enemies of the Lord to blaſpheme*; as if God did countenance ſuch wickedneſs; therefore *David* was puniſhed ſo as his Enemies might perceive it. God puniſhes here either to vindicate his own honour before Men: Or for a tryal of our Faith, as in the caſe of *Job*, and to ſet forth ſuch as examples to others: Or for a proof and confirmation of our Religion, as in the caſe of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Confeſſors and Martyrs: Or to correct and recall obſtinate Sinners; many have been reformed by this means: But all theſe reaſons reſpect this life only: For you ſay not that Souls are made better in Purgatory, ſince you ſuppoſe them to die in the love of God, and to be in his favour, before they go thither. And why then are they puniſhed, ſince they are not purified by it?

LORD. To ſatisfy the vindicative Juſtice of God.

GENT. That is ſatisfy'd before they are forgiven and received into the favour of God. Unleſs you mean by vindicative ſuch a ſpite and revenge as is ſeen among the moſt ignoble part of Mankind to ſay, *I will forgive, but I will at the ſame time be revenged for what is paſt:* Which indeed is not forgiveneſs, but a plain unwillingneſs to forgive. But a generous forgiveneſs, upon a ſincere repentance, loves and embraces, and rejoices to comfort and heap favours, like the Father of the returning Prodigal. God ſays, He will not *remember* our ſins, that they ſhall not be *mentioned unto us, in the day when we turn from our wickedneſs.* And how is that conſiſtent with enduring the pains of Hell for a hundred, perhaps a thouſand years for ought we know? And how do we know what Souls go to Purgatory? How long they remain there? And which of them are releaſed? Can Prayers then for the Releaſment of ſuch and ſuch be made in Faith? Otherwiſe they are Sin, by the Apoſtle's determination. Iſai. xliii. 25. Jer. xxxi. 34. Ezek. xviii. 22. xxxiii. 12, 16.

LORD. But the intention is pious.

GENT. So it is in all Superſtition, very pious, and that is it which deceives. But God has required that our zeal to him ſhould be *according to knowledge:* And that we, *intrude not into things we have not ſeen.* We have not ſeen any Revelation for Purgatory, or the ſtate of Souls there. Rom. x 2. Col. ii. 18.

LORD. But we have the Tradition of the Church for it.

GENT. There are good and bad Traditions. And they are much oftner taken in the bad ſenſe throughout the New Teſtament, *Ye have made the Commandment of God of none effect by your Tradition —— Holding the Tradition of the Elders, —— Laying aſide the Commandment of God, ye hold the Tradition of Men —— Ye reject the Commandment of God, that ye may keep your own Tradition —— Vain deceit, after the Tradition of Men —— Your vain Converſation received by Tradition from your Fathers,* &c. Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 3, 8, 9. Col. ii. 8. 1 Pet. i. 18.

Yet there is a Tradition which (for the evidence of it) we are willing to admit, that is, according to the rule of *Vincentius Lirinenſis, Quod ſemper, ubique, & ab omnibus, That which was always received every where, and by all.* And we are willing to join iſſue with you upon this Tradition as to Purgatory: This is univerſal Tradition: And you would not deſire we ſhould be concluded by any particular Tradition of this or that Church or Place, for you know there are many deceits in ſuch.

But *Veron* in his *Rule of Faith* (a Book much applauded in *France*, and put into *Engliſh* for the uſe of the Roman Catholicks here) ſets out in the beginning

ted, calls * Fornication but a venial Sin. And it is tolerated, if not allowed, † however it was reckoned a leſs Sin in a Prieſt than Marriage: For this reaſon, deadly Sin is added to Fornication in our Litany. But why was Celibacy enjoined to the Prieſts? And why Marriage a greater Sin than Fornication? Becauſe the firſt is a breach of the command of the Church and the latter of the command of God! And the difference of the Puniſhment of theſe in your Church, ſhews that ſhe thinks ſo; for a Prieſt committing Fornication comes off for a ſmall Penance, whereas if he marries he is degraded. May we not then ſay to the Church of *Rome*, as *Chriſt* to the Church of the *Jews*, in a parallel caſe? *Full well ye reject the Commandment of God, that ye may keep your own Tradition.*

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GENT. That is ſatisfy'd before they are forgiven and received into the favour of God. Unleſs you mean by vindicative ſuch a ſpite and revenge as is ſeen among the moſt ignoble part of Mankind to ſay, *I will forgive, but I will at the ſame time be revenged for what is paſt:* Which indeed is not forgiveneſs, but a plain unwillingneſs to forgive. But a generous forgiveneſs, upon a ſincere repentance, loves and embraces, and rejoices to comfort and heap favours, like the Father of the returning Prodigal. God ſays, He will not *remember* our ſins, that they ſhall not be *mentioned unto us, in the day when we turn from our wickedneſs.* And how is that conſiſtent with enduring the pains of Hell for a hundred, perhaps a thouſand years for ought we know? And how do we know what Souls go to Purgatory? How long they remain there? And which of them are releaſed? Can Prayers then for the Releaſment of ſuch and ſuch be made in Faith? Otherwiſe they are Sin, by the Apoſtle's determination. Iſai. xliii. 25. Jer. xxxi. 34. Ezek. xviii. 22. xxxiii. 12, 16.

LORD. But the intention is pious.

GENT. So it is in all Superſtition, very pious, and that is it which deceives. But God has required that our zeal to him ſhould be *according to knowledge:* And that we, *intrude not into things we have not ſeen.* We have not ſeen any Revelation for Purgatory, or the ſtate of Souls there. Rom. x. 2. Col. ii. 18.

LORD. But we have the Tradition of the Church for it.

GENT. There are good and bad Traditions. And they are much oftner taken in the bad ſenſe throughout the New Teſtament, *Ye have made the Commandment of God of none effect by your Tradition —— Holding the Tradition of the Elders, —— Laying aſide the Commandment of God, ye hold the Tradition of Men —— Ye reject the Commandment of God, that ye may keep your own Tradition —— Vain deceit, after the Tradition of Men —— Your vain Converſation received by Tradition from your Fathers*, &c. Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 3, 8, 9. Col. ii. 8. 1 Pet. i. 18.

Yet there is a Tradition which (for the evidence of it) we are willing to admit, that is, according to the rule of *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, *Quod ſemper, ubique, & ab omnibus, That which was always received every where, and by all.* And we are willing to join iſſue with you upon this Tradition as to Purgatory: This is univerſal Tradition: And you would not deſire we ſhould be concluded by any particular Tradition of this or that Church or Place, for you know there are many deceits in ſuch.

But *Veron* in his *Rule of Faith* (a Book much applauded in *France*, and put into *Engliſh* for the uſe of the Roman Catholicks here) ſets out in the beginning

beginning with a definition of the *Rule of Faith*, of which he makes the firſt requiſite to be for an Article of Faith, that it be clearly revealed in Scripture (and by no pretended Revelation ſince to any whatſoever) in expreſs words, or thence to be deduced by neceſſary conſequence. Which when made appear as to Purgatory (or any other of the Doctrines in diſpute) we ſhall readily allow it. And till then, we cannot be arraigned of Hereſy for not profeſſing to believe it.

Col. ii. 18. This *intruding into things we have not ſeen*, proceeds, as the Apoſtle obſerves, from a *fleſhly mind*, meaſuring ſpiritual things by carnal. We ſee it takes time to purge the Fleſh of diſeaſes and defilements it has contracted, and it takes a great deal of filing and ſcrubbing to cleanſe Iron that has been long ruſted. Hence we conjecture the ſame as to Souls departed, that they muſt be purged by fire. But the work of God upon the Soul, when he grants true Faith and Repentance operates far otherwiſe; it effects the cure all at once, as with thoſe who looked upon the Brazen Serpent. Our Saviour himſelf makes the compariſon. And he gave us an example of it in the Thief upon the Croſs, who was tranſlated to Paradiſe the ſame day he died. And yet he had been a grievous Sinner, and ſuffered juſtly for his offences; his Repentance was late, and he had made no reſtitution; yet he did no Penance in Purgatory.

Joh iii. 14, 15. Luke xxiii. 43.

LORD. That was an extraordinary caſe, his Faith muſt be very ſtrong to be converted upon the Croſs.

GENT. That is more than we know, whether he might not have been converted before. But however, it ſhews there is no neceſſity for Purgatory, even for very great offenders.

LORD. No doubt God may excuſe whom he pleaſes.

GENT. How then do we know whom he excuſes, and whom not? And how can we pray in Faith, that is, without Sin, to deliver ſuch a particular Perſon from thence?

But if there be no neceſſity for it, as you have granted in the caſe of the Thief, how is it to be imagined that God ſhould keep ſo many thouſand Souls, for many years or ages, in the moſt extreme torments, when there was no neceſſity for it? And if the Pope has Power to releaſe out of Purgatory, he muſt be a very cruel Father who keeps one Soul there an hour longer.

LORD. We ſee the Church impoſing Penance and yet excuſing ſome, ſhortning the time more than to others.

GENT. The Church knows not the Heart, and muſt judge by ſigns, which yet ſecure not from Hypocriſy. But this is all foreign as to God, who ſearcheth the Heart, and knoweth all that is in Man. And tho' our Phyſick of diſcipline works by degrees, and the iſſue is uncertain; yet God never cures imperfectly, *Chriſt* never half-healed any Man. And ſo it is when he pardons Sinners, *Thy Sins are forgiven thee.* It is not ſaid, *ſhall be* forgiven, or when thou haſt performed ſuch and ſuch Penance, but the forgiveneſs of his Sins was as immediately wrought as the Cure of his Body. And God gives us all the aſſurances that can be, in the ſtrongeſt expreſſions, of our Sins being abſolutely and totally forgiven, as being *all blotted out, all caſt into the depths of the Sea.* Never to be remembred or mentioned unto us any more, as before quoted, *I will heal their backſliding, I will love them freely.* He is *ready to forgive.* He *waiteth to to have mercy.* He *earneſtly remembreth.* His *Bowels are troubled* for Sinners that they may repent, and *in the day they turn from their wickedneſs, he forgiveth. For he doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the Children of Men.* It is for their Repentance and Reformation, but that conſideration is not in Purgatory.

Luk. v. 20. Pſal. li. 9. Iſai. xliv. 22. Col. ii. 14. Mic. vii. 19.

Hoſ. xiv. 4. Pſal. lxxxvi 5. Iſai. xxx. 18. Jer. xxxi. 20. Ezek. xxxiii. 12. Lam. iii. 33.

But how will the poor Souls there (if any are there) be deluded, if the ſtock of Supererogation ſhould fail them, that is, the merits of Saints for their good works which they have done over and above their duty and what they were obliged to for their own Salvation, and therefore are applied to others who had come ſhort of their duty, to ſupply their deficiencies; which is the fund provided for the diſcharge of the priſoners in purgatory? And this is diſpenſed by the Pope to whom he thinks fit, as being the grand Treaſurer of the Church, and conſequently of theſe ſuper-abundant merits of the Saints: But we want a text where St. *Peter* was conſtituted ſuch a Treaſurer: Or that there is or can be any ſuch Treaſury. For can a Creature merit at the hands of God, for ever ſo great endowments beſtowed upon him? Is it a merit to receive great gifts? And if we employ them to the beſt advantage, is it more than is our duty to do? And we are ſtill *unprofitable Servants*, as *Chriſt* himſelf has told us. But was there ever a Man (*Chriſt* only excepted) who did all his duty? Are not all ſinners? And if their repentance entitle them to pardon, yet this is far from merit: My doing my duty to day makes no amends for my having neglected it yeſterday. We find the greateſt Saints applying to the Mercy of God, and not pleading their own merits. *Jacob* ſaid, *I am not worthy of the leaſt of all thy Mercies.* And *Job* who had *none like him in the Earth, a perfect and upright Man*, &c. ſaid, *I abhor my ſelf, and repent in duſt and aſhes.* And *Daniel*, the Man *greatly beloved*, confeſſed his own ſins as well as the ſins of the People. And St. *Paul* called himſelf the *chief of ſinners*, not worthy to be an Apoſtle, *&c.* And if the Saints own no merit in themſelves, then ſurely they will diſown all thoſe who apply to their merits; and, as I ſaid before concerning the Worſhip and Invocation of them, by which you hope to gain them to be Interceſſors for you, they muſt become your Accuſers, by their denial of their acceptance of ſuch Worſhip from you, which if they ſhould accept, it would make them evil Spirits, as I have quoted out of St. *Auguſtine*.

Luke xvii. 10. Gen. xxxii. 10. Job i. 8. xlii. 6. Dan. ix. 20, 23. 1 Tim. i. 15. 1 Cor. xv. 9.

But what Creature dare plead Purity before God? *Behold he charget h his Angels with folly, and he putteth no truſt in his Saints; yea the Heavens are not clean in his ſight. How much more abominable and filthy is Man, who drinketh iniquity like water?* And *what is Man that he ſhould be clean? And he that is born of a Woman, that he ſhould be righteous?* And if *All our righteouſneſs are as filthy rags*; if there be *iniquity* in our *holy* things, in the *holy Sanctuary* and *Altar*; what then is clean? *And if the righteous* themſelves ſhall *ſcarcely be ſaved*, what merits have they to ſpare for others? Eſpecially when they are not ſaved even by their own works. *For by Grace ye are ſaved—— Not of works, leſt any Man ſhould boaſt.* Can any Man then boaſt of his works, as not only ſufficient for his own ſalvation, but over and above as meritorious to be apply'd to others, and to deliver ſouls out of Purgatory? No, my Lord, the Saints make no ſuch boaſts: And will diſown all thoſe who make them in their name: For they know that *All have ſinned, and come ſhort of the Glory of God; being juſtified freely by his Grace, through the Redemption that is in* Jeſus Chriſt—— *Where is boaſting then? It is excluded. By what Law? Of Works? Nay, but by the Law of Faith.* And every Man is ſaved by his own Faith, not by the Faith of others. And God will *reward every Man according to his works*, not the works of others. Miſerable then is the condition of thoſe Souls ſuppoſed to be in Purgatory, if they muſt not thence be delivered but by works of Supererogation, when no Man can be ſaved by his own works, for *we are ſaved—Not according to our works, but according to the Grace of God in* Chriſt Jeſus. *Not by works of righteouſneſs which we have done, but according to his Mercy he ſaved us— through* Jeſus Chriſt *our Saviour.* We have no other Saviour, nor can be

Job iv. 18. xv. 15. Iſa. lxiv. 6. Exod. xxviii. 38. Lev. xvi. 33. 1 Pet. iv. 18. Eph. ii. 8, 9. Rom. iii. 23, 24, 27. Mat. xvi. 27. 2 Tim. i. 9. Tit. ii. 5, 6.

ſaved by the merits of any other: None other can merit from God: The greateſt Saint that ever was is ſaved only by Mercy, and the forgiveneſs of his ſins. Let us therefore not truſt to the ſupererogated works of thoſe which were not able to ſave themſelves. *That every mouth may be ſtopped, and all the world may become guilty before God. For in his ſight ſhall no Man living be juſtified. There is none righteous, no not one.*

Rom. iii. 19.
Pſal. cxiv. 2.

But beſides all this, there are degrees of Glory in Heaven: So that if any could ſupererogate, yet has he nothing to ſpare to others, becauſe he has received the full of his reward himſelf. This ſhuts up Purgatory for ever, by exhauſting every penny of that Treaſury reſerved for Redemption from thence.

And the expectation of having thoſe many ſins, called venial with you, remitted after death, does naturally make Men more careleſs in their life: And truſting to the merits of others, will abate their diligence in being nicely righteous themſelves.

LORD. But we find ſome inſtances among the Fathers of Prayers for the Dead.

GENT. Some few among the Fathers you may, but none in Scripture. But what were theſe Prayers? They were for peace and reſt to thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be in peace, yet might receive increaſe of happineſs even before the Reſurrection, as ſome ſuppoſe Heaven itſelf to conſiſt in an eternal increaſe of Bliſs. But without this, we may pray for continuance of peace to thoſe who are in peace, though we know it will ſurely be; as when we pray *Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done.* We know it muſt be, but this ſhews our aſſent and wiſhes for it. And in this ſenſe we alſo pray for the Dead, that it would pleaſe God * *ſhortly to accompliſh the number of his Elect, and to haſten his Kingdom; that we, with all thoſe that are departed in the true faith of his holy Name, may have our perfect conſummation and bliſs, both in body and ſoul, in his eternal and everlaſting Glory.* And we bleſs him, † *for all his ſervants departed this life in his faith and fear; beſeeching him to give us grace ſo to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of his heavenly Kingdom.* So that we pray for them as well as for our ſelves, that we *with them may be partakers*, &c. But neither theſe Prayers of ours nor thoſe of the Ancients, have any relation to Purgatory, or delivering ſouls from thence, as from a place of torment.

Some of the Ancients had an imagination of a purging Fire, through which ſinners were to paſs, but they meant the general Conflagration at the laſt day: Which comes not at all to your notion of Purgatory. But I would not trouble your Lordſhip with excurſions, or debating every branch of theſe diſputes, only give you a ſummary view of the heart of the cauſe, and to ſee where the matter pinches. And indeed, my Lord, my endeavour with your Lordſhip is rather to ſtate the Caſe, than to argue upon it; for Truth needs no more than to be fairly ſhewn, it convinces of itſelf, and beſt when it is naked, without the *Fucus* of philoſophy and diſtinctions, which are endleſs.

Theſe will put a colour upon implicit itſelf, and make you believe you underſtand what you know nothing of! My Lord, give me leave to ſay, your whole Religion is implicit, not only as to the particular points we have diſcourſed, but your whole publick Worſhip is ſuch, while your Prayers are in a language not underſtood by the People. How then can they *pray with the Underſtanding*, as the Apoſtle requires? And *how can they ſay* Amen, *ſeeing they underſtand not what is ſaid?*

1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16.

LORD. They have Prayers of their own, and carry little Prayer-Books with them, which they read while the Prieſt is repeating the publick Offices.

* *Order for the Burial of the Dead.* † *Communion Office.* Prayer for the *Church Militant.*

GENT. But this is not joining with the Prieſt, and they cannot ſay *Amen* to his Prayers.

What then have they to do at Church? This is not Communion: It is purely implicit, and nothing elſe but *opus operatum*: It is an invention without precedent, for it never entered into the head of Man or Church ſince the Creation, except only the Church of *Rome*: And of which the Apoſtle gives this character, *Will they not ſay ye are mad?* 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

What is it ſhort of this which *Suarez* ſays, **That it is not neceſſary to Prayer that the Perſon praying ſhould think of what he ſpeaks.* This is *opus operatum* with a witneſs! And a Parrot may be taught thus to pray. And how do they pray with the Prieſt who are talking of buſineſs, or chatting of news, while he is offering up their Prayers to God in a language of which they underſtand not one word, and therefore cannot give attention to it? And theſe are the greateſt number, *viz.* of the common People, who cannot read, and ſo cannot carry private Books of Devotion with them; though if they did, it would not be joining with the Prieſt, nor could theſe be called Common Prayers, which are offered up with *one accord*, purſuant to St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Prayer, with which our daily publick Prayers do conclude.

And now, my Lord, upon the whole, if the advantage does not ſeem to your Lordſhip to lie on our ſide in all the particulars before-mentioned, yet can you have any doubt of the ſafety of your Soul in our way? Since all our danger is, omitting ſome things that might be profitable, but cannot be called neceſſary: Whereas if the error lies on your ſide, you are involved in manifold ſuperſtitions, and of adding to, and ſubſtracting from the Word of God.

LORD. I confeſs nothing ſticks with me but the Church, of being in the Church, and preſerving the Unity of the Church.

GENT. Therefore I began with that, and deſire to cloſe with it, for it is the *jugulum cauſæ*.

I have ſhewed wherein the Unity of the Church did conſiſt, according to the Inſtitution of *Chriſt*, and as the primitive Fathers underſtood it; that is, an Unity in Faith, and in the mutual love and good correſpondence of Chriſtians and Siſter-Churches; though one Siſter muſt be elder than another, and *Rome* was not the eldeſt: One might be greater or more powerful than another, and this did vary according to the courſe of this world: *Jeruſalem* was at firſt the only Church of *Chriſt*, then *Antioch* became the greateſt of the *Gentile* Church, where Chriſtianity firſt received its name, afterwards *Rome* became the greateſt, from being the Seat of the *Roman* Empire, but *Conſtantinople* was the firſt aſſumed an univerſal Supremacy, when ſhe became the head of that Empire. And this was it which broke the Unity of the Siſter-Churches, and filled them with Schiſms and Diviſions among themſelves, one affecting ſuperiority over another, and encreaſing it to an abſolute temporal dominion: Of which *Chriſt* ſaid to the Apoſtles, *It ſhall not be ſo among you.* And again, (for they contended more than once for the ſuperiority) after the inſtitution and celebration of the holy Euchariſt, juſt as he was going to enter upon his ſacred Paſſion, and to take his final leave of them, this diſpute aroſe again, *which of them ſhould be the greateſt*, and that was the time to determine it if ever; but he again checked their ambition, and the error of their thought, as if the Church were to be governed with temporal ſway and authority, like the grandeur of ſecular Princes, but told them plainly, *Ye ſhall not be ſo.* Mat. xx. 25. Luke xxii. 26.

And in his farewel Sermon, continued upon the ſame occaſion, and at the ſame time, he inſiſted much upon their Unity, and placed it not upon the ſuperiority of any one of them over the others, but in their mutual

* *De Orat.* lib. 3. c. 14. and *Salmeron*, &c.

love

love and good agreement with each other, in their Union with God and with himſelf, upon which he wonderfully expatiates in moſt exalted words, which take up four whole chapters in St. *John*, and begins, *Little Children, yet a little while I am with you* —— *A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another* —— *By this ſhall all Men know that ye are my Diſciples, if ye have love one to another*. This is the Unity of which *Chriſt* ſpeaks in theſe his laſt words to the Apoſtles: He ſaid, *My Kingdom is not of this world: If my Kingdom were of this world, then would my Servants fight* —— But he that calls himſelf *Servus Servorum*, the Servant of his Servants, has fought, and raiſed bloody wars in defence, as he ſays, of this his Maſter's Kingdom! And he will have the government of it juſt the ſame as of other Kingdoms of the world, and its Unity to conſiſt, like theirs, in being under one abſolute and deſpotick Head or King. But no Kingdom of the Earth will content him: He will be univerſal Monarch of the whole world. And why? Becauſe *Chriſt* is the Head of all Churches, and therefore muſt have an univerſal Vicar. And from the ſame parity of Reaſon, becauſe *God is the King of all the Earth*, therefore he muſt have an univerſal Vicar in temporals. And if *England*, *France*, *Spain*, &c. ſhould contend which of them were this univerſal Vicar, would not the anſwer be eaſy? That the conteſt was fooliſh and vain, for though one Kingdom might be greater or more ancient than another, yet was it ſtill but a part of the whole, that is, of the world: And that God had appointed no ſuch univerſal Vicar. The caſe is exactly parallel, unleſs it can be ſhewed, that *Chriſt* has appointed ſuch an univerſal Vicar in the Church; and told us plainly who it is, that we may obey him: Which when done, we will own our ſelves Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and what you will, till we return and pay our obedience to him.

Joh. xiii. 33.

Joh. xviii. 36.

Pſal. xlvii. 7.

But on the other hand, if *Chriſt* has appointed no ſuch univerſal Vicar, then are you under a mortal miſtake concerning the Unity of the Church, which you place wholly upon our being united in obedience to ſuch an one: And your Church is the great breaker of eccleſiaſtical Unity, while ſhe will bear no Siſter Church, but will be the Mother of all Churches, though ſhe be not the eldeſt.

This, my Lord, is the very heart of the cauſe: And we are verily perſuaded that there is not the leaſt ground for this univerſal Supremacy, either in the holy Scriptures, or in Antiquity, or in the Reaſon of the thing, or in fact, ſince the firſt foundation of Chriſtianity to this day, or that it was ever acknowledged, or is now, by the majority of chriſtian Churches: And yet this is the foundation of all the diſputes betwixt your Church and ours, and all other chriſtian Churches.

Chriſt foreſaw the conſequences of truſting an univerſal Supremacy in the hands of fallible Men: An univerſal King muſt ruin the world, for appeals to him muſt lye in all cauſes from all the parts of the Earth, and Men muſt attend with their Witneſſes, and all other things neceſſary to carry on a Law-Suit. The oppreſſion of this (beyond all other tyrannies) may appear by the appeals to *Rome*, in the times of Popery, no farther than from *England* thither, where cauſes laſted from age to age, loudly complained of in thoſe times, and attempts made to reſtrain it in ſome meaſure by ſeveral of our Acts of Parliament, but not to purpoſe till the Reformation: And this indeed made the Reformation even neceſſary, for the preſervation of the People, as well Laity as Clergy, who groaned under this burden which neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear. Dr. *Parker* late Lord Biſhop of *Oxford*, in his excellent *Diſcourſe ſent to the late King* James, when he was Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, printed here in the year 1690. ſays upon this head, p. 29. *I my ſelf enjoy a ſmall office in this Church, wherein my predeceſſors had a Suit for a privilege belonging to*

it, hanging in the Court of Rome *for ſome hundreds of years, till the very time of the diſſolution of the Pope's power.* Hence we may judge how it would be with the Churches in the *Indies*, and the moſt remote places in the world, if it were all under his power, as he pretends! But the good Providence of God has not ſuffered it to extend to half of the chriſtian Churches, (as before is ſaid) and his Wiſdom and Goodneſs has ſtill preſerved the major part true Proteſtants againſt this Uſurpation; beſides the great number he has reſcued from it, and has never ſuffered any of theſe reformed Churches or Nations to return to it again, as before has been obſerved: And beſides that the principle itſelf, and the pretenſions of the Pope to this univerſal and unlimited Supremacy are beat down and exploded by the *Gallican* Church, and others the moſt learned who ſtill remain in his Communion whether he will or not, and though he excommunicates them afreſh every year!

And now, my Lord, I cannot but think it made plain to a demonſtration, that this univerſal Supremacy is a thing impracticable; and that if it could be in fact, it would be the greateſt ruin and oppreſſion to the Church that is poſſible. And if an univerſal King would be inſupportable to the World, how much more an univerſal Biſhop to the Church? For he muſt have an abſolute dominion over our Faith, over the holy Scriptures, and over the Church, which muſt ſuddenly fall (as I before quoted *Gregory* the great) if it comes to depend upon one: And whoever ſhould aſſume it, would be, as he propheſied, a *Lucifer*, and the fore-runner of *Anti-Chriſt*. And can he be leſs, if he has uſurped ſo vaſt an Authority, and infallibility it ſel to ſupport it?

I laid before, that an univerſal King would make all Wars to be Rebellion, and ſo incurable but by utter deſtruction. Thus it is with the univerſal Biſhop, oppoſing his Supremacy is Hereſy, Schiſm, and Excommunication; and is the only Article in your Creed to be believed explicitly; as for the others, implicite will do for them all! That is, it is no matter whether you believe them or not, ſo the ſovereignty of the univerſal Biſhop be maintained inviolably!

But though every King is not a Biſhop, yet the univerſal Biſhop muſt likewiſe be univerſal King, with Power to depoſe all Kings at his Pleaſure: Of this I have ſpoke at large.

And though nothing need be ſaid to this almighty claim, both in ſpirituals and temporals, but to put you to the proof of its inſtitution by *Chriſt*, who diſowned all civil Power himſelf, and ſaid, *Who made me a Judge?* Luke xii. 14. Yet I have gone farther, (that this cauſe might be put out of all diſpute) and ſhewed the inconſiſtency of your own claim to be the only catholick Church, and to enjoy the true Unity of it, in theſe particulars following.

1. There never was a Church called catholick, in the ſenſe of *Rome*, that is, which was owned by all other Churches as their Head, at leaſt ſince that of *Jeruſalem*.

LORD. But we admit none other to be chriſtian Churches but thoſe who do own it.

GENT. That is to ſay, it muſt do one way or other; if the Mountain will not come to *Mahomet*, *Mahomet* muſt go to the Mountain. It is like the Bed *Procruſtes* made to fit all Perſons, by ſtretching thoſe to the length of it who were ſhorter, and cutting off part of thoſe who were longer than it. Thus the Church of *Rome* becomes univerſal, by ſtretching her Communion to thoſe who ſtand excommunicated by her, and cutting of all Churches who will not own her Supremacy. And thus ſhe muſt ſtill be univerſal, tho' ſhe had no more left than the Dioceſs of *Rome*; or ſuppoſe none but the Pope himſelf, then he would be the univerſal Church! And it may well be preſerved in a Pope, if it may in one *Laick*, a Woman or an Infant.

2. And then there will be perfect Unity; and I am afraid not till then: For perfect Unity is not only in outward Communion, that is, being within the ſame Walls together; or in ſubſcribing a *Formula* of Articles of Faith, half of which muſt be believed implicitly: But an Unity likewiſe in ſaving or damning Principles and Practices, in Love and Charity, for which chiefly we ſhall be judged at the laſt day. If theſe are wanting, the Unity will be very imperfect, and ſtand us in little ſtead.

Matth. xxv. 31, *&c.*

3. There ought to be alſo an Unity where to place your infallibility (elſe it is none) of which I have given four ſchemes, each one contradictory to all the reſt, and not yet determined by your Church. And this is an Unity in Faith among you. It is the foundation upon which your Church is built.

4. There muſt be an Unity and full agreement which of the Artic'es of your Creed are to be believed explicitly, and which implicitly; that is indeed which are neceſſary to be believed, and which not? Without this, your Faith is wholly uncertain.

And till theſe things be adjuſted, you cannot be ſaid to have Unity even in Faith.

And if you have not Unity in Faith, nor in thoſe Principles and Practices which are no leſs neceſſary to Salvation; nor in that Love and Charity which *Chriſt* has made the characteriſtick of Chriſtians, and without which *no Man can know who are his Diſciples*: But inſtead of that, if you have envyings and ſtrife among you, among your ſeveral religious Orders, betwixt national and national Church, concerning the infallibility and ſupremacy of the Pope, and of his power to depoſe Princes, upon which the Peace and Unity of the World, and our eternal Salvation does depend; and in ſhort, if you have no Unity concerning your Rule of Faith it ſelf, or of your Practice, what will the Unity of outward Communion do, upon which you lay the whole ſtreſs? It will not ſo much as denominate you Chriſtians, far leſs to be the only Chriſtians in the World, or the catholick Church.

John xiii. 35.

It is true that Unity in Communion is a deſirable thing, and ought to be preſerved among all Churches; but it is ſtill a part only of the Unity of the Church, as I have ſhew'd. And that the Supremacy of the Pope has been the chief cauſe of the breach of it. But yet it is not ſuch a breach as deſtroys all other parts of the Unity of the Church, their Unity in one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm. It may be called an eſſential part of the perfect Unity of the Church; but, alas! What is perfect upon Earth? And it is not ſo eſſential as that the want of it ſhould quite un-church; ſo that if there were not a Church upon Earth that did communicate with another, yet they would not all ceaſe, for that cauſe only to be chriſtian Churches. As if all the Nations in the World were at War with each other, yet it would be the ſame World ſtill, and God's one Kingdom upon Earth, and each Nation a part of it.

LORD. But the Unity of the Church ought to be more than that of the temporal World.

GENT. True: But we ſey, *Magis & minus non variant ſpeciem, that more or leſs alter not the kind*, as a greater or leſs quantity of Gold (for example) alters not the ſpecies of the Gold; ſo Unity is Unity, be it more or leſs. And there is an Unity among all Nations, even though at War; the Unity of Blood, and of Reaſon, being all made of one Blood, and all endowed with the ſame Reaſon, which makes them all agree in ſome common Principles, and all appeal to Reaſon in the Juſtice of their Wars. But this Unity is not perfect while they bite and devour one another.

And though the Unity is greater, where Revelation is added to Reaſon, and Men agree in the ſame Religion which we call the Church; yet this

Unity is not perfect, while there are disputes, animosities, and various opinions about it. And in the Church of *Rome* her self there are great variety of opinions among those of her Communion, and animosities thereupon raised, so great as gives her much trouble to compose, and sometimes finds it past her Power, and is forced to be, what she cannot remedy.

LORD. What do you mean then by the holy catholick Church in the Creed?

GENT. This Article was but late put into the Creed, on occasion of divisions which arose among the Churches, to mind them that they were all Members of the same Body, of the one catholick Church. The next Article explains this, and may be called a part of it, *viz.* The Communion of Saints, and these are only the elect, who are not visible upon Earth; and therefore must be referred to Heaven, where only is the true Communion of Saints, without mixture of the Reprobate, who are not Members of *Christ*, and but in appearance of the Church. We have no Unity of the Spirit with these, and consequently are not one Body with them: *For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? And what Communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath* Christ *with* Belial? And what Unity hath that Church where these are mixed together? Therefore the archetypal and truly catholick Church in Heaven, is that which is chiefly and principally meant by the holy catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints in the Creed. And there only is perfect Unity. 2 Cor. vi. 14.

There is the great Body of the Church, there are but few at a time upon Earth, and of them we know not which belong to that truly catholick Church or not: And who do not, cannot be truly Catholicks, though they bear that name with us. And of them so called, you your selves will not say that there is perfect Unity among them, in all the necessary and most essential parts of it before mentioned,

But if that Article in the Creed had been meant in your sense, it must have been the holy Roman Catholick Church, and not left us to seek where to find this Church, the infallible guide. And you your selves have not found it, while you are in quite contrary opinions where to find it. But by leaving it in the general and indefinitely under the name of the catholick Church only, it is rather exclusive of any particular Church, and extends to all christian Churches which make up the catholick Church upon Earth, in such an Unity as our fallen state will bear, where human Passions are not subdued, but mix themselves in our religious as well as temporal Concerns. Therefore by the Unity of the Church you cannot mean a perfect Unity; no not even with your Head, and in Doctrines which are indispensable towards your eternal Salvation, as in the deposing Doctrine, upon which the Apostle has pronounced damnation; and which, if not true, Cardinal *Perron*, as before quoted, gives up the Church of *Rome*, for many ages past, for the very Synagogue of *Anti-Christ*. See also the Morals of the *Jesuites*, which though condemned by some, are defended by others. This is not perfect Unity, even in necessaries; and the *Bulla in Cœna* breaks it to pieces, where whole Churches and Nations are excommunicated of those you say are in the Unity of the Church, and in his Communion who has excommunicated them!

But if we will be content with no Unity in the Church but what is perfect in all things, the consequence must be, that we have no Unity at all: As our pretence to infallibility is the greatest instance of our fallibility. And if we will have no guide but who is infallible, we must have none upon Earth. And so the Church is rendred wholly useless to us, if we may not take their help, as instructors and rational guides, or in the Apostle's words, as *Helpers of our Joy*, without giving them the *Dominion over our Faith*. 2 Cor. i. 24.

And

And indeed the ſecurity you demand of an outward infallible guide, is altering the courſe of nature, or as I called it, finding fault with the Creation; for God has made us rational Creatures, and given us no other guide but our own Reaſon, with the aſſiſtance of his grace, to come at the knowledge of himſelf, and conſequently of all other things. And to find fault with this, is the Clay ſaying to the Potter, *Why haſt thou made me thus?* To bid us diveſt our ſelves wholly of our Reaſon, or to believe implicitly, which is the ſame thing; and is not in our power, whatever we may think, becauſe Reaſon is our Nature; and that we ſhould not believe our outward Senſes, is indeed to make us other Creatures than God has made us. And to refuſe the aſſiſtance of a Church, becauſe ſhe is not infallible, is depriving our ſelves of a means which God has appointed; and is the ſame perverſeneſs, as if we ſhould refuſe to conſult a Lawyer or Phyſician, becauſe it is poſſible they may err in their Judgment. But tho' I allow their skill to be better than mine, in their ſeveral profeſſions, yet we ſtill keep to our ſelves ſo much uſe of our Reaſon, that if I knew it was Poyſon the Phyſician were going to give me, I would not take it: And there are ſome things ſo plain, that no Lawyer could perſuade me to. Much more ought we to be careful in our eternal Concerns, and not to give our ſelves up implicitly to any whatſoever, that if they ſhould direct us againſt the moſt expreſs commands in Scripture, or the dictates of Reaſon and common Morality, or bid us deny all our Senſes, we muſt acquieſce without any examining! This is abandoning both Senſe and Reaſon which God gave us as a guide, and therefore will require it of us; and this only is that which will render us ſelf-condemned, and bear witneſs againſt us at the laſt day: For as I ſaid, it is not in our power to extinguiſh Reaſon in us; tho' we may blindfold it, and keep it down for a time, yet it will recoil upon us, and convict us, wherein we have departed from it. Without this there could not be ſuch a thing as a ſting of conſcience, for what is that but a check to our Reaſon? What elſe is repentance, or returning from any error, or from any evil we have done? You endeavour to convert Men to your Church wholly upon their Reaſon, for you can have no other topick whereby to lay hold of an Adverſary: In vain therefore would you perſuade him to truſt to that choice of his Reaſon, in coming over to you, but never to truſt any other choice his Reaſon ſhould make afterwards, becauſe it is very fallible; I ſay this could not go down with any Man, but it muſt make him doubt whether his Reaſon has led him right in the firſt choice too of going to your Church, and from the ſame argument, becauſe his Reaſon is very fallible. God ſays to us, *Come now and let us Reaſon together.* We ask no more of you: Nay, you cannot refuſe it us, whether you will or not; for your own Reaſon will, as I ſaid, one time or other return upon you, and convince you of obſtinacy in not hearkening to Reaſon, for without this you cannot be ſaid to have acted according to Reaſon. This renders me inexcuſable, whether I be right or wrong; for if my Reaſon miſleads me after due examination, the error is human, and will be more eaſily pardoned; but if I will not hear, if I will not open my Eyes, it makes me guilty tho' I were in the right, becauſe that is by chance, and not my choice upon reaſonable conviction, which I have refuſed. And truth is never afraid, for the more it is canvaſſed it appears the brighter. It is ſtrange to ſee thoſe who pretend to ſuch an aſſurance as is infallible, and yet ſeek to avoid the Light of Reaſon, as if afraid of being detected! And to confeſs it in the very Body of their * Canon Law, where they excom-

Iſai. i. 18.

* Inhibemus quoque ne cuicunque Laicæ perſonæ liceat publicè vel privatim de Fide Catholicâ diſputare. Qui verò contrà fecerit, Excommunicationis laqueo innodetur. *Corp. Jur. Can. Sext. Decretal. lib. Quint. Tit.* ii. *cap.* ii. § 1. Pariſ. 1687.

municate any *Laick*, who ſhall publickly or privately diſpute concerning the catholick Faith.

This method will ſecure to them all that they have caught: But if obſerved by others as well as by themſelves, they would never catch another. And it is a plain indication that who are againſt Reaſon, Reaſon is againſt them.

For if Reaſon could be heard, it would make it very obvious to you, that in all the particular points before mention'd, the certainty is on our ſide, and the doubt (at leaſt) on yours. For example, none make a doubt but that we may lawfully pray to God, and not before any Image of him: Or without the worſhip or invocation of any Saint joined with him; and ſo of all the reſt. But on your part, if what I have ſaid make them not appear unlawful to your Lordſhip, yet they muſt remain at leaſt doubtful, till ſome ſtronger evidence be produced for them than has hitherto been given. There is not a Prayer in the publick offices of our Church to which you may not heartily ſay *Amen*, in full Faith and Aſſurance: Which is impoſſible to ſay as to Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, *&c.* And then ſuch Prayers muſt be ſinful, *Rom.* XIV. 23.

But you are pinned down in all theſe particular points by the Authority of a ſuppoſed univerſal Biſhop, wherein likewiſe you place the Unity of the Church. And yet there never was ſuch a Biſhop, or univerſal Monarch, unleſs any Prince calling himſelf ſo, would make him ſuch. What is an univerſal Monarch who was never owned by half of thoſe he calls his Subjects; and whoſe Authority is limited and reſtrained, and his Excommunications deſpiſed, by thoſe who pretend to own him, and to be ſubject to him? What is it to fanſy ones ſelf King of all the Earth? And to place the Unity of the World in ſuch a Monarch as never was in the World? And to call thoſe Rebels from him, who never were in ſubjection to him? This my Lord, I have ſhewed to be the caſe of the greateſt part of the chriſtian Churches, and from the beginning. And conſequently this univerſal Supremacy is merely imaginary. It was never named by *Chriſt*, nor ever was in fact. And ſo far is it from being the center of Unity, that the pretence to it has been the great breach of Unity among chriſtian Churches, and is at this day: For this is it which ſtops the Biſhops in the Communion of *Rome* from exerciſing the freedom of their own Judgments, and that Authority which *Chriſt* has given them over their own Flocks, and will require an account of it from them; and which was freely exerciſed by the Biſhops in the primitive Church; and which, if reſtored, would open the way to that catholick Communion ſo greatly deſired, and wherein the true Unity of the Church does conſiſt. Which never can be hoped, while a Negative is given to the Pope in all the particular points diſputed, and eſpecially concerning his own Supremacy. But if the Biſhops of his Communion would think themſelves at liberty and under obligation to act of themſelves, as in the primitive Church; and as ordained by *Chriſt*; the points we have diſcourſed as to Doctrine and Worſhip ſeem to me ſo very plain, that there could be no diſpute, which were the ſafer ſide to take: At leaſt that it would not be thought a ſin ſo to purge their publick offices as that other Chriſtians might lawfully join in them: And let opinions remain as opinions, not made Articles of Faith, and Conditions of Communion. And to this nothing ſtands in the way of the Biſhops of *France*, at leaſt, but the fear of that Excommunication from the Pope which is renewed againſt them every year, and which they pretend not to regard. But they are kept under by the ſhadow of the Phantom of an univerſal Supremacy, which never was in Being; and if it were, would be inſupportable and ruin the Church; and which they themſelves have in effect already rejected, as inconſiſtent with the Liberties of the *Gallican* or any other national Church,

and has bred all the diſpute betwixt them and the Church of *Rome:* And can never be healed in good earneſt, if the Pope be Judge of the Controverſy. See then the cauſe of the breach of catholick Unity.

And now, my Lord, forgive me, for I am ſenſible that there is an uneaſineſs at firſt and a prejudice to hear any thing contrary to thoſe Principles in which one has been educated from his infancy, and thinks moſt certain. But this muſt be overcome ſo far as to hear Reaſon, which will confirm us the more if we be in the truth, or otherwiſe convince us of our error; at leaſt make it ſo far excuſable, that we have not refuſed the reaſonable means of Information: Without this, no Man could have been a Chriſtian at firſt, nor has been ſince but by accident, according to the place where he was born, or received his Education. But the Prophet calls a due examination
Iſai. xlvi. 8. of theſe things a *ſhewing our ſelves to be Men.* And St. *Luke* gives it
Acts xvii. 11, 12. the character of a nobleneſs of Spirit in thoſe who *ſearched the Scriptures daily, whether thoſe things were ſo:* And *therefore* (ſays he) *many of them believed*, of the honourable both Men and Women. Whilſt thoſe bi-
ỳ. 5. gotted who ſtuck to implicit Faith in the Church, it is ſaid, they *Believed not* but were *moved with envy*, and ſtirred up Perſecution againſt thoſe who diſturbed them in their ſecurity, like waking one out of his ſleep; though when it is done, he will thank thoſe who have raiſed him from darkneſs to light, to ſeeing with his own Eyes, inſtead of being led by others implicitly in the dark, and lulled into dreams of ſecurity from his blindneſs, in which he is perſuaded there is leſs danger of ſtumbling, than if his Eyes were open, becauſe every Man's ſight is not good, and has deceived many! Have I not taken a Horſe for a Man at a diſtance? And does not a ſtick look crooked in the Water? Why then ſhould I truſt my Eyes any more? This is all the Reaſon ever I could hear for not truſting to our Reaſon! And what is the remedy propoſed? If it were to give us rules whereby to judge of true reaſon, to help it and to trim this Lamp which God has lighted for us, this would be rational, like clearing our Eyes if they were dim: But the remedy you propoſe, is, to ſhut Reaſon quite out, to make no more uſe of it, to ſilence, to extinguiſh it, and take implicit Faith in its room; like pulling out one's Eyes, becauſe they are not good, and chuſing to be led by the hand, and never examine our way any more. But I think the Apoſtle recommends examining to us, and I will conclude with his advice:

Prove all things, and hold faſt that which is good, 1 Theſſ. v. 21.

Books deciſive and not anſwered.

Dr. *Barrow* of the *Pope*'s *Supremacy*, and the *Unity of the Church.* 1680.

Dr. *Coſin* (ſince Biſhop of *Durham)* his *Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the Canon of the holy Scripture.* 1657.
This is concerning the apocryphal Books.

His *Hiſtory of Tranſubſtantiation* (the *Engliſh* Tranſlation) 1676. Writ in *Latin.* 1657.

The Devotions of the Roman *Church.* 1674.
This is concerning the Invocation of Saints, of Reliques, and the Legends.

The incurable Sceptiſm of the Church of Rome. 1688.
This is concerning the rule of Faith.

APPENDIX. Numb. I.

Ex Bullario Laertii Cherubini, *Romæ* 1638.

TOM. III. p. 183.

Conſtitutio Pauli V. 63.

EXcommunicatio & Anathematizatio quorumcunque Hæreticorum, eorumque fautorum ac Schiſmaticorum, vel eccleſiaſticam libertatem lædentium, aut quoquo modo diſpoſitis in hâc Bullâ, de more in die Cœnæ Domini publicari ſolitâ contravenientium.

Quoad omnia quaſi capitula hujus Bullæ (ultra Extravagan. 3. *Pauli* II. & Extravagan. 5. *Sixti* IV. in tit. de pœnitentia & remiſſionibus) habes ſupra Conſtitut. 1. *Urbani* V. fol. 215. Conſtitut. 25. *Julii* II. f. 482. Conſtitut. 10. *Pauli* III. f. 522. necnon Conſtitut. 81. *Gregorii* XIII. f. 348. l. 2. Aliorum autem Bullas ejuſmodi Cœnæ Domini nuncupantes volens prætermiſi, his duntaxat contentus, ex quibus pro temporum conditione Romanos Pontifices aliquid immutâſſe cognoſcatur. Non tamen poſthabui proximè indicandas, utì apprime neceſſarias, & ſuper hujus Bullæ capitibus ſpecialiter editas.

Extat ergo in hoc opere ſpecialis edita ſanctio *Nicolai* III. circa §. primum hujus Bullæ in ejus Conſt. 2. ſup. fol. 143. & circa §. 2. extat. Conſt. 5. *Pii* II. f. 290. l. 1. Circa §. 4. extat Conſt. 7. *Pii* V. f. 137. l. 2. Circa §. 7. extat Conſt. 3. *Nicolai* V. f. 283. l. 1. Circa §. 10. extat Canon *Calliſti*. l. in c. 23. cauſ. 24. q. 3. Circa §. 11. reſpectu Cardinalium extat Conſt. 16. *Leonis* X. f. 420. l. 1. & alia 93. *Pii* V.

The ſixty third Conſtitution of Paul V.

THE Excommunication and Anathematization of all Hereticks whatſoever, and their favourers, and Schiſmaticks, or of thoſe who violate the eccleſiaſtical liberty, or any ways infringe the contents of this Bull, which is wont to be publiſhed on Maunday-Thurſday.

As for almoſt all the chapters of this Bull, (beſides the 3d *Extravagant of* Paul II. *and the* 5th *Extravagant of* Sixtus IV. *in the title of penance and remiſſions) you have them before ordained in the firſt Conſtitution of* Urban V. f. 215. *in the* 25th *Conſtitution of* Julius II. f. 482. *in the* 10th *Conſtitution of* Paul III. f. 522. *and in the* 81ſt *Conſtitution of* Gregory XIII. f. 348. lib. 2. *Other Bulls of this nature, called Bulls* in Cœnâ Domini, *I have purpoſely omitted, being content with theſe; from which it may appear that the Popes have made ſome variation in them, according to the exigency of the times. Yet I would not omit thoſe which follow, as being eſpecially neceſſary, and particularly publiſhed upon the ſeveral chapters of this Bull.*

There is extant therefore in this collection a particular Edict of Nicolas III. *about the* 1ſt *Section of this Bull in his* 2d *Conſtitution,* Sup. fol. 143. *Concerning* Sect. 2. *there is extant Conſt.* 5. *of* Pius II. f. 290. l. 1. *Concerning* §. 4. *there is extant Conſt.* 7. *of* Pius V. f 137. l. 2. *Concerning* §. 7. *is extant, Conſt.* 3. *of* Nicolas V. f. 283. l. 1. *Concerning* §. 10. *is extant a* Canon *of* Calliſtus. *in* c. 23. *Conſt.*

f. 222. l. 2. Circa §. 12. extat Conſt. 11. *Alexandri* VI. f. 352. Circa §. 14. extat Conſt. 2. *Martini* V. f. 239. & alia 17. *Innocentii* VIII. f. 343. ac altera 30. *Leonis* IX. f. 440. necnon alia 39. *Clementis* VII. f. 505. l. 1. & altera 19. *Gregorii* XIII. f. 290. l. 2. Circa §. 15. multi ſunt Canones in Corpore Juris, & extat Conſt. 10. *Martini* V. f. 247. Circa §. 19. extat Conſt. 3. *Urbani* VI. f. 222. Et Circa §. 20. extat Conſt. 8. *Joannis* XXII. f. 174. & alia 3. *Clementis* VI. f. 212. alia 13. *Leonis* X. f. 314. & altera 11. *Pauli* IV. f. 595.

24. qu. 3. *Concerning* §. 11. *in reſpect of the Cardinals is extant Conſt.* 16. *of* Leo X. f. 420. l. 1. *and Conſt.* 93. *of* Pius V. f. 222. l. 2. *Concerning* §. 12. *is extant Conſt.* 11. *of* Alexander VI. f. 352. *Concerning* §. 14. *is extant Conſt.* 2. *of* Martin V. f. 293. *and Conſt.* 17. *of* Innocent VIII. f. 343. *and Conſt.* 30. *of* Leo X. f. 440. *and Conſt.* 39. *of* Clement VII. f. 505. l. 1. *and Conſt.* 19. *of* Gregory XIII. f. 290. l. 2. *Concerning* §. 15. *are many Canons in the Body of the Law, and Conſt.* 10. *of* Martin V. f. 247. *Concerning* §. 19. *is extant Conſt.* 3. *of* Urban VI. f. 222. *Concerning* §. 20. *is extant Conſt.* 8. *of* John XXII. f. 174. *and Conſt.* 3. *of* Clement VI. f. 212. *and Conſt.* 13. *of* Leo X. f. 314. *and Conſt.* 11. *of* Paul IV. f. 595.

Alia hujuſmodi excommunicatio in die Cœnæ Domini promulgari ſolita eſt in S. D. N. *Urbani* VIII. Conſt. 62. Paſtoralis infr. Tom. 4.

Another like excommunication uſually publiſhed on Maunday Thurſday, *is extant in the* 62d *Conſtitution of our holy Lord* Urban VIII. *inf. Tom.* 4.

Paulus Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Paul Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, in perpetual memory of the thing now decreed.

PAſtoralis *Romani* Pontificis vigilantia & ſolicitudo, cùm in omni Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ pace & tranquillitate procurandâ pro ſui muneris officio aſſiduè verſatur, tum potiſſimùm in Catholicæ Fidei ſine quâ impoſſibile eſt placere Deo unitate atque integritate retinendâ, maximè elucet: Nimirum ut fideles *Chriſti* non ſint parvuli fluctuantes, neque circumferantur omni vento doctrinæ in nequitiâ Hominum ad circumventionem erroris, ſed omnes occurrant in unitate Fidei & agnitionis Filii Dei in virum perfectum, neque ſe in hujus vitæ ſocietate & communione lædant, aut inter ſe alter alteri offenſionem præbeant; ſed potiùs in vinculo charitatis conjuncti, tanquam unius corporis membra ſub *Chriſto* capite, ejuſq; in terris Vicario *Romano* Pontifice beatiſſimi *Petri* Succeſſore, à quo

THE paſtoral vigilance and care of the Biſhop of Rome, *being by the duty of his office continually employed in procuring by all means the peace and tranquillity of Chriſtendom is more eſpecially eminent in retaining and preſerving the unity and integrity of Catholick Faith; without which it is impoſſible to pleaſe God: That ſo the faithful of* Chriſt *may not be as Children wavering, nor be carried about with every wind of doctrine by the cunning craft of Men, whereby they lay in wait to deceive; but that all may meet in the unity of the Faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect Man: That in the communion and ſociety of this life they may not injure nor offend one another; but rather being joined together with the bond of Charity, as*

totius

totius Eccleſiæ unitas dimanat, augeantur in ædificatione, atque ita divinâ gratiâ adjutrice ſic præſentis vitæ quiete gaudeant, ut futurâ quoque beatitudine perfruantur. Ob quas ſanè cauſas *Romani* Pontifices prædeceſſores noſtri hodiernâ die, quæ anniverſariâ Dominicæ Cœnæ commemoratione ſolennis eſt, ſpiritualem Eccleſiaſticæ diſciplinæ gladium, & ſalutaria juſtitiæ arma per miniſterium ſummi Apoſtolatûs ad Dei gloriam & animarum ſalutem ſolenniter exercere conſueverunt. Nos igitur, quibus nihil optabilius eſt, quàm Fidei inviolatam integritatem, publicam Pacem & Juſtitiam, Deo autore, tueri, vetuſtum & ſolennem hunc morem ſequentes.

members of one body under Chriſt *the Head, and his Vicar upon Earth the Biſhop of* Rome, *St.* Peter's *ſucceſſor, from whom the unity of the whole Church doth flow, may be increaſed in edification, and by the aſſiſtance of the divine Grace may ſo enjoy the tranquillity of this preſent life, that they may alſo attain eternal happineſs. For which reaſons the Biſhops of* Rome, *our predeceſſors, upon this day which is dedicated to the anniverſary commemoration of our Lord's Supper, have been wont ſolemnly to exerciſe the ſpiritual ſword of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and wholſome weapons of Juſtice by the miniſtry of the ſupreme Apoſtolate to the glory of God and ſalvation of Souls. We therefore, deſiring nothing more than by the guidance of God to preſerve inviolable the integrity of Faith, publick Peace and Juſtice; following this ancient and ſolemn cuſtom.*

§. 1. Excommunicamus et anathematizamus ex parte Dei Omnipotentis, Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti, auctoritate quoque Beatorum Apoſtolorum *Petri* & *Pauli*, ac noſtrâ, quoſcunq; Huſſitas, Vuichlephiſtas, Luterannos, Zuinglianos, Calviniſtas, Ugonottos, Anabaptiſtas, Trinitarios, et à chriſtianâ Fide Apoſtatas, ac omnes & ſingulos alios Hæreticos, quocunque nomine cenſeantur, & cujuſcunque ſectæ exiſtant: Ac eis credentes, eorumque receptatores, fautores, & generaliter quoſlibet illorum defenſores; ac eorundem libros hæreſin continentes, vel de Religione tractantes, ſine auctoritate noſtrâ & Sedis Apoſtolicæ ſcienter legentes aut retinentes, imprimentes, ſeu quomodolibet defendentes, ex quâvis cauſâ publicè vel occultè, quovis ingenio vel colore; necnon Schiſmaticos, & eos qui ſe à noſtrâ et *Romani* Pontificis pro tempore exiſtentis obedientiâ pertinaciter ſubtrahunt vel recedunt.

§. 1. *We excommunicate and anathematize in the name of God Almighty, Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, and by the Authority of the bleſſed Apoſtles* Peter *and* Paul, *and by our own, all Huſſites, Wiclephiſts, Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calviniſts, Hugonots, Anabaptiſts, Trinitarians, and Apoſtates from the chriſtian Faith, and all other Hereticks by whatſoever name they are called, and of whatſeever Sect they be: As alſo their adherents, receivers, favourers, and generally any defenders of them; together with all who without our authority, or that of the Apoſtolick See, knowingly read, keep, print, or any ways for any cauſe whatſoever publickly or privately on any pretext or colour defend their Books containing hereſie, or treating of Religion; as alſo Schiſmaticks, and thoſe who withdraw themſelves, or recede obſtinately from the obedience of us, or the Biſhop of* Rome *for the time being.*

§. 2. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes & ſingulos, cujuſcunq; ſtatûs, gradûs, ſeu condi-

§. 2. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all and ſingular, of whatſoever ſtation, degree or con-*

tionis, fuerint Univerſitates, Collegia, & Capitula, quocunque nomine nuncupentur, interdicimus, ab ordinationibus ſeu mandatis noſtris ac *Romanorum* Pontificum pro tempore exiſtentium ad univerſale futurum Concilium appellantes; necnon eos quorum auxilio vel favore appellatum fuerit.

§. 3. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes Piratas, Curſarios, ac Latrunculos Maritimos, diſcurrentes Mare noſtrum, præcipuè à Monte *Argentario* uſque ad *Terracinam*, ac omnes eorum fautores, receptatores & defenſores.

§. 4. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes & ſingulos, qui Chriſtianorum quorumcunq; navibus tempeſtate, ſeu in tranſverſum (ut dici ſolet) jactatis, vel quoquo modo naufragium paſſis, ſeu in ipſis navibus, ſive ex eiſdem ejecta in mare, vel in litore inventa, cujuſcunq; generis bona, tam in noſtris, *Tyrrheni* & *Adriatici*, quàm in cæteris cujuſque Maris regionibus & littoribus, ſurripuerint; ita ut nec ob quodcunque privilegium, conſuetudinem, aut longiſſimi etiam immemorabilis temporis poſſeſſionem, ſeu alium quemcunque prætextum excuſari poſſint.

§. 5. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes qui in terris ſuis nova Pedagia ſeu Gabellas, præterquam in caſibus ſibi à jure, ſeu ex ſpeciali ſedis Apoſtolicæ licentiâ permiſſis, imponunt vel augent, ſeu imponi vel augeri prohibita exigunt.

§. 6. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes falſarios literarum Apoſtolicarum, etiam in formâ Brevis, ac Supplicationum, Gratiam vel Juſtitiam concernentium, per *Romanum* Pontificem, vel *S. R. E.* Vicecancellarios ſeu gerentes vices eorum, aut de mandato ejuſdem Pontificis ſignatarum, necnon falsò publicantes literas Apoſtolicas, etiam in formâ Brevis, & etiam falsò ſignantes Supplicationes hujuſmodi ſub nomine *Romani* Pontificis ſeu Vicecancellarii, aut gerentium vices prædictorum.

dition they be; and interdict all Univerſities, Colleges and Chapters, by whatſoever name they are called, who appeal from the orders or decrees of us, or the Popes of Rome *for the time being to a future general Council; and thoſe by whoſe aid and favour the appeal was made.*

§. 3. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all Pirates, Corſairs and Robbers by Sea, roving about our Sea chiefly from Mount* Argentiere *to* Terracina, *and all their abetters, receivers and defenders.*

§. 4. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all and ſingular, who when the Ships of any Chriſtians are either driven out of the way by tempeſt, or any way ſuffer ſhipwreck, convey away any goods of what kind ſoever, either in the Ship themſelves, or caſt out of the Ships into the Sea, or found on the Shore, as well in our* Tyrrhenian *and* Adriatick *Seas, as in any other diviſions of Shores of all Seas whatſoever; ſo that they ſhall not be excuſed by any privilege, cuſtom, or poſſeſſion of time immemorial or any other pretext whatſoever.*

§. 5. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all who impoſe or augment any new Tolls or Gabells in their dominions, except in caſes permitted to them by Law, or by eſpecial leave of the Apoſtolick See; or, who exact ſuch Taxes forbidden to be impoſed or augmented.*

§. 6. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all forgers of Apoſtolick Letters, even in form of a Brief, and of Supplications reſpecting Indulgence or Juſtice, ſigned by the Pope of* Rome, *or by the Vicechancellors of the holy See of* Rome, *or by their Deputies, or by the command of the ſaid Pope; as alſo thoſe who falſly publiſh the Apoſtolick Letters, even in form of a Brief; and thoſe who falſly ſign ſuch Supplications in the name of the Pope of* Rome, *or the Vice-chancellor, or their Deputies.*

§. 7. Item,

§. 7. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes illos, qui ad *Saracenos*, *Turcas*, & alios Chriſtiani nominis hoſtes, & inimicos, vel Hæreticos per noſtras vel hujus Sanctæ ſedis ſententias expreſsè vel nominatim declaratos deferunt ſeu tranſmittunt Equos, Arma, Ferrum, Filum Ferri, Stannum, Chalybem, omniaque Metallorum genera atque Bellica Inſtrumenta, Lignamina, Canabbem, Funes, tam ex ipsâ Canabbe quàm aliâ quacunque materiâ, & ipſam materiam, aliaque hujuſmodi, quibus Chriſtianos & Catholicos impugnant; necnon illos qui per ſe vel per alios de rebus ſtatum Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ concernentibus, in Chriſtianorum perniciem & damnum ipſos *Turcas* & Chriſtianæ Religionis inimicos, necnon Hæreticos, in damnum Catholicæ Religionis, certiores faciunt, illiſque ad id auxilium, conſilium, vel favorem quomodolibet præſtant: Non obſtantibus quibuſcunq; Privilegiis, quibuſvis Perſonis, Principibus, Rebuſpublicis per nos & Sedem prædictam hactenus conceſſis, de hujuſmodi prohibitione expreſſam mentionem non facientibus.

§. 7. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all thoſe, who carry or tranſmit to the* Saracens, Turks, *and other enemies and foes of the chriſtian Religion, or to thoſe who are expreſſly and by name declared Hereticks, by the ſentence of us, or of this holy See, Horſes, Arms, Iron, Wire of Iron, Tin, Steel, and all kind of Metals, and Warlike Inſtruments, Timber, Hemp, Ropes made as well of Hemp as of any other matter, and that matter whatſoever it be, and other things of this nature, which they make uſe of to the prejudice of Chriſtians and Catholicks; as alſo thoſe who by themſelves or others, give intelligence of matters relating to the State of Chriſtendom to the* Turks *and Enemies of the chriſtian Religion to the hurt and prejudice of Chriſtians, or to Hereticks to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion, or who any ways afford to them Counſel, aſſiſtance or favour; notwithſtanding any privileges hitherto granted by us and the aforeſaid See to any Perſons, Princes or Common-wealths; wherein expreſs mention is not made of this prohibition.*

§ 8. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes impedientes ſeu invadentes eos, qui victualia ſeu alia ad uſum *Romanæ* Curiæ neceſſaria adducunt, ac etiam eos qui ne ad *Romanam* Curiam adducantur vel afferantur, prohibent, impediunt ſeu perturbant, ſeu hæc facientes defendunt per ſe vel per alios, cujuſcunq; fuerint ordinis, præeminentiæ, conditionis & ſtatûs, etiamſi Pontificali ſeu Regali aut aliâ quavis eccleſiaſticâ vel mundanâ præfulgeant dignitate.

§. 8. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all hindering or invading thoſe, who bring proviſions, or any other things neceſſary, for the uſe of the Court of* Rome; *as alſo theſe who forbid, hinder or obſtruct the bringing or conducting of them to the Court of* Rome; *or who abet the doers of theſe things either by themſelves, or by others; of whatſoever order pre-eminence, condition or quality they be, even although they be Biſhops or Kings, or inveſted with any other eccleſiaſtical or ſecular Dignity.*

§. 9. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes illos, qui ad ſedem Apoſtolicam venientes, & recedentes ab eâdem, ſua vel aliorum opera interficiunt, mutilant, ſpoliant, capiunt, detinent; necnon illos omnes qui juriſdictionem ordinariam vel delegatam à nobis vel noſtris Judicibus non habentes, illam ſibi temere

§. 9. *Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all thoſe, who kill, maim, ſpoil, apprehend or detain by themſelves, or by others, thoſe who come to the Apoſtolick See, or return from it; as alſo all thoſe who having no ordinary juriſdiction, nor any delegated by us or our Judges, raſhly challenging it to themſelves,*

vendi-

vendicantes ſimilia contra morantes in eâdem Curiâ audent perpetrare.

§. 10. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes interficientes, mutilantes, vulnerantes, detinentes, capientes ſeu deprædantes Romipetas ſeu Peregrinos ad urbem cauſâ devotionis accedentes, & in eâ morantes, vel ab ipſâ recedentes, & in his dantes auxilium, conſilium, vel favorem.

§. 11. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes interficientes, vulnerantes, mutilantes, percutientes, capientes, carcerantes, detinentes, vel hoſtiliter inſequentes S. R. E. Cardinales, ac Patriarchas, Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, Sediſq; Apoſtolicæ Legatos vel Nuncios, aut eos à ſuis Dioeceſibus, Territoriis, Terris, ſeu Dominiis ejicientes, necnon ea mandantes vel rata habentes, ſeu præſtantes in eis auxilium, conſilium, vel favorem.

§. 12. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes illos, qui per ſe vel per alios, perſonas Eccleſiaſticas quaſcunque, vel ſeculares ad *Romanam* Curiam ſuper eorum cauſis & negotiis recurrentes, ac illa in eâdem Curiâ proſequentes aut procurantes negotiorumque geſtores, advocatos, procuratores & agentes, ſeu etiam Auditores vel Judices ſuper dictis cauſis vel negotiis deputatos, occaſione cauſarum vel negotiorum hujuſmodi occidunt ſeu quoquo modo percutiunt, bonis ſpoliant; ſeu qui per ſe vel per alios, directè vel indirectè delicta hujuſmodi committere, exequi vel procurare, aut in eiſdem auxilium conſilium vel favorem præſtare non verentur, cujuſcunque præeminentiæ et dignitatis fuerint.

§. 13. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes tam Eccleſiaſticos quàm Seculares, cujuſcunque dignitatis, qui prætexentes frivolam quandam appellationem à gravamine vel futurâ executione literarum Apoſtolicarum etiam in formâ Brevis, tam gratiam quàm juſtitiam concernentium, necnon citationum, inhibitionum, ſequeſtrationum, monitoriorum,

preſume to commit any like actions againſt thoſe who reſide at the Court of Rome.

§. 10. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all who kill, maim, wound, detain, apprehend, or rob Travellers to* Rome, *or Pilgrims for the ſake of Devotion or Pilgrimage going to that City, ſtaying in it, or returning from it, and thoſe who give aid, counſel, or favour in theſe caſes.*

§. 11. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all who ſlay, wound, maim, ſtrike, apprehend, impriſon, detain, or in hoſtile manner purſue the Cardinals of the holy Church of* Rome, *and Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Legates, or Nuncios of the Apoſtolick See; or thoſe who drive them out of their Territories, Dioceſes, Lands or Dominions; or thoſe who command or allow theſe things to be done, or give aid, counſel, and favour to them.*

§. 12. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all thoſe, who by themſelves or by others ſlay, or any ways ſtrike or deſpoil any eccleſiaſtical or ſecular Perſons having recourſe to the Court of* Rome *for their Cauſes and Affairs, and proſecuting and managing them in the ſaid Court, or even the Auditors or Judges deputed for the hearing and managing of the ſaid Cauſes and Affairs, upon occaſion of theſe Cauſes and Affairs; as alſo thoſe who by themſelves or by others directly or indirectly preſume to act or procure the ſaid Crimes, or to give aid, counſel or favour to them, of whatſoever preheminence or dignity they be.*

§. 13. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all thoſe as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, of whatſoever dignity they be, who under pretence of a certain frivolous appeal from the injuſtice or future execution of the Apoſtolick Letters, even in form of a Brief, reſpecting as well indulgence as juſtice, as alſo from the injuſtice and future ex-*

pro-

proceſſuum, executorialium, & aliorum Decretorum, à nobis & ſede prædictâ ſeu Legatis, Nunciis, Præſidentibus, Palatii noſtri & Cameræ Apoſtolicæ Auditoribus, Commiſſariis, aliiſque Judicibus & delegatis Apoſtolicis emanatorum, & quæ pro tempore emanaverint, aut aliàs ad Curias Seculares & Laicam poteſtatem recurrent, & ab eâ inſtante etiam Fiſci Procuratore & Advocato, appellationes hujuſmodi admitti, ac lites, citationes, inhibitiones, ſequeſtra, monitoria, & alia prædicta, capi & retineri faciunt. Quive illa ſimpliciter, vel ſine eorum beneplacito & conſenſu vel examine, executione, demandari, aut ne Tabelliones & Notarii ſuper hujuſmodi literarum & proceſſuum executione, inſtrumenta vel acta conficere, aut confecta parti, cujus intereſt, tradere debeant, impediunt vel prohibent, ac etiam partes ſeu eorum agentes, conſanguineos, affines, familiares, notarios, executores & ſub-executores literarum, citationum, monitoriorum, & aliorum prædictorum capiunt, percutiunt, vulnerant, carcerant, detinent, ex Civitatibus, Locis, & Regnis ejiciunt, bonis ſpoliant, perterrefaciunt, concutiunt & comminantur per ſe vel per alium ſeu alios, publicè vel occultè; quive aliàs quibuſcunque perſonis in genere vel in ſpecie, ne pro quibuſvis eorum negotiis proſequendis ſeu gratiis vel literis impretrandis ad *Romanam* Curiam accedant, aut recurſum habeant, ſeu gratias ipſas vel literas à dictâ Sede impetrent ſeu impetratis utantur, directè vel indirectè prohibere, ſtatuere ſeu mandare, vel eas apud ſe aut notarios ſeu Tabelliones, vel aliàs quomodolibet retinere præſumunt.

ecution of Citations, Inhibitions, Sequeſtrations, Monitories, Proceſſes, Executorials and other degrees, iſſuing out, or which ſhall at any time iſſue out from us and the aforeſaid See, or our Legates, Nuncios, or Preſidents, from the Auditors of our Palace and Apoſtolick Chamber, from our Commiſſaries, and other Apoſtolick Judges and Delegates; as alſo thoſe, who any other ways have recourſe to ſecular Courts and the lay Power; and who cauſe ſuch appeals to be admitted by the ſecular Court, even although the Procurator and Advocate of the Exchequer ſhould require it; or who cauſe the aforeſaid Letters, Citations, Inhibitions, Sequeſtrations, Monitories, &c. to be ſeized or retained; or thoſe who hinder or forbid the ſaid Letters to be put in execution, either ſimply or without their good will, conſent, or examination; or who hinder or forbid Scriveners or Notaries from making or delivering when made to the Parties concerned any Inſtruments or Acts concerning the execution of theſe Letters and Proceſſes; or who apprehend, ſtrike, wound, impriſon, detain, drive out of Cities, Places and Kingdoms, deſpoil of their goods, terrify, vex, and threaten either by themſelves, or by others, publickly or privately, the Parties or their Agents, kindred on both ſides, their Friends, Notaries, the Executors or Sub-Executors of the ſaid Letters, Citations, Monitories, &c. or who any other way preſume directly or indirectly to forbid, ordain, and command, any Perſons in general or in particular, to betake themſelves, or have recourſe to the See of Rome *to proſecute their Affairs of any kind, or to obtain Indulgences or Letters, or who forbid them to obtain the ſaid Indulgences, or to make uſe of them when obtained of the ſaid See; or who preſume to retain the ſaid Indulgences in their own hands, or in the hands of a Notary or a Scrivener, or any other way.*

§. 14. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes & ſingulos,

§. 14. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all and ſingular*

qui per ſe vel alios auctoritate propriâ ac de facto, quarumcunq; exemptionum vel aliarum gratiarum & literarum Apoſtolicarum prætextu, beneficiales, & decimarum, ac alias cauſas ſpirituales ac ſpiritualibus annexas, ab Auditoribus & Commiſſariis noſtris, aliiſq; Judicibus Eccleſiaſticis avocant; illarumve curſum & audientiam; ac Perſonas, Capitula, Conventus, Collegia, cauſas ipſas proſequi volentes impediunt ac ſe de illarum cognitione tanquam Judices interponunt. Quive partes actrices, quæ illas committi fecerunt, & faciunt ad revocandum & revocari faciendum citationes vel inhibitiones aut alias literas in eis decretas, & ad faciendum vel conſentiendum eos contra quos tales inhibitiones emanârunt, à cenſuris & pœnis in illis contentis abſolvi, per ſtatutum vel aliàs compellunt; vel executionem Literarum Apoſtolicarum ſeu executorialium, proceſſuum ac decretorum prædictorum quomodolibet impediunt, vel ſuum ad id favorem, conſilium aut aſſenſum præſtant, etiam prætextu violentiæ prohibendæ, vel aliarum prætenſionum, ſeu etiam, donec ipſi ad nos informandos, ut dicunt, ſupplicaverint aut ſupplicari fecerint, niſi ſupplicationes hujuſmodi coram nobis & Sede Apoſtolicâ legitimè proſequantur, etiamſi talia committentes fuerint, Præſidentes, Cancellariarum, Conſiliorum, Parlamentorum, Cancellarii, Vice-cancellarii, Conſiliarii, ordinarii vel extraordinarii quorumcunq; Principum Secularium; etiamſi Imperiali, Regali, Ducali, vel aliâ quacunq; præfulgeant dignitate; aut Archiepiſcopi, Epiſcopi, Abbates, Commendatarii ſeu Vicarii fuerint.

§. 15. Quive ex eorum pretenſo officio, vel ad inſtantiam partis, aut aliorum quorumcunque Perſonas eccleſiaſticas, Capitula, Conventus, Collegia eccleſiarum quarumcunque coram ſe ad ſuum Tribunal, Audientiam, Cancellariam, Concilium, vel Parlamentum, præter juris Canonici diſpoſitionem, trahunt, vel trahi faciunt

who by themſelves or by others, by their own authority and de facto, *under pretence of any exemptions, or any other Apoſtolick Indulgences and Letters, take away the cognizance of Benefices and Tythes, and other ſpiritual Cauſes, or annexed to ſpirituals from our Auditors and Commiſſaries, and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges; and hinder the proceeding and audience of them, and the Perſons, Chapters, Convents, Colleges, deſiring to proſecute the ſaid Cauſes; or who intrude themſelves as Judges in the cognizance of them; or who by order, or any other way compel the Plaintiffs to withdraw, or cauſe to be withdrawn, their citations or inhibitions, or any other Letters decreed in the ſpiritual Court; and the Defendants againſt whom ſuch inhibitions were iſſued out, to procure, or conſent to be abſolved from the cenſures or puniſhments contained in them; or who any ways hinder the execution of Apoſtolick Letters, Executorials, Proceſſes and Decrees aforeſaid; or give their allowance, counſel, or aſſent to it, even under pretence of hindring violence, or any other pretexts whatſoever, or even until they ſhall petition us, or cauſe us to be petitioned for our better information, as is commonly pretended, unleſs they proſecute ſuch Petitions before us and the Apoſtolick See in lawful form; even although thoſe who commit ſuch things ſhould be Preſidents of Chanceries, Councils, or Parliaments, Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors, ordinary or extraordinary Councellors of any ſecular Princes (whether they be Emperors, Kings, Dukes, or any other dignity) or Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Commendataries or Vicars.*

§. 15. *Alſo thoſe who under pretence of their office, or at the inſtance of any party, or of any others, draw, or cauſe and procure to be drawn, directly, or indirectly, upon any pretext whatſoever, eccleſiaſtical Perſons, Chapters, Convents, Colleges of any Churches, before them to their Tribunal, Audience, Chan-*

vel

vel procurant, directè vel indirectè, quovis quæſito colore; necnon qui Statuta, Ordinationes, Conſtitutiones, Pragmaticas, ſeu quævis alia decreta in genere vel in ſpecie, ex quavis causâ & quovis quæſito colore, ac etiam prætextu cujulvis conſuetudinis & privilegii, vel aliàs quomodolibet fecerint, ordinaverint & publicaverint, vel factis & ordinatis uſi fuerint, unde libertas Eccleſiaſtica, tollitur, ſeu in aliquo læditur vel deprimitur, aut alio quovis modo reſtringitur, ſeu noſtris & dictæ ſedis, ac quarumcunq; Eccleſiarum juribus quomodolibet directè vel indirectè, tacitè vel expreſsè præjudicantur.

§. 16. Necnon qui Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, alioſq; ſuperiores & inferiores Prælatos, & omnes alios quoſcunque Judices eccleſiaſticos ordinarios quomodolibet hâc de causâ directè vel indirectè, carcerando vel moleſtando eorum Agentes, Procuratores, Familiares, necnon conſanguineos & affines, aut aliàs impediunt, quo minùs juriſdictione ſuâ eccleſiaſticâ contra quoſcunque utantur, ſecundùm quod Canones & ſacræ Conſtitutiones eccleſiaſticæ, & decreta Conciliorum generalium, & præſertim Tridentini, ſtatuunt; ac etiam eos qui poſt ipſorum ordinariorium ac etiam ab eis delegatorum quorumcunq; ſententias & decreta, aut aliàs fori eccleſiaſtici Judicium eludentes, ad Cancellarias & alias Curias ſeculares recurrunt, & ab illis Prohibitiones & Mandata etiam pœnalia, Ordinariis aut Delegatis prædictis decerni, & contra illos exequi procurant; eos quoque qui hæc decernunt & exequuntur, ſeu dant auxilium, concilium, patrocinium & favorem in eiſdem.

§. 17. Quive Juriſdictiones ſeu fructus, reditus & proventus ad nos & ſedem Apoſtolicam, & quaſcunque eccleſiaſticas Perſonas ratione Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, & aliorum beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum pertinentes uſurpant, vel etiam quavis occaſione vel causâ ſine Romani Pontificis

cery, Council, or Parliament, againſt the rules of the Canon-Law; as alſo thoſe who for any cauſe, or under any pretext, or by pretence of any cuſtom or privilege, or any other way, ſhall make, enact, and publiſh any Statutes, Orders, Conſtitutions, Pragmaticks, or any other degrees in general or in particular, or ſhall uſe them when made and enacted; whereby the eccleſiaſtical Liberty is violated, or any ways injured or depreſſed; or by any other means reſtrained; or whereby the rights of us and of the ſaid See, and of any other Churches, are any way directly or indirectly, tacitely or expreſſly prejudged.

§. 16. *Alſo thoſe who upon this account directly or indirectly hinder Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other ſuperior and inferior Prelates, and all other ordinary eccleſiaſtical Judges whatſoever by any means, either by impriſoning or moleſting their Agents, Proctors, Domeſticks, kindred on both ſides, or by any other way from exerting their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction againſt any Perſons whatſoever, according as the Canons and ſacred eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions and Decrees of general Councils, and eſpecially that of* Trent, *do appoint; as alſo thoſe who after the Sentence and Decrees of the Ordinaries themſelves, or of thoſe delegated by them, or by any other means eluding the judgment of the eccleſiaſtical Court, have recourſe to Chanceries or other ſecular Courts, and procure thence Prohibitions and even penal Mandates to be decreed againſt the ſaid Ordinaries and Delegates, and executed againſt them; alſo thoſe who make and execute theſe Decrees, or who give aid, counſel, countenance or favour to them.*

§. 17. *Alſo thoſe who uſurp any Juriſdictions, Fruits, Revenues, and Emoluments belonging to us and the apoſtolick See, and any eccleſiaſtical Perſons upon account of any Churches, Monaſteries, or other eccleſiaſtical Benefices; or who upon any occaſion or cauſe ſequeſter the ſaid Revenues*

ficis

ficis vel aliorum ad id legitimam facultatem habentium expreſſâ licentiâ ſequeſtrant.

§. 18. Quive collectas, decimas, talleas, præſtantias & alia onera Clericis, Prælatis & aliis Perſonis eccleſiaſticis, ac eorum & Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum & aliorum Beneficiorum eccleſiaſticorum bonis, illorumve Fructibus, Reditibus, & Proventibus hujuſmodi, abſque ſimili *Romani* Pontificis ſpeciali & expreſſâ licentiâ imponunt, & diverſis etiam exquiſitis modis exigunt, aut ſic impoſita à ſponte dantibus & concedentibus recipiunt. Necon qui per ſe vel alios directè vel indirectè prædicta facere, exequi vel procurare, aut in eiſdem auxilium, conſilium vel favorem præſtare non verentur, cujuſcunque ſint præeminentiæ, dignitatis, ordinis, conditionis aut ſtatûs, etiamſi Imperiali aut Regali fulgeant dignitate; ſeu Principes, Duces, Comites, Barones, et alii Potentatus; quicunq; etiam Regnis, Provinciis, Civitatibus & Terris quoquo modo Præſidentes, Conſiliarii & Senatores, aut quavis etiam Pontificali dignitate inſigniti. Innovantes decreta, ſuper his per Sacros Canones, tam in *Lateranenſi* noviſſimè celebrato, quàm aliis Conſiliis generalibus edita, etiam cum cenſuris & pœnis in eis contentis.

§. 19. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes & quoſcunq; Magiſtratus & Judices, Notarios, Scribas, Executores, Sub-executores, quomodolibet ſe interponentes in cauſis capitalibus ſeu criminalibus contra Perſonas Eccleſiaſticas, illas proceſſando, banniendo, ſeu ſententias contra illas proferendo vel exequendo ſine ſpeciali, ſpecificâ & expreſſâ hujus ſanctæ Sedis Apoſtolicæ Licentiâ; quique ejuſmodi Licentiam ad Perſonas & Caſus, non expreſſos extendunt, vel aliàs illâ perperam abutuntur, etiamſi talia committentes fuerint Conſiliarii, Senatores, Præſidentes, Cancellarii, Vice-cancellarii, aut quovis alio nomine nuncupati.

without the expreſs leave of the Biſhop of Rome, *or others having lawful power to do it.*

§. 18. *Alſo thoſe who without the like ſpecial and expreſs licence of the Pope of* Rome *impoſe Tributes, Tenths, Tallies, Subſidies, and other charges upon Clergy Men, Prelates, and other eccleſiaſtical Per- and the Goods, Fruits, Revenues and Emoluments of them and of the Churches, Monaſteries, and other eccleſiaſtical Benefices; and exact them by divers artifices, or even receive them ſo impoſed from the Clergy, although they ſhould of their own accord grant and give them: Alſo thoſe who by themſelves or others directly or indirectly, fear not to do, execute or procure the ſaid things, or to give aid, counſel or favour to them, of whatſoever preheminence, dignity, order, condition or quality they be, although they be Emperors, or Kings, or Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and other Potentates whatſoever, even Preſidents of Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities and Territories, Counſellors and Senators, or inveſted even with any Pontifical Dignity. Renewing the decrees ſet forth concerning theſe matters by the ſacred Canons, as well in the laſt Council of* Lateran, *as in other general Councils, together with the cenſures and puniſhments contained in them.*

§. 19. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all and every Magiſtrates and Judges, Notaries, Scribes, Executors, Sub-executors, any ways intruding themſelves in capital or criminal cauſes againſt eccleſiaſtical Perſons by proceſſing, baniſhing, or apprehending them, or pronouncing or executing any Sentences againſt them, without the ſpecial, particular and expreſs Licence of this holy Apoſtolical See; alſo thoſe who extend ſuch Licences to Perſons or Caſes not expreſſed or any other way unjuſtly abuſe them; altho' the Offenders ſhould be Counſellors, Senators, Preſidents, Chancellors, Vice-chancellors, or intitled by any other name.*

§. 20.

§ 20. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes illos, qui per ſe ſeu alios directè vel indirectè, ſub quocunq; titulo ſeu colore invadere, deſtruere, occupare & detinere præſumpſerint, in totum vel in partem, Almam Urbem, Regnum *Siciliæ*, Inſulas *Sardiniæ* & *Corſicæ*, Terras circa *Pharum*, Patrimonium B. *Petri* in *Tuſciâ*, Ducatum *Spoletanum*, Comitatum *Venayſinum*, *Sabinenſem*, *Marchiæ Anconitanæ*, *Maſſæ*, *Trebariæ*, *Romandiolæ*, *Campanæ*, & Maritimas Provincias, illarumque Terras & loca, ac Terras ſpecialis commiſſionis *Arnulforum*, Civitateſq; noſtras *Bononiam*, *Cæſenam*, *Ariminum*, *Beneventum*, *Peruſium*, *Avenionem*, Civitatem *Caſtelli*, *Tudertum*, *Ferrarium*, *Comaclum*, & alias Civitates, Terras, & loca, vel jura ad ipſam *Romanam* Eccleſiam pertinentia, dictæque *Romanæ* Eccleſiæ mediatè vel immediatè ſubjecta, necnon ſupremam juriſdictionem in illis, Nobis & eidem *Romanæ* Eccleſiæ competentem, de facto uſurpare, perturbare, retinere & vexare variis modis præſumunt, necnon adhærentes, fautores, & defenſores eorum, ſeu illis auxilium conſilium, vel favorem quomodolibet præſtantes.

§. 21. Volentes præſentes noſtros proceſſus, ac omnia & quæcunq; his literis contenta, quouſque alii hujuſmodi proceſſus à nobis aut *Romano* Pontifice pro tempore exiſtente fiant aut publicentur, durare, ſuoſq; effectus omnino ſortiri.

§. 22. Cæterùm à prædictis ſententiis nullus per alium quàm per *Romanum* Pontificem, niſi in mortis articulo conſtitutus, nec etiam tunc, niſi de ſtando Eccleſiæ mandatis & ſatisfaciendo cautione præſtitâ, abſolvi poſſit, etiam prætextu quarumvis facultatum & indultorum quibuſcunque perſonis Eccleſiaſticis, ſecularibus & quorumvis ordinum, etiam mendicantium & militarium regularibus, etiam Epiſcopali vel aliâ majori dignitate præditis, ipſiſque ordinibus & eorum Monaſteriis, Conventibus, & Domibus ac Capitulis, Collegiis, Confraternitatibus, Congregationibus,

§. 20. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all thoſe, who by themſelves, or by others, directly or indirectly, under any title or colour whatſoever ſhall preſume to invade, deſtroy, ſeize, and detain, in whole or in part, the City of* Rome, *the Kingdom of* Sicily, *the Iſlands of* Sardinia *and* Corſica, *the Territories about* Faro, *St.* Peter's *Patrimony in* Tuſcany, *the Dukedom of* Spoleto, *the County of* Venoſo, *and* Sabinum, Marca di Ancona, Maſſa, Trebaria, Romandiola, Campania, *and the Maritime Provinces, and their Territories and Places, and the Lands held in ſpecial Commiſſion by the* Arnulfi, *and our Cities of* Bononia, Cæſena, Ariminum, Beneventum, Peruſium, Avignon, Citta di Caſtello, Todi, Ferrara, Comaclo, *and other Cities, Lands and Places and Rights belonging to the Church of* Rome; *and ſubjected mediately or immediately to the ſaid Church of* Rome; *alſo thoſe who preſume by divers means to uſurp, diſturb, detain, and vex the ſupreme Juriſdiction to the ſaid dominions belonging to us and the Church of* Rome; *alſo their adherents, favourers, and defenders, or thoſe who any way give aſſiſtance counſel or favour to them.*

§. 21. *Willing that our preſent proceſſes, and all and every thing contained in theſe Letters, continue in force, and be put in execution; till other proceſſes of this kind be made and publiſhed by us and the Pope of* Rome *for the time being.*

§. 22. *In fine, none may be abſolved from the aforeſaid Cenſures by any other than by the Pope of* Rome, *unleſs he be at the point of death; nor even then, unleſs he giveth caution to ſtand to the commands of the Church, and give ſatisfaction; in all other caſes none ſhall be abſolved, not even under pretence of any faculties or indulgences granted and renewed by us, and the ſaid See, and the decrees of any Council, by Words, Letters, or any other Writing, in general or in particular, to any Perſons eccleſiaſtical, ſecular, and regular of any*

Hoſpitalibus, & locis piis, necnon Laicis, etiamſi Imperiali, Regali, & aliâ, mundanâ excellentiâ fulgentibus per nos & dictam Sedem ac cujuſvis Concilii decreta, verbo, literis, aut aliâ quacunque Scripturâ in genere & in ſpecie conceſſorum & innovatorum, ac concedendorum & innovandorum.

§. 23. Quòd ſi fortè aliqui contra tenorem præſentium talibus excommunicatione & anathemate laqueatis, vel illorum alicui abſolutionis beneficium impendere de facto præſumpſerint, eos excommunicationis ſententiâ innodamus, graviùs contra eos ſpiritualiter & temporaliter, prout expedire noverimus proceſſuri.

§. 24. Declarantes ac proteſtantes quamcunque abſolutionem, etiamſi ſolenniter per nos faciendam, prædictos excommunicatos ſub præſentibus comprehenſos, niſi priùs à præmiſſis cum vero propoſito ſimilia ulterius non committendi, deſtiterint, ac quoad eos, qui contra eccleſiaſticam libertatem, ut præmittitur, ſtatuta fecerint, niſi priùs ſtatuta, ordinationes, conſtitutiones, pragmaticas, & decreta hujuſmodi publicè revocaverint & ex Archivis ſeu Capitularibus, Locis aut Libris, in quibus annotata reperiuntur, deleri & caſſari, ac nos de revocatione hujuſmodi certiores fecerint, eos non comprehendere, nec eis aliter ſuffragari; quinetiam per hujuſmodi abſolutionem, aut quoſcunque alios actus contrarios, tacitos vel expreſſos, ac etiam per patientiam & tolerantiam noſtram vel ſucceſſorum noſtrorum, quantocunq; tempore continuatam, præmiſſis omnibus & ſingulis, ac quibuſcunque juribus Sedis Apoſtolicæ ac ſanctæ *Romanæ* Eccleſiæ undecunque & quandocunque quæſitis, vel quærendis nullatenus præjudicari poſſe aut debere.

§. 25. Non obſtantibus Privilegiis, Indulgentiis, Indultis, & Literis apoſtolicis, generalibus vel ſpecialibus ſu-

Orders, even of the mendicant and military Orders, or to any Perſons inveſted with epiſcopal, or any greater dignity, and to Orders themſelves and their Monaſteries, Convents, Houſes and Chapters, to Colleges, Confraternities, Congregations, Hoſpitals, and pious places, as alſo to Lay-Men, although they ſhould be Emperors, Kings, or eminent in any other ſecular dignity.

§. 23. *If by chance any ſhould againſt the tenor of theſe preſents,* de facto, *preſume to beſtow the benefit of abſolution upon any ſuch involved in excommunication, and* anathema, *or any of them; we include them in the ſentence of excommunication, and ſhall afterwards proceed moſt ſeverely againſt them, both by ſpiritual and temporal puniſhments, as we ſhall think moſt convenient.*

§. 24. *Declaring and proteſting that no abſolution, altho' ſolemnly made by us, ſhall comprehend, or any other way avail the aforeſaid excommunicated Perſons comprehended under theſe preſent Letters; unleſs they deſiſt from the premiſſes with a firm purpoſe of never committing the like thing; nor thoſe, who, as was before ſaid, have made Statutes againſt the eccleſiaſtical liberty; unleſs they firſt publickly revoke theſe Statutes, Orders, Conſtitutions, Pragmaticks and Decrees, and cauſe them to be blotted and expunged out of the Archives, Rolls, and Regiſters wherein they are preſerved, and farther certify us of this revocation: Moreover, that by any ſuch abſolution, or any other contrary acts, tacit or expreſs, or even by the connivance and toleration of us and our ſucceſſors for how long time ſoever continued, none nor any of the Premiſſes, nor any right of the apoſtolick See and holy Church of* Rome *howſoever and whenſoever obtained, or to be obtained, can or ought to be prejudged or receive any prejudice.*

§. 25. *Notwithſtanding any Privileges, Indulgencies, Grants, and apoſtolical Letters general or ſpecial,*

pradictis

pradictis vel eorum, alicui, ſeu aliquibus aliis cujuſcunque ordinis, ſtatûs vel conditionis, dignitatis & præeminentiæ fuerint, etiamſi ut præmittitur, Pontificali, Imperiali, Regali, ſeu quavis eccleſiaſticâ & mundanâ præfulgeant dignitate, vel eorum Regnis, Provinciis, Civitatibus ſeu locis à prædictâ ſede ex quavis causâ etiam per viam contractûs aut remunerationis, & ſub quavis aliâ formâ & tenore, ac cum quibuſvis clauſulis, etiam derogatoriarum derogatoriis conceſſis, etiam continentibus quòd excommunicari, anathematizari vel interdici non poſſint, per Literas Apoſtolicas non facientes plenam & expreſſam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujuſmodi, ac de ordinibus, locis, nominibus propriis, cognominibus & dignitatibus eorum mentionem necnon conſuetudinibus, etiam immemorabilibus, ac præſcriptionibus quantumcunque longiſſimis, & aliis quibuſlibet obſervantiis ſcriptis vel non ſcriptis, per quæ contra hos noſtros Proceſſus ac Sententias, quo minùs includantur in eis, ſe juvare valeant ac tueri. Quæ omnia quoad hoc, eorum omnium tenores, ac ſi ad verbum, nihil penitus omiſſo, inſererentur, præſentibus, pro expreſſis habentes, penitus tollimus, & omnino revocamus cæteriſque contrariis quibuſcunque.

granted by the holy See to any of the aforeſaid Perſons, or any one of them, or any others, of whatſoever order, quality or condition, dignity, and preheminence they be; although, as was before ſaid, they ſhould be Biſhops, Emperors, Kings, eminent in any other eccleſiaſtick or ſecular Dignity, or to their Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, and Dominions, for any cauſe whatſoever, even by way of contract or reward, and under any other form and tenor, and with any clauſes whatſoever, even derogatory of thoſe which ſhould derogate from them, or even containing that the ſaid Perſons or Places ſhall not be excommunicated, anathematized or interdicted by any apoſtolick Letters, which do not make full and expreſs mention and exact repetition of the ſaid grant, and of the orders, places, proper names, ſirnames and dignities of the ſaid Perſons: As alſo notwithſtanding all Cuſtoms, even immemorial, and preſcriptions how long ſoever, and any other obſervances written or not written, by which the ſaid Perſons may help and defend themſelves againſt theſe our Proceſſes and Cenſures from being included in them. All which grants, as far as relates to this matter, and the whole tenor of them, accounting them expreſſed in theſe preſents, as if they had been verbatim inſerted, nothing omitted, we utterly aboliſh and wholly revoke; and notwithſtanding any other pleas which may be alledged to the contrary.

§. 26. Ut verò præſentes noſtri proceſsus ad publicam omnium notitiam faciliùs deducantur, Chartas ſeu Membranas Proceſſus ipſos continentes, valvis Eccleſiæ S. *Joannis Lateranenſis*, & *Baſilicæ* Principis Apoſtolorum de Urbe appendi faciemus, ut ii, quos proceſſus hujuſmodi concernunt, quòd ad ipſos non pervenerint, aut quòd ipſos ignoraverint nullam poſſint excuſationem prætendere aut ignorantiam allegare; cùm non ſit veriſimile, id remanere incognitum, quod tam patenter omnibus publicatur.

§. 26. *But that theſe our preſent Proceſſes may more eaſily come to the knowledge of all Perſons; We have cauſed the Papers and Parchments containing the Proceſſes themſelves to be affixed in the City to the doors of the Church of St.* John Lateran, *and of the Church of the Prince of the Apoſtles; that thoſe whom theſe Proceſſes concern, may pretend no excuſe, or alledge ignorance, as if they had not come to their knowledge; ſince it is not probable that ſhould remain unknown which is ſo openly publiſhed to all Men.*

§. 27.

§. 27. Inſuper ut Proceſſus ipſi & præſentes literæ, ac omnia & ſingula in eis contenta, eò fiant notiora, quò in pleriſq; Civitatibus & Locis fuerint publicata; univerſis & ſingulis Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, & locorum Ordinariis, & Prælatis ubilibet conſtitutis, per hæc ſcripta, committimus & in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ diſtrictè præcipiendo mandamus; ut per ſe vel per alium ſeu alios, præſentes literas, poſtquam eas receperint, ſeu earum habuerint notitiam, ſemel in anno, aut ſi expedire viderint, etiam pluries, in Eccleſiis ſuis, dum in eis major populi multitudo ad Divina convenerit, ſolenniter publicent, & ad Chriſti fidelium mentes, reducant, nuncient, & declarent.

§. 28. Cæterùm Patriarchæ, Archiepiſcopi, Epiſcopi, aliique locorum Ordinarii, & Eccleſiarum Prælati, necnon Rectores, cæterique curam animarum exercentes, ac Presbyteri ſeculares & quorumvis ordinum regulares, ad audiendas peccatorum confeſſiones quavis authoritate deputati, tranſumptum præſentium Literarum penes ſe habeant, eaſq; diligenter legere & percipere ſtudeant.

§. 29. Volentes earundem præſentium tranſumptis etiam impreſſis, Notarii publici manu ſubſcriptis, & ſigillo Judicis Ordinarii Romanæ Curiæ vel alterius perſonæ in dignitate eccleſiaſticâ conſtitutæ munitis. eandem prorſus fidem in judicio, & extra illud ubiq; locorum adhibendam fore, quæ ipſis præſentibus adhiberetur, ſi eſſent exhibitæ vel oſtenſæ.

§. 30. Nulli ergo omnino Hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ excommunicationis, anathematizationis, interdicti, innovationis, innodationis, declarationis, proteſtationis, ſublationis, revocationis, commiſſionis, mandati & voluntatis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire: Siquis autem hoc attentare præſumpſerit, in-

§. 27. *Moreover, that the Proceſſes themſelves, and theſe preſent Letters, and all and every thing contained in them, may become more manifeſt by being publiſhed in many Cities and Places; we by theſe writings intruſt, and in virtue of holy obedience ſtrictly charge and command all and ſingular Patriarchs, Primates, Arch biſhops, Biſhops, Ordinaries of places, and Prelates whereſoever conſtituted, that by themſelves or ſome other or others, after they ſhall have received, theſe preſent Letters, or have knowledge of them they ſolemnly publiſh them in their Churches once a year or oftner, if they ſee convenient, when the greater part of the People ſhall be met for celebration of divine Service; put faithful Chriſtians in mind of them, relate them, and declare them.*

§. 28 *Laſtly, all Patriarchs, Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and other Ordinaries of Places, and Prelates of Churches, as alſo all Rectors, and others having cure of Souls, and Prieſts ſecular and regular of whatſoever Orders, deputed by any Authority to hear confeſſion of ſins, ſhall have a tranſcript of theſe preſent Letters by them, and ſhall diligently ſtudy to read and underſtand them*

§. 29. *Our farther pleaſure is, that the ſame credit in judgment and out of judgment, ſhall in all places be given to Copies, although printed, of theſe preſents, ſubſcribed by any publick Notary, and ſealed by the ordinary Court of* Rome, *or any other Perſon in eccl ſiaſtical dignity; as would be given to theſe preſents themſelves, if they ſhould be produced or ſhewn.*

§. 30. *Let no Man therefore infringe, or boldly and raſhly oppoſe this our letter of excommunication, anathematization, interdict, innovation, innodation, declaration, proteſtation, abolition, revocation, commiſſion, command and pleaſure: But if any one ſhall preſume to attempt it, let him know that he ſhall incur*

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dignationem omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum *Petri* & *Pauli* Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum.

Datum *Romæ* apud S. *Petrum*, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ milleſimo ſexcenteſimo decimo, ſexto idûs *Aprilis*, Pontificatûs noſtri anno quinto.

Anno à Nativitate Domini noſtri *Jeſu Chriſti* milleſimo ſexcenteſimo decimo tertio, indict. II. die verò quartâ menſis *Aprilis*, Pontificatûs ſanctiſſ. in *Chriſto* Patris & D. N. D. *Pauli* divinâ Providentiâ Papæ V. anno octavo, ſupradictæ literæ affixæ & publicatæ fuerunt ad valvas Baſilicarum S. *Joannis Lateranenſis* & Principis Apoſtolorum, & in acie campi *Floræ* per nos *Baldaſſarem Vacham* & *Brandimartem Latinum* Curſores.

Jacobus Brambrilla,
Mag. Curſ.

the diſpleaſure of almighty God, and of his bleſſed Apoſtles Peter *and* Paul.

Given at Rome *from St.* Peter, *in the year of our Lord's Incarnation, one thouſand ſix hundred and ten, the eighth of* April, *in the fifth year of our Popedom.*

In the year, from the Birth of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 1613. *indict.* II. *the fourth day of the month* April, *and the eighth year of the Popedom of our moſt holy Father in* Chriſt, *and our Lord* Paul V. *by divine Providence Pope, the aforeſaid Letters were affixed and publiſhed at the doors of the Churches of St.* John Lateran, *and the Prince of the Apoſtles, and in the field of* Flora, *by us* Balthazar Vacha *and* Brandimars Latini *Curſors.*

James Brambrilla.
Mag. Curſ.

Numb. II.

The PROCEEDINGS *of the Parliament* of Paris *upon the Pope's* BULL, *concerning the Franchiſes in the City of* Rome, *and the following Ordinance of the* 26th *of* December, 1687. *Tranſlated into* Engliſh *by order of his Excellency* Monſieur Barillon, *his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the King of* Great Britain.

An Extract out of the Regiſters of the Parliament of Paris.

THIS day the Parliament of *Paris* being aſſembled, the King's Council appearing, Mr. *Denys Talon* his Majeſty's Advocate-General, made this following Speech, That among the reſt of the Court of *Rome*'s attempts upon ſeveral occaſions, in prejudice of the liberties of the Church of *France*, and of the rights and preheminences of the Crown; there has been nothing obſerv'd in the hiſtory of late ages, parallel to what was done in the month of *December* laſt, and which is nothing more but what the Pope has been contriving many years, in declaring himſelf an enemy of *France*, &c.——

In the aſſembly held upon occaſion of the affairs of the *Regalia*, the Biſhops being inform'd that the *Italian* Doctors, and the Emiſſaries of the Court of *Rome*, omitted not any means to ſpread about the Kingdom the new opinions of the Pope's infallibility, and the indirect power which *Rome* ſtrives to uſurp over the temporality of Kings; that Aſſembly, We ſay, did not pretend to frame a deciſion of a doubtful controverſy, but give a publick and authentick teſtimony of a certain truth, taught by all the Fathers of the Church, and determined by all the Councils, and eſpecially by thoſe of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*. And it's well known that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* aſſiſting at the Council of *Trent*, publickly declared that the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*, the Univerſities of the Kingdom, and in a word, all *France* was perſuaded, that the Pope, far from being infallible, ought to ſubmit to the deciſions of Councils, and it does not appear that this aſſertion made him incur any reproach from the Court of *Rome*.

Yet has the world with amazement ſeen, that the Pope look'd upon this declaration as an injury done to his authority; inſomuch that the King having nominated to the Epiſcopacy ſome of thoſe that aſſiſted at that Aſſembly; and who are as well recommendable for their Piety and Virtue, as for their Knowledge and Learning; Bulls were refuſed them, on pretence that they do not make profeſſion of a ſound doctrine.

If this foundation is ſolid, we are like to have no more Biſhops for the future: Since all the Eccleſiaſticks of the Kingdom, and particulary thoſe that in the Univerſities take the neceſſary degrees to attain to Prelacies, with an invincible ſteddineſs maintain the propoſitions which the Pope complains of.

Tho' this refuſal has not the leaſt glimmering of Reaſon, yet does it nevertheleſs raiſe a very great ſcandal, and produce diſorders beyond expreſſion. And indeed the Pope's obſtinacy is the cauſe that thirty five cathedral Churches remain deſtitute of Paſtors, and this in a time when a vaſt number of newly converted Perſons ſtand in need of inſtruction, for their being fortified and confirmed in the orthodox belief, and when the preſence of the Biſhops is very neceſſary in their Dioceſes.

Who could ever imagine that the Pope, who is propoſed to us as an image of Holineſs and Virtue, ſhould remain ſo wedded to his opinions, and ſo jealous of the ſhadow of an imaginary authority, that he ſhould leave the third part of the Churches of *France* vacant becauſe We will not own him to be infallible?

Thoſe that inſpire theſe thoughts into the Pope, can they fancy they ſhall make us change our opinions? And are they ſo blind as not to know that thoſe unhappy times are paſt, when a groſs ignorance joined to a faintneſs in the Government, and falſe prepoſſeſſions, render'd the Pope's Decrees ſo very dreadful, however unjuſt they might be; and that thoſe diſputes and quarrels, far from augmenting their power, do only ſerve to cauſe enquiry to be made into the origine of their uſurpations, and leſſen the veneration of the People rather than encreaſe it? *&c.* ——

And to give ſome colour to ſo ſcandalous an innovation, he refers to that famous Bull, ſtyl'd in *Cœna Domini*, becauſe it is read at *Rome* every *Thurſday* of the holy week. True it is, that if this Decree, whereby the Popes declare themſelves ſovereign Monarchs of the World, be legitimate; the Majeſty Royal will then depend on their humour, all our liberties will be aboliſhed, the ſecular Judges will no longer have the power to try the poſſeſſion of Benefices, nor the civil and criminal cauſes of eccleſiaſtical Perſons; and we ſhall quickly ſee our ſelves brought under the yoke of the inquiſition.

Thus, however unjuſt and abuſive this new Decree may be, it is much leſs dangerous by the frivolous menaces it contains, than by its being built upon a title altogether void and vicious; and that in this conjuncture it looks as if *Rome* would at preſent follow the ſteps of *Julius* II. renew his animoſity and rage againſt *France*, without making reflexion how odious his memory is in the chriſtian Commonwealth.

When Pope *Gregory* IV. meaning to render himſelf arbitrator of the diſpute that aroſe between *Lewis* the *Debonnair* and his Children, threatened the Biſhops of *France* to excommunicate them if they did not cloſe with his deſigns; thoſe Prelates being ſurprized at a procedure ſo contrary to the Canons, couragiouſly anſwer'd, that *they would not obey the Pope's will; and that if he come with a deſign to excommunicate them, he ſhould himſelf return excommunicated: Si excommunicaturus veniret, excommunicatus abiret.* As if they meant to ſay, that he, who without lawful cauſe, and through human motives, undertakes to ſuſpend one of the members of *Jeſus Chriſt* from the Communion of the Church, does ſeparate himſelf from it by ſuch an unjuſt attempt.

Let us farther urge, that the ill uſe which the Popes have on ſo many occaſions made of the authority with which they are entruſted in giving it no other bounds than thoſe of their own will, has been the ſource of almoſt all the incurable miſchiefs with which the Church is afflicted, and the moſt ſpecious pretences of the Heretícks and Schiſmaticks that the laſt age produc'd, ſo as the Divines aſſembled by Pope *Paul* III's order, did ſincerely own; and beſides at preſent, the bare idea of the infallibility and indirect power which the complaiſance of the *Italian* Doctors do attribute to the See of *Rome*, upon the temporality of Princes, is one of the greateſt obſtacles that oppoſe the converſion not only of individual Perſons, but of whole Provinces; and Peoples Minds cannot be too thoroughly convinc'd that theſe new opinions do not make part of the doctrine of the univerſal Church, *&c.* —

If he had been an Envoy from the Emperor of the *Turks*, from the King of *Perſia*, or ſome other infidel Prince, he would not have been ſo rigorouſly us'd. Is it that the Pope means to have no more commerce with *France?* Is he perſuaded that his power reaches no farther than the Dioceſe of *Rome*, and his Patriarchſhip than the neighbouring Provinces, ſtyled ſuburbicarial? Does he intend to renounce the quality of *Head of the Church*, and *common Father of the Faithful?* &c. —

And in this occaſion the thunders of the *Vatican* have nothing formidable; they are tranſitory fires, that exhale into ſmoak, and which do neither hurt nor prejudice, ſave to thoſe who darted them.

And tho' this Bull be neither publiſhed nor executed in the Kingdom, it is not the leſs abuſive. We do not doubt but that a more moderate Pope, reflecting upon the diſorders which ſuch an innovation is capable of producing, would imitate the example of *Clement* V. who, by a ſolemn Decree, did for ever aboliſh the memory of what his predeceſſor *Boniface* VIII. had unjuſtly undertaken againſt King *Philip the Fair*: And this retractation, which proves that the Popes are not infallible, ſince the one deſtroys what the other had built, among others, revokes the Bull, *Unam Sanctam*; wherein *Boniface*, whoſe proud conduct was blamed by the whole Church, declares that the Sword of Sovereigns is ſubjected to the Pope's ſpiritual Faulchion, *&c.* —

If then we put in an appeal to the future Council againſt the cenſures contain'd in the Bull, and againſt the interdict that is a conſequence and acceſſary of it; it is becauſe that not only the deciſions of Popes, but their very Perſons, when they fail in their duty in the government of the Church,

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are to ſubmit to the correction and reformation of the general Council, in what regards as well Faith as Diſcipline: An indiſputable truth whence We ſhall never depart, whatever endeavours the partizans of the Court of *Rome* may uſe.

The Pope's denying to grant Bulls to all the Biſhops nominated by the King, occaſions a diſorder that daily augments, and which requires a ſpeedy and efficacious remedy. The Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* having endeavoured to contrive ſome moderation to the Court of *Rome*'s uſurpations, and to the confuſion that was introduced in the diſtribution of Benefices, the Pragmatick Sanction was afterwards compos'd of the Decrees of thoſe Councils: But the Popes perceiving their authority to diminiſh, made uſe of all ſorts of artifices to aboliſh it; and by the Concordate made between King *Francis* I. and Pope *Leo* X. they regulated the manner of diſpoſing of Biſhopricks and Abbies: To the Pope was granted not only the devolution, but alſo the prevention and the power of admitting the reſignations in favour, and many other articles that are very burdenſome to the ordinary Collators, and abſolutely contrary to the ancient Canons.

And indeed our Fore-fathers did for a long while complain againſt the Concordate. The Ordinance of *Orleans* did re eſtabliſh the Elections; and it would be very advantagious that all eccleſiaſtical matters were tranſacted in the Kingdom, without ever being obliged to have recourſe to *Rome*.

In the ſequel nevertheleſs the Concordate was ſincerely executed on our part; and it is inconceiveable that the Pope ſhould now, through an invincible obſtinacy, reduce us to deprive him of the profit, which the Court of *Rome* derives from a treaty, which is ſo much to its advantage.

The King is moſt religious, in nominating to the Prelacies Eccleſiaſticks of an exemplary integrity, and of conſpicuous merit; and becauſe that theſe Eccleſiaſticks do not believe that the Pope is infallible; that they do not like the *Italian* Doctors, attribute to him the title of univerſal Monarch; that they are perſuaded he has no power, either direct or indirect, over the temporality of Kings, and that he is to all intents inferior to the Councils, that have a right to correct him, and to reform his Deciſions. The Pope upon this imaginary pretence refuſes them Bulls, and leaves the third part of the Churches of the Kingdom deſtitute of Paſtors. Is this imitating the care and lenity of the Apoſtles in the government of the Church?

After all, before the Concordate, thoſe that were elected by the Clergy and the People, and afterwards by the Chapters, in preſence of one of the King's Commiſſioners; were they not ordained by the Metropolitan, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of the Province, after that the King had approved of their Election? The right acquired to the King by the *Concordate*, being authorized in this reſpect by the tacit conſent of the whole *Gallican* Church, and confirmed by a poſſeſſion of near two centuries, ought ſo much the leſs to receive any change and invaſion, that during the firſt four ages of the Monarchy, they went not to *Rome* to demand inſtitution and induction of Benefices: The Biſhops diſpos'd of all thoſe that were vacant in their Dioceſes; and our Kings did almoſt ever nominate to the Biſhopricks; and as they ſometimes granted the Clergy and the People the liberty of electing a Paſtor, they often reſerv'd the choice of him to themſelves; he they had choſen was immediately conſecrated, without the Pope's intermedling in the matter. Who hinders us from following theſe examples, grounded upon this excellent reaſon, that the right, which all the Faithful had in the beginning of appointing themſelves a Head, being no longer to be exerciſed in common, ought to paſs into the power of the Sovereign, on whom the Subjects rely for the government of the State; of which the Church is the nobleſt part?

But as to the Pope, ſince he refuſes to join the concourſe of his Authority to the King's nomination, we may preſume, that he means to diſcharge himſelf of the painful burden which overwhelms him; and that his infirmities not permitting him to extend his paſtoral diligence over all the parts of the univerſal Church; the devolution that is made in caſe of negligence, ſometimes even from the ſuperiour to the inferiour, may authorize the Biſhops to lay their hands on thoſe that ſhall be nominated by the King to the Prelacies; his nomination having as much, or more effect, than the election of the People and the Clergy; which ought, without difficulty, to be confirmed by the immediate ſuperiour, when an unworthy Perſon was not choſen.

And if the like reſolution requires the being accompanied with ſome temperament; if it requires the Biſhops concurrence; the King may be beſought to convene the provincial Councils, or if need be, a national Council; therein to take reſolutions ſuitable to the occaſions of the *Gallican* Church.

And as the evil ſeems urgent, and that there would be poſſibly ſome danger in venturing upon the delays that are inſeparable to the holding of a national Council, his Majeſty may aſſemble ſuch as he pleaſes of the principal Officers, of the Biſhops, and conſiderable Perſons of all the Orders of his Realm, to take their advice in ſo important an affair.

But it is not juſt, that while that the Pope refuſes to execute the Concordate in one of its principal Articles, he does, nevertheleſs, enjoy the advantages that are granted him by that Treaty, which contains conventions reciprocally obligatory; that People continue to go to *Rome*, and thither carry Money, for the obtaining either the inſtitutions of Benefices or Diſpenſations, that may be eaſily expediated in the Kingdom.

Now if we purpoſe to bring off this traffick, it is only becauſe it ceaſes to be reciprocal; and becauſe that the Pope by his obſtinacy, interpoſing an invincible impediment to the expedition of the Bulls of a great number of Biſhopricks: It would be a ſhame to ſuffer that the *Gallican* Church ſhould remain burden'd with the yoke of prevention of reſignations in favour, and of all the other ſervitudes whereunto *France* was content to ſubmit by the Concordate.

And herein we do but faintly repel the injury that is done us: We oppoſe the Buckler of our liberties againſt a new and unexampled Enterprize, Calamity and Anathema; to thoſe that out of intereſt or caprice, diſturb the correſpondence that ought to be between the Prieſt-hood and the Royalty, who ſeem to have no other aim than to raiſe a Schiſm in the Church, and by fatal diviſions diſturb the peace which all *Europe* enjoys, and which was procured to it by the valour and wiſdom of our invincible Monarch.

But whatever endeavours thoſe factious Spirits may uſe that poſſeſs the Pope and abuſe the power which his great age and infirmities oblige him to give them in the Government of the Church, we ſhall ever remain inſeparably united to the holy See; we will acknowledge St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor as the firſt and the chief of the Biſhops, we will moſt religiouſly maintain the Communion and correſpondence with the Church of *Rome*, and we will defend our ſelves with as much moderation as vigour againſt the Inſults, Invaſions, and Innovations contrary to the King's Rights, to the Dignity of his Crown, to the Decrees of the Councils, to the general Policy of our Church, and to our Liberties.

All theſe Reaſons, and a world of others which we omit, oblige us to require that it would pleaſe the Court to admit us as appealing againſt the abuſe of the Bull, dated in the Month of *May* laſt, and of the Ordinance

given in purſuance thereof: And upon our Appeal, to declare the ſaid *Bull* and Ordinance void and abuſive; making Prohibition to all Perſons, of vending them in the Kingdom, on pain of being proceeded againſt according to the ſeverity of the Law; enjoining all thoſe that have copies of them, to bring them to the Regiſter of the Court, in order to their being ſuppreſſed: As likewiſe, to order that the Act of Appeal, made by the Attorney General to the future Council, be regiſter'd in the Regiſter of the Court: That the King ſhall be moſt humbly beſought to employ his Authority for the maintaining of the Franchiſes, and the immunity of the Quarters of his Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, in the whole extent that they have hitherto had: Moreover that his Majeſty may be humbly deſired to order the holding of provincial Councils, nay and of a national Council, if need be, or the Aſſembly of the Nobles of his Realm; and after having heard their advice to chuſe the means he ſhall reckon moſt fitting, for the hindring the diſorders which the vacancy of ſo many Arch Biſhopricks and Biſhopricks in the Kingdom do produce, and prevent the increaſe and progreſs of ſo dangerous an evil. We farther require that the King be alſo moſt humbly beſought to forbid his Subjects to have any Commerce in the mean while with *Rome*, and of ſending any Money thither, and in this to interpoſe his Authority as far as he ſhall judge convenient, and that it be order'd by the Court that the Arreſt that ſhall intervene upon our preſent Concluſions, ſhall be affix'd in the publick places, and every where as ſhall be needful in the wonted manner.

The King's Council being withdrawn, a copy being perus'd, printed at *Rome*, of a Bull concerning the *Franchiſes* of the Quarters of the ſaid Town, and of the following Ordinance of *December* 26. laſt, together with the Act of Appeal put into the future Council by the King's Attorney General the 28th of this Month, and the Concluſions by him taken in writing, the matter being brought under debate.

The Attorney General's appealing from the abuſe of the ſaid *Bull*, and of the following Ordinance on the 26th of *November* laſt, the Court admitted of the ſaid Appeal, and declares the ſaid Bull and Ordinance as null and abuſive; prohibits all Perſons whatſoever to vend them in the Kingdom, on pain of being proceeded againſt according to the ſeverity of the Law; enjoining thoſe that have copies of them to bring them to the Regiſter of the Court, there to be ſuppreſſed; orders that the Act of Appeal put in by the King's Attorney General to the future Council, ſhall be regiſtred in the Regiſter of the Court, and that the King ſhall be moſt humbly deſired to employ his Authority for the maintaining the Franchiſes and Immunities of the Quarters of his Ambaſſadors in the Court of *Rome*; in the whole extent they have hitherto had, to order the holding of provincial Councils, or even of a national Council, or an Aſſembly of the Nobles of his Kingdom, ſo to adviſe about the moſt ſuitable means for the remedying the diſorders which the long vacancy of ſeveral Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks, has therein introduced, and to prevent the progreſs and encreaſe of them, and in the mean while to forbid his Subjects in ſuch manner as the ſaid Lord the King ſhall judge convenient to have any Commerce, or remit any Money into the Court of *Rome*. And this preſent Arreſt to be affix'd in the publick and uſual places of this Town, and every where as ſhall be needful. Done in Parliament on the 23d of *Jan.* 1688.

Sign'd *Jacques.*

Act

Act of the Appeal put in by the Attorney General to the Council upon the Subject of the Pope's Bull, *concerning the Franchiſes in the City of* Rome, *and of the following Ordinance on the* 26th. *of* December *laſt.*

BEfore the under-written Apoſtolical Notary was preſent in his own Perſon, *Meſſire Achilles de Harlay*, Counſellor of the King in his Council of State, and his Majeſty's Attorney General, who in the Preſence, and by the Advice and Counſel of *Meſſire Denis Talon* and of *Meſſire François Criteau de la Moignon* alſo, Counſellors of the King in his Council of State, and his Advocates General in his Court of Parliament, has declared that having ſome time ſince ſeen copies of a Bull given on the 12th of *May* laſt paſt, by our holy Father Pope *Innocent* XI. concerning the Franchiſes which certain Perſons are in poſſeſſion of enjoying in the City of *Rome*; he could not have imagined that his holineſs could have conceived the deſign of comprehending the Ambaſſadors which the King was willing to ſend to him, in the general Menaces of Excommunication which he judg'd convenient to inſert therein, contrary to the uſe obſerved by other Popes in the *Bulls* made by them; and he hoped that if the remembrance of the ſovereign Power which the Kings, his Majeſty's Predeceſſors, exerciſed in *Rome*, of their liberalities to the holy See, and of the protection they gave to ſeveral Popes, could not induce this Pope to cauſe to be rendred to the King in the Perſons of his Miniſters, Honours and Teſtimonies of acknowledgment proportionable to his Bounties; at leaſt his Holineſs as viſible head of the Church, would not be inſenſible to the Prodigies which the King had perform'd before his Eyes for the re-uniting in the boſom of this good Mother ſo vaſt a number of Children that were gone aſtray from her; that he would be affected with the Piety of this Prince, and the powerful protection he continually gives to Prelates, tho' he was not with his Victories and Power; and that he would not enter into diſpute with him about Rights that had not ſuffered any Invaſion, even for ſeveral years under his Popedom.

But being informed that his Holineſs had given order to the Cardinal that is his Vicar in *Rome*, to declare the Church of St. *Lewis* of the ſaid City, and the Eccleſiaſticks that officiate in it, interdicted for having admitted to the participation of the holy Myſteries and Sacraments on the night wherein is celebrated the Solemnity of our Lord's Nativity, *Monſieur le Marquis de Lavardin* the King's Ambaſſador extraordinary to his Holineſs, and that it was ſuppoſed by the Ordinance delivered upon this Subject, that he was notoriouſly excommunicated for pretended Contraventions to this Bull; the ſaid Attorney General did not think that he could without being wanting to his duty, remain any longer in the ſilence he had hitherto kept.

Now if the matter which has given an occaſion to ſo great an exceſs, did concern the eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction which belongs to the Pope, he would eaſily ſhew the errors that have been committed by proceeding againſt a Perſon that has not been particularly ſpecified in that Bull, to whom the ſtate of matters has not been ſignified ſince his being at *Rome*; who might be ignorant of them in *France*, where it was not publiſh'd; that the Pope could not condemn him as an Ambaſſador tho' his character ought to ſecure him from thoſe Thunders, in regard of his functions, yet his holineſs would not ſo much as hear or own him in that quality, whatever Addreſſes he has caus'd to be made for that purpoſe; and that in fine, the very rules

of

of the Canon Law require that Perſons of ſo eminent a Dignity, as is that of his, ſhould be pointed out by name in Bulls of that nature, before they can incur the Penalties they utter.

But that the Pope in a matter purely temporal, as are theſe Franchiſes of the King's Ambaſſadors, having made uſe of the ſpiritual Arms, which he is only intruſted withall for the conduct and edification of the Church, and having conſtituted himſelf Judge in his own Cauſe, the excommunication which his Holineſs's Cardinal Vicar declares to have been incurr'd, is ſo null, that there is no occaſion for any Proceedings to annihilate it; and thoſe that are therein comprehended, ought not to receive abſolution, though it were even offered them at their own Homes.

And indeed the ſaid King's Attorney General does with all the *French* expect from his Majeſty's ſingle power the reparation which theſe Proceedings challenge, and the conſervation of thoſe Franchiſes which only depend on the Judgment of God, as all the Rights of this Crown; and which can admit of no diminution but ſuch as the King's Moderation and Juſtice may give them.

But as nothing can contribute more to leſſen in the minds of ſhallow Perſons and Libertines the veneration which People ought to have for the Power of the Church, than the ill uſe which its Miniſters may make of it; the King's ſaid Attorney General declares, that he is appealing, as indeed he appeals by the preſent Act, from the abuſive uſe that is made of it in the ſaid *Bull* and Ordinance, not to our holy Father Pope *Innocent* XI. better informed, ſo as has been practiſed in reſpect of ſome of his Predeceſſors; when that they had true ideas of their Power, and their years allowed them to act of themſelves; there might be hopes that in time they would be brought to know the juſtice and truth of the complaints that were brought before them; and that neither the preventions in favour of their Country, nor the partialities of thoſe they honoured with their truſt, did not prevail over the obligations which the quality of common Father of all Chriſtians does impoſe.

Proteſting to carry on this his ſaid Appeal upon this grievance, and upon the others, which he reſerves to repreſent to the firſt general Council that ſhall be held, as the Tribunal truly ſovereign and infallible of the Church, to which its viſible Head muſt ſubmit, as well as its other Members; and therein to further among other things a regulation that ſhall prevent the employing ſo holy an Authority in uſes ſo far from thoſe for which it was confided in the Church in the Perſon of St. *Peter*; this may make the Pope be mindful, that God having ſeparated the two Powers of the Prieſthood, and of Empire, his Holineſs cannot make uſe of the Authority of the firſt for the Rights that depend on the ſecond; that according to temporal Laws he ought to poſſeſs thoſe large Territories which his Predeceſſors have received from the liberality of temporal Princes, and particularly from that of our Kings, and that in ſhort, he would conſider upon a truth which a great Arch-biſhop in *France* wrote to one of his Predeceſſors; that a Prelate that excommunicates a Chriſtian contrary to the Rules, and for Rights of a Kingdom of the Earth, may, in ſuch an occaſion well loſe the Power of binding and unbinding which his character gives him; but that he cannot deprive of eternal life him to whom he does this injuſtice, if his ſins do not render him unworthy of the Mercy of God. Of which the ſaid Attorney General has required of us as an Act. Done in the Court, in the preſence of the King's Council, on the 22[d] day of *January*, in the year 1688.

Monſeignor Sin. Not.

Printed at Paris *by* Francis Muquets, *the King and his Parliament's chief Printer,* Street le Harp, 1688. *With his Majeſties Privilege.*

Numb. III.

Cleri Gallicani *de Eccleſiaſtica Poteſtate Declaratio.* A. D. 1682.

I. BEato *Petro*, ejuſque ſucceſſoribus *Chriſti* Vicariis, ipſique Eccleſiæ, rerum ſpiritualium & ad æternam Salutem pertinentium non autem civilium ac temporalium à Deo traditam Poteſtatem, dicente Domino, *Regnum meum non eſt de hoc Mundo.* Et Iterum, *Reddite quæ ſunt* Cæſaris Cæſari, & *quæ ſunt Dei Deo*, ac proinde ſtare Apoſtolicum illud: *Omnis Anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdita ſit. Non eſt enim poteſtas niſi à Deo. Quæ autem ſunt, à Deo ordinatæ ſunt. Itaque qui poteſtati reſiſtit, Dei ordinationi reſiſtit.* Reges ergo & Principes in Temporalibus nulli eccleſiaſticæ poteſtati Dei ordinatione ſubjici, neque autoritate clavium Eccleſiæ directè vel indirectè deponi, aut illorum ſubditos eximi à Fide, atque Obedientiâ, ac præſtito Fidelitatis Sacramento ſolvi poſſe: Eamque ſententiam publicæ Tranquillitati neceſſariam, nec minùs Eccleſiæ quàm Imperio utilem, ut Verbo Dei, Patrum Traditioni, & Sanctorum Exemplis conſonam omnino retinendam.

II. Sic autem ineſſe Apoſtolicæ Sedi, ac *Petri* ſucceſſoribus *Chriſti* Vicariis rerum ſpiritualium plenam poteſtatem, ut ſimul valeant atque immota conſiſtant ſanctæ œcumenicæ Synodi *Conſtantienſis* à Sede apoſtolicâ comprobata, ipſorumque *Roma-*

The Declaration of the *Gallican* Clergy, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Power in the Year 1682.

I. *THat God gave to St.* Peter *and his ſucceſſors Vicars of* Chriſt, *and to the Church her ſelf the power of ſpiritual things pertaining to eternal Life, but not of civil and temporal matters. For the Lord ſaid,* My Kingdom is not of this World. *And again,* Render unto *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſar's*, and unto God the things that are God's. *And therefore that of the Apoſtle muſt ſtand:* Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God; whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God. *Therefore Kings and Princes are not ſubject, in Temporals, to any eccleſiaſtical power, by the ordinance of God, neither can they, by authority of the keys of the Church, directly or indirectly, be depos'd, or their Subjects abſolv'd from their Faith and Obedience, and oath of allegiance which they have taken: And this is to be firmly retain'd, as neceſſary to the publick Peace, and not leſs uſeful to the Church than to the State, as being conſonant to the Word of God, the Tradition of the Fathers, and Practice of the Saints.*

II. *But that the full power of ſpiritual things is ſo in the apoſtolical See, and the ſucceſſors of* Peter, *the Vicars of* Chriſt, *that the Decrees of the holy and œcumenical Council of* Conſtance, *concerning the authority of general Councils, which*

norum Pontificum, ac totius Eccleſiæ uſu confirmata, atque ab Eccleſiâ *Gallicanâ* perpetuâ Religione cuſtodita decreta de autoritate Conciliorum generalium, quæ Seſſ. 4. & 5. continentur: Nec probari à *Gallicanâ* Eccleſiâ, qui eorum decretorum, quaſi dubiæ ſint autoritatis, ac minùs approbata, robur infringant; aut ad ſolum Schiſmatis tempus Concilii dicta detorqueant.

III. Hinc apoſtolicæ poteſtatis uſum moderandum per Canones, Spiritu Dei conditos & totius mundi reverentiâ conſecratos; valere etiam Regulas, Mores & Inſtituta à Regno & Eccleſiâ *Gallicanâ* recepta, Patrumque terminos manere inconcuſſos; atque id pertinere ad amplitudinem apoſtolicæ Sedis, ut ſtatuta & conſuetudines tantæ Sedis, & Eccleſiarum conſenſione firmatæ propriam ſtabilitatem obtineant.

IV. In Fidei quoque quæſtionibus præcipuas ſummi Pontificis eſſe partes, ejuſque Decreta ad omnes & ſingulas Eccleſias pertinere; nec tamen irreformabile eſſe judicium, niſi Eccleſiæ conſenſus acceſſerit.

are contain'd in the fourth and fifth Seſſions, approved by the apoſtolical See, and confirmed by the uſe of the Popes of Rome *themſelves, and the whole Church, and kept with perpetual veneration by the* Gallican *Church, ſhould likewiſe remain of force and unſhaken: Nor are they approved by the* Gallican *Church, who would infringe the ſtrength of theſe decrees, as if they were of doubtful authority or leſs authentick, or who would reſt the words of the Council only to the time of Schiſm.*

III. *Hence the uſe of apoſtolical power is to be moderated by the Canons, framed by the Spirit of God, and conſecrated by the veneration of the whole world: And likewiſe the Rules, Cuſtoms, and Inſtitutions which have been receiv'd by the Kingdom and* Gallican *Church are to be in force, and the bounds of our Fathers to remain unſhaken: And that this is for the eminence of the apoſtolical See, that the ſtatutes and uſage of ſo great a See, and eſtabliſh'd by the Conſent of the Churches, ſhould obtain their proper ſtability.*

IV. *The Pope likewiſe has the chief part in queſtions concerning the Faith, and his Decrees have reſpect to all and ſingular Churches: But nevertheleſs his judgment is not irreformable, except the conſent of the Church go along with it.*

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THE

THE TRUE NOTION OF THE Catholick Church,

In Answer to the Biſhop of *Meaux*'s Letter to Mr. *Nelſon*: To which is prefix'd the Letter itſelf.

THE LETTER.

A Monſieur *Nelſon* à *Blackheath*.

✝

A St. Germain en Laye, 24 Juil. 1700.

J'AY receu, *Monſieur, depuis quinze jours une Lettre, dont vous m'honorez de* Blackheath *aupres de* Londres, *le* 18 Juillet *de l'année paſſée en m'envoyant un Livre du Docteur* Bullus, *entitulé*, Judicium Eccleſiæ

To Mr. Nelſon *at* Blackheath.

✝

St. Germaine en Laye, 24 July, 1700.

I Received, Sir, about a fortnight ago the honour of your Letter from *Blackheath* near *London*, dated the 18th of *July* of the laſt Year, when at the ſame time you ſent me Dr. *Bull*'s Book, entituled, *Judicium Eccleſiæ*

Catholicæ, &c. *Je vous dirai d'abord, Monſieur, que je reſſentis beaucoup de joie à la veuë de voſtre écriture & de voſtre nom, & que je fus ravi de cette marque de voſtre ſouvenir. Quant à l'Ouvrage du Docteur* Bullus, *j'ay voulu le lire entier, avant que de vous en accuſer la reception; afin de vous en de dire mon ſentiment. Il eſt admirable, & la matiere qu'il traite ne pouvoit eſtre expliquée plus ſavamment & plus a fond. C'eſt ce que je vous ſupplie de vouloir bien luy faire ſavoir, & en meſme temps les ſinceres congratulations de tout le Clergé de* France, *aſſemblé en cette ville, pour le ſervice qu'il rend à l'Egliſe Catholique en defendant ſi bien le jugement qu'elle a porté ſur la neceſſité de croire la divinité du Fils de Dieu. Qu'il me ſoit permis de luy dire qu'il me reſte un ſeul ſujet d'etonnement: C'eſt qu'un ſi grand homme qui parle ſi bien de l'Egliſe, du ſalut que l'on ne trouve qu'en ſon unité, & de l'aſſiſtence infallible du St. Eſprit dans le Conceile de* Nicée, *ce qui induit la meſme grace pour tous les autres aſſemblez dans la meſme Egliſe, puiſſe demeurer un ſeul moment ſans la reconnoiſtre. Ou bien, Monſieur, qu'il daigne me dire comme a un zelé defenſeur de la Doctrine qu'il enſeigne, ce que c'eſt donc qu'il entend par ce mot* Egliſe Catholique? *Eſtce l'Egliſe* Romaine, & *celles qui luy adherent? Eſtce l'Egliſe* Anglicane? *Eſtce un amas confus de Societez ſeparées les unes des autres? Et comment peuvent elles eſtre ce Royaume, de J. C. non diviſé en luy meſme, & qui auſſi ne doit jamais perir? Que je ſerai conſolé d'avoir ſur ce ſujet un mot de reſponce, qui m'explique le ſentiment d'un ſi grave Auteur. Je ſuis tres aiſe, Monſieur, d'attendre dans voſtre Lettre l'heureuſes nouvelles de la ſanté de Madame voſtre Femme que je recommande de bon cœur à Dieu avec vous & voſtre Famille. Ceux qui vous ont racconté les rares talens de M. l'Archeveſque de* Paris *aujourd'hui le Cardinal de* Noailles, *vous ont dit la verité, il*

Catholicæ, &c. I muſt firſt, Sir, acquaint you, that the ſight of your Hand and Name gave me a great deal of Joy, and that I was extremely pleaſed with this teſtimony of your remembrance. As to Dr. *Bull*'s performance, I was willing to read it all over, before I acknowledged the receipt of it, that I might be able to give you my ſenſe of it. 'Tis admirable, and the matter he treats could not be explained with greater Learning and greater Judgment. This is what I deſire you would be pleaſed to acquaint him with, and at the ſame time with the unfeigned congratulations of all the Clergy of *France*, aſſembled in this place, for the Service he does the Catholick Church in ſo well defending her determination of the neceſſity of believing the Divinity of the Son of God. Give me leave to acquaint him, there is one thing I wonder at, which is, that ſo great a Man, who ſpeaks ſo advantagiouſly of the Church, of Salvation which is obtain'd only in Unity with her, and of the infallible aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt in the Council of *Nice*; which infers the ſame aſſiſtance for all others aſſembled in the ſame Church; can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Or either, Sir, let him vouchſafe to tell me who am a zealous defender of the Doctrine he teaches, what it is he means by the term *Catholick Church?* Is it the Church of *Rome*, and thoſe who adhere to her? Is it the Church of *England?* Is it a confus'd heap of Societies ſeparated the one from the other? And how can they be that Kingdom of *Chriſt* not divided againſt it ſelf, and which never ſhall periſh? It would be a great Satisfaction to me to receive ſome anſwer upon this Subject, that might explain the opinion of ſo weighty and ſolid an Author. I very much rejoice at the good News you ſend me of your Lady's welfare, whom I heartily pray for, with you and your Family. You have been rightly inform'd in the account you have receiv'd of the admirable qualifications of the Archbiſhop

y a long temps que la chaire de St. Denis *n'a eſté ſi dignement remplie. Si M.* Collier *dont vous me parlez a fait quelque écrit Latin ſur la nouvelle Spiritualité vous m'obligerez de me l'envoyer. Mais ſur tout n'oubliez jamais que je ſuis avec beaucoup de ſincerité,*

Monſieur,

Voſtre tres-humble, &

tres-obeiſſent Serviteur,

✠ J. Benigne, E. de Meaux.

of *Paris*, now *Cardinal de Noailles*; the See of St. *Denis* has not for a long time been ſo worthily filled. If Mr. *Collier* whom you mention has writ any thing in *Latin* concerning the *modern myſtical Divinity*, you will oblige me in conveying it to me. But above all remember, that I am with a great deal of ſincerity,

Sir,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt obedient Servant,

✠ J. Benigne, *Biſhop of* Meaux.

THE

ANSWER.

My LORD,

WE are ready with great chearfulneſs to let your Lordſhip know what we mean by the catholick Church.

We do eſteem every Biſhop, with his College of Presbyters and Deacons, and the Laity of his Diſtrict, to be a particular Church, wherein the Biſhop preſides, as repreſenting the Perſon of *Chriſt*, and to be the Principle of Unity in his Church, as St. *Ignatius* ſpeaks.

And we think with St. *Cyprian*, (in his 68 Epiſt. to Pope *Stephen*, *Edit. Oxon.) Iccirco enim, Frater chariſſime, copioſum eſt Corpus Sacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut ſi quis ex Collegio noſtro Hæreſin facere, & Gregem Chriſti lacerare & vaſtare tentaverit; ſubveniant cæteri, & quaſi Paſtores utiles & miſericordes, oves Dominicas in Gregem colligant. Therefore*, moſt dear Brother, *there is a very large Body of Biſhops joined together in the Cement of mutual Concord in the Bond of Unity, that if any of our College attempt to make a Schiſm, and rend, and deſtroy the Flock of* Chriſt, *the reſt ſhould aſſiſt, and like good and merciful Paſtors reduce the Lord's* (wandring) *Sheep unto the Flock.*

Hence all particular Churches, that is, every Biſhop with his proper Flock, make up the whole, which is the Catholick Church.

And all theſe are one Flock, one Church to *Chriſt*, as St. *Cyprian* ſpeaks, Ep. 55. *Cùm ſit à Chriſto una Eccleſia per totum Mundum in multa Membra diviſa; ita Epiſcopatus unus, Epiſcoporum multorum Concordi Numeroſitate diffuſus: As there is one Church of* Chriſt *diſtinguiſhed into many Members through the whole World; ſo there is one Epiſcopacy of a great united number of many Biſhops diffuſed* (through that one Church.) And again, *de Unit. Eccleſ. Epiſcopatus unus, cujus à ſingulis, in ſolidum,*

dum, pars tenetur. There is one Epiſcopacy, of which part is committed to every Biſhop in full. Your Lordſhip knows, *in Solidum*, is a Law-phraſe, and ſignifies, that part of this one Epiſcopacy is ſo committed to every ſingle Biſhop, that he is nevertheleſs charged with taking care of the whole Church.

To maintain and regulate this concord and correſpondence of the Biſhops among themſelves, they diſpos'd of themſelves into Provinces, and choſe one Biſhop of the Province to preſide in their Councils when they met, with ſome particular Juriſdictions in the intervals, ſuch as they thought fit, for the better regulation of the whole; but without the infringement of the Power of each Biſhop within his own Dioceſe.

And as every Province of Biſhops had ſuch a Metropolitan, ſo when the ſeveral Provinces of one Nation or Kingdom met, they had a Primate or Metropolitan of the whole Nation or Kingdom; ſtill ſaving the Rights of the particular Metropolitanes.

And when there ſhou'd be occaſion for the Biſhops of ſeveral Nations to meet, they had a Patriarch; ſtill ſaving the Rights of the particular Primates, Metropolitanes, and Biſhops, each in their own Diſtricts.

And if the Biſhops of ſeveral Patriarchates met, the Precedence of theſe Patriarchs was adjuſted, to avoid Conteſts.

But this diſpoſition was only among the Biſhops of the *Roman* Empire, who might the more conveniently do it, as being all under one Emperor; and therefore, with his allowance, might meet in any place of his Empire.

This Empire was call'd Οικυμένη whence a general Council of the Biſhops of the Empire took the Style of *Oecumenical.*

But there were many great and numerous Churches in *India*, and afterwards in the vaſt Empire of the *Abyſſins* in *Africa*, which not being under the *Roman* Empire, never came to theſe Councils, nor indeed cou'd come. Neither cou'd they all meet together, having little or no correſpondence together, becauſe of the vaſt diſtance, and their not being under one Emperor, who might give them ſafe conduct, and protect them when together.

The firſt place among the Patriarchs of the *Roman* Empire was given to the Biſhop of *Rome*, that being then the Seat of the Empire.

But ſometime after the Seat of the Empire had been tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*, the Biſhop of that See took the Primacy to himſelf, pretending to be the univerſal Biſhop over the whole Catholick Church. This was the firſt time that the Pretence was ever ſet up. And your Lordſhip knows very well the oppoſition which was given to him in this by *Gregory the Great*, then Biſhop of *Rome*; who told him, That the See of *Rome* had the Preference to his in former Councils, and yet that none of his Predeceſſors, Biſhops of *Rome*, did ever aſſume to themſelves ſuch an arrogant Title. He compares the Biſhops to the Stars of God, and ſays, That whoſoever ſought to advance his Throne above theſe, did in that imitate the Pride of *Lucifer*, and was the fore-runner of *Anti-Chriſt:* And applies this to *John*, then Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, *Cùm ſe penè per Orbem univerſum* οἰκουμενικὸν *Patriarcham nominaret.* Here was a *penè*, ſo that it ſhou'd ſeem as if he ſet himſelf up only as head over all the Biſhops in the *Roman* Empire. We do believe that your Lordſhip, and the whole *Gallican* Church, will readily agree with this reaſoning of the ſame *Gregory*, that *Si unus Epiſcopus vocatur Univerſalis, Univerſa Eccleſia corruit, ſi unus univerſus cadet:* And he ſays, *Abſit à cordibus Chriſtianorum Nomen iſtud Blaſphemiæ, in quo omnium Sacerdotum Honor adimitur, dum ab uno ſibi dementer arrogatur.* I refer your Lordſhip for this, and much more

more to the ſame purpoſe, to his Books of Epiſtles, *Lib.* IV. *Ep.* 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, *Lib.* VI. *Ep.* 24, 28, 30, 39. *Lib.* VIII. *Ep.* 30. *Lib.* XI. *Ep.* 45.

And now, my Lord, when we ſaw ſuch an univerſal Supremacy ſet up at *Rome*, which *Gregory the Great* call'd Blaſphemy and Madneſs; and that enforc'd upon us, as of Faith, the *Summa Rei Chriſtianæ*, as Cardinal *Bellarmin* calls it, *Præf. ad Lib. de Rom. Pont.* and ſays, L. 1. 10. *Eſt enim revera non ſimplex Error, ſed pernicioſa Hæreſis negare* B. Petri *Primatum à Chriſto inſtitutum*; and from thence this univerſal Primacy of the Pope, as Succeſſor to St. *Peter*; was it not time then, my Lord, to ſtand up againſt it?

Your illuſtrious Church has done it as well as we, in your memorable Decrees made in your general aſſembly, *An.* 1682. with this difference, That you only limit his Supremacy, whereas we have withdrawn our ſelves from under it. You ſay there, *Hinc Apoſtolicæ poteſtatatis uſum moderandum per Canones——valere etiam Regulas, Mores, & Inſtituta à Regno & Eccleſiâ Gallicanâ recepta, Patrumque terminos manere inconcuſſos.*

Now we beſeech your Lordſhip to help us to underſtand, who has power to limit a Supremacy founded by *Chriſt?* Do you aſſert the liberties of the *Gallican* Church only as Conceſſions granted you by the Pope? Or, as your original Rights, and never juſtly under his power? The latter, I ſuppoſe, you ſtand upon. Then his Supremacy is not abſolute. And where ſhall we find the limitations? And who is judge of theſe limitations? If any other than the Pope, they are ſuperior to him, who is the ſupreme.

But then it may be ſaid to us, Why do we not allow to the Patriarch of *Rome* the dignity of that Primacy, which we own to have been affix'd to his See by the Canons, and conſent of ſo many Biſhops.

1. Becauſe he will not be content with it: But claims more, even an univerſal Supremacy over the whole Catholick Church. And that not *Jure Eccleſiaſtico* only, from the agreement and conſent of his fellow Biſhops, but *Jure Divino*, from the immediate diſpoſition of our Lord *Chriſt*; and to that end, quotes ſeveral texts of Scripture, which we think, with the ancient Fathers, infers no ſuch thing.

2. Becauſe he pretends not only to a Primacy of Order, but to an abſolute and unlimited ſovereignty over all the Biſhops in the World, whom he would have to be his Subjects, inſtead of his Collegues: And this we think does totally ſubvert that Diſpoſition and Government of the Church, in which our Lord and his Apoſtles left it, and as it was underſtood and practiſed in the firſt and pureſt ages. Therefore we think we ſhould be Traditors of the ſacred *Depoſitum*, if we ſhould give way to it, eſpecially conſidering, That

3. From this Sovereignty and Supremacy, an infallibility in his Perſon has been infer'd, as the only Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, and Heir of all the Promiſes and Privileges given unto him, ſuperior to the Authority of all Councils, which derive their Power from him; and to determine of Faith as well as of Manners, as being the only living judge of Controverſy, always in being; inſomuch that Cardinal *Bellarmine* is forc'd to affirm that it is impoſſible the Pope ſhould err, for this abſurdity he ſays would follow, *Si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Eccleſia credere vitia eſſe bona, & virtutes malas, niſi vellet contra Conſcientiam peccare*, de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 5. And more could not be ſaid of *Chriſt*.

4. From all this has been inferr'd an abſolute and ſupreme temporal Power in him, even to depoſe Princes, and abſolve their Subjects from their Allegiance, which is expreſſly vindicated to him in the 4th Council of *Lateran*, *c.* 3.

We know, my Lord, that in the *Gallican* Decrees of 1682, this Power of his to exauctorate Kings, is abſolutely deny'd; as likewiſe, his infallibility: And he is there ſubjected to Councils, even to be depoſed and excommunicated by them. And his Supremacy is limited, not only by the Canons of Councils, but by the Rules and Orders of every national Church.

But, my Lord, how can this bring us to own his Supremacy, even in the limited ſenſe of the *Gallican* Church, when we know at the ſame time that he will not ſubmit to it, nay that he ſtood out againſt it, till the neceſſity of Affairs preſſing your King, in the laſt confederacy againſt him, the Biſhops of *France* were forc'd to ſign a retractation of theſe Decrees; till which time the Pope refuſed to preconize any of their Biſhops. And your Lordſhip muſt know better than we do, that it was the Pope who ſet up the confederacy againſt *France*, chiefly upon the point of theſe Decrees. And the firſt Article of what was called, *The Reſolution of the Princes, Allies, and Confederates, which was taken in the Aſſembly at the* Hague, February 4. 1691. was in theſe words, *That no Peace be made with* Lewis XIV. *till he has made Reparation to the holy See, for whatſoever he has acted againſt it; and till he annul and make void all thoſe infamous Proceedings againſt the holy Father* Innocent XI.

And this was agreeable to the actings of his Predeceſſors. Particularly in *France*, whoſe learned Church always conteſted their Liberties, againſt the Plenitude of the papal Supremacy, which ſought to ſwallow them up. And it is very obſervable, That tho' the Rebellion of the holy League in *France* laſted, during the Reigns of ſix Popes, every one of theſe Popes was for the League againſt the King. And Cardinal *Cajetan* Legate there for the Pope, in the year 1593, made this his main argument to juſtify that Rebellion, that ſo many Popes had concurr'd in it. This we are told by *D'Avila* in his Hiſtory of the civil Wars of *France*, Lib. XIII. But I will trouble your Lordſhip no farther with inſtances of Popes fomenting Rebellions of Subjects againſt their natural Princes, and their depoſing of Kings, on pretence of this their univerſal Supremacy. Theſe things are well known to your Lordſhip. And we do believe, That the whole *Gallican* Church does abhor and deteſt ſuch Doctrines.

But, my Lord, we do thus judge, That if the Pope will not be content with that Supremacy of Order, which was given to him, *jure* only *Eccleſiaſtico*, and as the firſt of the Patriarchs within the *Roman* Empire; but will aſſume a Supremacy over the whole Catholick Church, even of all Churches which never yet did own his Supremacy over them.

And withal will turn this Supremacy of Order, into an abſolute and deſpotick Sovereignty, temporal as well as ſpiritual; with an infallibility of deciſion in himſelf, in all matters of Faith as well as Morals: And having practiſed all this for many ages, and been ſupported in it by the learned Writers of his ſide, as well as countenanc'd in it, at leaſt, by ſeveral Councils of his calling; and will not to this day be brought to diſown any of theſe pretences, nor to acknowledge that he has received this his Supremacy from any eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment of his Fellow-Biſhops; but aſſerts it as of divine Right, and therefore unlimitable, and indefeaſible: My Lord, we then judge, That he has truly forfeited that eccleſiaſtical Primacy given to him by the Canons. As if a Judge, the General of an Army,

Army, or Preſident of the King's Council, ſhould diſown the King, or any Authority from him, and ſet himſelf up as King, and aſſume the regal ſtyle, it would be Treaſon in any to adhere longer to him, or to obey him on pretence of the Commiſſion he formerly had from the King.

My Lord, we think it incumbent upon every Biſhop of the Church to aſſert his own inherent Power, given to him by our Lord, and to reſtore the Diſcipline of the primitive Church, which leaves him ſupreme in his own Dioceſs, not hurt or infring'd in the leaſt by the Regulations made among the Biſhops themſelves, for their mutual correſpondence and management of the Affairs of the Epiſcopal College. We conſider with St. *Cyprian*, Ep. 73. *Quàm periculoſum ſit in Divinis rebus, ut quis cedat Jure ſuo & Poteſtate.*

I am inclinable to believe, That if your Lordſhip in particular, and other Biſhops in the *Gallican* Church were at liberty, each in his own diſtrict, to regulate ſuch matters as you might do with a good conſcience, things might be brought to bear ſo, from ſuch a happy beginning of Reformation, as that tho' Men might differ in ſome particular opinions, as they always will, yet that terms of Communion might be adjuſted between us, upon Catholick Principles, to the honour of God, and peace of his Church. And if ſuch a Communion were begun, tho' but with a few Biſhops, who would exert their juſt Power, it might bring the Church to that ſtate in time, in which all good Men wiſh to ſee her. And if a Catholick Communion were reſtor'd, we ſhould ſee again the primitive face of the Church. But no ſtep can be made towards this, while the Pope's Supremacy ties up the Power of all other Biſhops, in their own reſpective Churches. And we hardly expect that he will give way to any thing that will in the leaſt infringe the Plenitude of his Supremacy. You have made an experiment of it, in your general Aſſembly of 1682. And if he will not ſuffer his Supremacy to be limited, and reduc'd to the ſtandard of the ancient Canons, we can ſee no remedy, my Lord, but that it muſt be taken away. Why ſhou'd we have any heſitation to take that out of the way, which is the viſible *Remora* to the uniting of all Chriſtian Churches, and the reſtoring of Catholick Communion all the World over? To take that out of the way, which your Biſhops of *France*, as well as thoſe of the *Greek* Church, and ours in *England*, are fully convinc'd is an Uſurpation? Againſt which, you have often ſtruggled, and ſtill do complain. But we have thrown it off, ſeeing no other way poſſible to get from under its Uſurpation.

My Lord, I am ſatisfy'd that your Church and ours are nearer to one another, as to this point of the Supremacy, than you are with the Church, at leaſt with the Court, of *Rome*.

We ſee, my Lord, the peace of the World better conſulted by the divine Providence, in many independent Kings, than in one univerſal Monarch; whoſe Deputies, in far diſtant Regions, could never be kept from Revolts, as we have ſeen in great Monarchies, tho' none was ever yet univerſal. And betwixt a King and his Rebels, there is no interpoſing by his Subjects; it would juſtly render ſuch ſuſpected who ſhould argue on the Rebels ſide. Therefore the end muſt be extermination of the one, or the other. Whereas in diſputes betwixt Kings, other Kings may interpoſe their mediation, and become Guarantees of Peace.

And yet the whole World is one Kingdom to God, as it is written, *Pſal.* XXI. 29. *Domini eſt Regnum, & ipſe dominabitur Gentium.* How vain then wou'd the diſpute be betwixt any of theſe Nations, ſuppoſe *France Spain*, or *England*, which of them were this one Kingdom, when each of them, tho' greater than any other Kingdom of the Earth, would ſtill be but a part of this one Kingdom?

Such,

Such, my Lord, we eſteem the diſpute to be betwixt particular Churches; which of them is the Catholick Church? We muſt ſay, none of them; tho' one be much greater and more potent than another, yet it is ſtill but a part of the whole.

And as God has appointed no univerſal Monarch, neither has he an univerſal Biſhop. And all the Arguments which an univerſal Biſhop cou'd uſe for Unity and Peace, and to end Controverſies, might be us'd by an univerſal Monarch; and both prove equally fallacious, to the greater diſturbance rather than ſettlement of that Peace.

But as our Faith is dearer to us than our Lives, ſo the miſchief wou'd be greater, if the whole Church ſhou'd be made to depend upon one; for then, *Univerſa Eccleſia corruit, ſi unus Univerſus cadit.* And if the Church falls, the Faith which is built upon it muſt fall with it. This oblig'd the Popes when they ſet up for univerſality, to aſſert infallibility to themſelves likewiſe; becauſe indeed, leſs than that cou'd not ſupport ſo vaſt a charge, as that of the whole Catholick Church. But ſince their infallibility is fallen at leaſt in *France*, we think it ſtrange that their univerſality ſhou'd ſurvive it. An univerſality which never yet was in fact! Never own'd by the Catholick Church, or any Churches out of the bounds of the Weſtern Empire; nor intended, when firſt us'd in the Weſtern Councils, to extend any farther.

How much ſafer has *Chriſt* conſulted for his Church, than to put it all into the hands of one fallible Man? *Iccirco copioſum fecit Corpus Sacerdotum, ut ſi unus lacerare & vaſtare tentaverit, cæteri ſubveniant*; as in the caſe of *Paulus Samoſatenus*. Thus the Peace of the World is preſerv'd, and thus the Peace of the Church. And thus it is that God has diſpos'd of both; whoſe fooliſhneſs is wiſer than Men.

But your Lordſhip asks, how theſe ſeveral Churches *can be that Kingdom of* Jeſus Chriſt, *not divided in it ſelf, and which can never fail?* My Lord, our bleſſed Saviour has told us, That there will be diviſions in his Church: And the experience of all ages has made it good. But if the meaning be, That Schiſmaticks and Hereticks, who go out of the Church, are no longer of it; and ſo the Church, that is, thoſe who remain, are not divided; in this ſenſe no Church can be divided, if but three or four were left. But, is a Church divided, when there is a Schiſm within her own Bowels; and Biſhops and Anti-Biſhops ſet up among thoſe who are otherwiſe of the ſame Communion, Doctrine, and Worſhip? Your Lordſhip knows very well (without referring you to *Platina,*) how many Schiſms of this ſort have been in the Church of *Rome* from the time of *Cornelius* and *Novatian*, Popes and Anti-Popes ſet up againſt one another, and ſome of them laſting for many years together.

But if Schiſm does not divide a Church, then, my Lord, you have clear'd us, as to any Schiſms among us, at the ſame time that you vindicate the Church of *Rome:* But with this difference, That where the whole Authority of a Church is center'd in one, as the ſupreme Head and Principle of Unity to all the Biſhops and Churches which compoſe that one Church, there is a Schiſm concerning ſuch an univerſal Head; and when ſeveral ſuch Heads are ſet up together, in oppoſition to one another, the Schiſm muſt be much more fatal to the Unity of that Church, than where ſuch a diſpute falls our amongſt co-ordinate and independent Biſhops, united only in a Metropolitan or Primate of their own Option, and ſubjected to ſuch Rules as are concerted among them, for the better regulation of their common Body. Theſe two caſes are as different as a diviſion in our Houſe of Lords, or Commons, who ſhou'd be their Preſident or Speaker; wou'd differ from a diviſion of the Nation, who ſhou'd be their King: To ſet up another King

is Treaſon; not ſo of a Speaker, or the Preſident of any Court. A Metropolitan is but Preſident of the Court of Biſhops, choſen by themſelves. But the Pope pretends to be King and Supreme: And two Popes are two Kings of the Church.

But now, my Lord, if all the Kingdoms in the World make one Kingdom to God, without any univerſal Vicar or Monarch under him, why ſhould it be difficult to apprehend how all the Chriſtian Churches make one Church to *Chriſt*, without any univerſal Biſhop?

The Biſhops, who are the Stars of God, (*Apoc.* 1. 20.) and Princes of his Church, are, by the Rules of Catholick Communion (obſerv'd in the primitive Church, and which it is wiſh'd by all good Chriſtians were reſtor'd) *Concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulati*, more than the temporal Princes of the World are: Each of whoſe Power and Authority reaches no farther than the extent of his own Dominions; his Sentence, whether of death, confiſcation, &c. has no effect elſewhere. But by the Rules of Catholick Diſcipline, the Sentence of every Biſhop in his own Church has its effect all the Chriſtian World over; and every Biſhop is oblig'd to maintain the Rights and Juriſdiction of every other Biſhop: So that any Perſon juſtly excommunicated by his proper Biſhops, ſtands excommunicated from all other Biſhops and Churches, and conſequently from the Catholick Church; and when abſolv'd by his own Biſhop, is thereby reſtor'd to the Peace and Communion of the Catholick Church. Becauſe the whole Catholick Church is one Flock, in the Language of St. *Cyprian*, who ſays, *Ep.* 67. *Nam etſi Paſtores multi ſumus, unum tamen Gregem paſcimus, & oves univerſas. For though we be many Paſtors, yet we feed one and the ſame Flock, in general all the Sheep* (of *Chriſt.*) And, *Ep.* 55. *Singulis Paſtoribus portio Gregis adſcripta eſt, quam regat unuſquiſque & gubernet. A ſhare of the Flock, which every one is to rule and govern, is committed ſeverally to ſingle Paſtors.* And the difference of Diſcipline among Biſhops, each in his own Dioceſe, does not at all break this Unity; concerning which he ſays, *Ep.* 72. *Cæterum ſcimus quoſdam quod ſemel imbiberint, nolle deponere, nec Propoſitum ſuum facilè mutare ſed ſalvo inter Collegas, pacis ac Concordiæ vinculo, quædam propria, quæ apud ſe ſemel ſint uſurpata retinere. Quâ in re, nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus; cùm habeat in Eccleſiæ adminiſtratione, voluntatis ſuæ Liberum Arbitrium unuſquiſque Præpoſitus, rationem ſui Actûs Domino redditurus. But we know, that ſome will never part with what they have once imbibed, nor change their opinion, but keeping the Bond of Peace and Concord among their Colleagues, will retain ſome of their own practices, which they have once uſed. In which caſe, neither do we uſe unreaſonable violence towards any, or give Laws to others, becauſe every Biſhop hath free liberty of acting according to his own Will in the Adminiſtration of the Church, as one who is to give an account of his own acting to the Lord.* And therefore leaving every Biſhop to the full Government of his own Dioceſe, according to his own will, only, *Salvo inter Collegas Pacis ac Concordiæ vinculo*, he impos'd not any thing by way of any Authority he had, upon any of the Biſhops whom he call'd to Council at *Carthage*, but ſaid, *Neque enim quiſquam noſtrum Epiſcopum ſe Epiſcoporum conſtituit: Neither doth any of us make himſelf a Biſhop of Biſhops.* He aſſum'd no more than as Preſident of that College of Biſhops, without thinking he had Power to interpoſe in the Government of any Biſhop within his own Dioceſe.

It is ſaid in the Hiſtory of your *Henry the Great*, of *France*, That he had it in his thoughts to have erected a regal College of all the Chriſtian Kings in *Europe*, by the conſent of all the Kings, wherein all differences

among them ſhou'd be adjuſted by common conſent, and whoſo refus'd to ſtand to the deciſion of that College, ſhou'd be compell'd by the reſt. But this was only to determine of differences among the ſeveral Kings, not to preſcribe Laws for any King in his own Dominions: Nor did it give the Preſident (whatever King ſhou'd be choſen Preſident of that College,) any Power whatever in any of the other Kings Dominions. And if he ſhou'd aſſert it, and claim to be univerſal Monarch over all theſe Kingdoms, upon the account of his being Preſident of the regal College, it wou'd be a manifeſt Uſurpation, and ought to be oppos'd by all of theſe Kings, who ſhou'd no longer own him even as Preſident: And his Arguments for Unity, and that all ſhou'd ſubmit to him for Peace-ſake, wou'd be very ridiculous.

That which your *Henry the Great* wiſh'd and endeavour'd to bring to paſs, as to the greater Unity of Kings, was in great meaſure effected in the general Councils of the Biſhops, within the compaſs of the *Roman* Empire in purer times; and might ſtill be farther, in Councils more general, as the commerce of the World encreaſes, if the Supremacy of one did not hinder all others to attempt it.

Upon the whole, we think, That as all the Kingdoms of the World are one Kingdom to God; ſo, that the ſeveral Churches, which, according to the primitive conſtitution, are much more united than the principalities of the Earth, may be juſtly term'd one Catholick Church; and that without one univerſal Head or Sovereign upon Earth, which, as I have ſaid, was never yet in fact; and if it were, wou'd be of fatal conſequence to the Faith, and Unity of the Church, and that frame in which our bleſſed Lord and his Apoſtles left it.

And upon this pretended ſovereignty of the Pope, we charge the Schiſm of thoſe who have broke off from the ſubjection to their proper Biſhops: For *Calvin* himſelf ſays, *Talem ſi nobis Hierarchiam exhibeant, in quâ ſic emineant Epiſcopi, ut Chriſto ſubeſſe non recuſent, & ab illo tanquam Unico capite pendeant——Tum verò nullo non Anathemate dignos fatear ſi qui erunt qui non eam revereantur, ſummâque obedientiâ obſervent. (De Neceſſit. Eccleſ. Reformand.)* And *Beza* ſays, *Si qui ſunt (quòd ſanæ mihi non facilè perſuaſeris) qui omnem Epiſcoporum Ordinem rejiciant, abſit ut quiſquam ſatìs ſanæ mentis furoribus illorum aſſentiatur. (Bez. ad Tract. de Miniſter. Evang. ab Hadrian. Sarav. Belg. Edit. c.* 1.) And ſays as to the Epiſcopacy of the Church of *England*, *(ibid. c.* 18.) *Fruatur ſanè iſtâ ſingulari Dei providentiâ; & utinam ſit illi perpetua.*

From hence, others have proceeded to throw off Epiſcopacy it ſelf. But we ſee from what ſpring all theſe have flow'd. And from the Diſeaſe we diſcover the Remedy, which is, to reſtore the *Epiſcopatûs vigorem*, the *Sacerdotii ſublime faſtigium*, as St. *Cyprian* calls the Power of every Biſhop in his own diſtrict: Of which, St. *Ignatius* and the firſt Fathers ſpoke ſuch great things, without ſo much as a hint of the ſovereignty of one Biſhop over the reſt; which was a notion not known in thoſe Ages.

We think the divine and apoſtolick Authority of the Epiſcopate, ſwallow'd up at *Rome*, in the ſovereignty of the Pontificate: As the learned Arch-biſhop of *Spalato*, *Marc. Anton. de Dom.* did obſerve, and in his *Concilium Profectionis*, gave it as the reaſon of his leaving that Communion, and joining himſelf to a Church where Epiſcopacy was free and primitive.

My Lord, what we plead for is the Reſtoration of the original Rights of Epiſcopacy in the Roman Communion: Where, tho' the name is retain'd, yet the Power is ſwallow'd up in one; without whom, none of the

the other Biſhops have the freedom of their own Judgments left to them, or dare not exert it.

We ſhou'd then think the time for healing of Schiſm and Unity of the Church approaching, if the Biſhops in her Communion wou'd think themſelves at liberty, wou'd be perſuaded that it was their duty, as anſwerable to God, to exert the full of their apoſtolical Authority, each in his own Dioceſe; where, as St. *Cyprian* ſays, *Ep.* 59. *Judex vice Chriſti cogitatur: He is to be eſteem'd as Judge in the place of* Chriſt. And, *Ep.* 68. ſpeaks of the Biſhops in general, as *Gubernandæ Eccleſiæ Libram tenentes: Holding the balance of Church-Government.* If we cou'd treat with your Lordſhip in this ſtyle, and ſay with him, *Ep.* 3. *Cùm pro Epiſcopatûs vigore, & Cathedræ Authoritate, haberes Poteſtatem*; if you wou'd bear ſuch Language from us, we ſhou'd hope a good effect: We might then come to underſtand one another better than we have done. But if your Lordſhip think not your ſelf at liberty to make any Reformation in your own Dioceſe, even in things which you cou'd not only allow, but might deſire were done; and which might have ſo bleſſed an effect, as the beginning of a Catholick Communion; we muſt then ſay with the great Father before named, *Ep.* 59. *Si ita res eſt— ſtum eſt de Epiſcopatûs vigore.*

But leaving all this to the good time and diſpoſition of Providence, I ſhall think my ſelf happy, and my pains abundantly recompens'd, if I may have afforded to a Man of your Lordſhip's character, learning, and ſagacity, any clearer view of our Notions of the Catholick Church, than from your unacquaintedneſs with our Writings, have come to your Lordſhip's knowledge before.

I beg your Lordſhip's patience for one word more, as to what your Lordſhip ſays concerning *the infallible aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt in the Council of* Nice, *and conſequently in all ſuch Aſſemblies of the ſame Church.* My Lord, we know of no ſuch promiſe apply'd to Councils; nor to any particular Church: Several of whoſe Candleſticks have been remov'd, and others may. We doubt not the aſſiſtance of God's holy Spirit to every Man, and Aſſemblies of Men who ſeek his Glory, with an unfeigned Heart. But this grace may be reſiſted by Aſſemblies, as well as by private Men: Witneſs the ſecond Council of *Epheſus*, and, as we maintain, the ſecond Council of *Nice.*

My Lord, neither you nor we think, that Councils can add any one Article to the Creed, or take any away. But upon the ariſing of any new Hereſy, a Council is the beſt Evidence of the Faith receiv'd in thoſe Churches of which it is compos'd. Thus they are Witneſſes and Guards of the Faith but neither the Authors nor Maſters of it.

There never yet was, nor we believe ever will be, (and we think it not neceſſary that there ſhou'd be) a Council compos'd of Biſhops deputed from all the Chriſtian Churches in the World. And none other can be call'd truly univerſal.

But, bleſſed be God, all retain the foundation and ſummary of our Faith, that is, the Apoſtles Creed, as explain'd by the Council of *Nice.* And tho' ſome differ in the ſenſe of ſome parts of it, yet they are not to be convinc'd by majority of Votes in a Council; but by laying before them the primitive Doctrine, built upon the holy Scriptures, and ſufficiently atteſted and witneſſed in the firſt and after-ages of the Church; and to ſhew the beginning and riſe of Hereſies, and that they were not from the beginning. So *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, proceeded againſt *Arius*, by asking the Biſhops aſſembled in Council, *Quis unquam talia audivit?* And all declaring that they had never heard of ſuch a Doctrine before; it was therefore novel, and ſo to be rejected: Not from the Authority of the Council,

but

but their undeniable Teſtimony, witneſſed by all their Flocks, who conſtantly hear their Doctrine.

Every Biſhop, as ſupreme in his own Church, and a Council of Biſhops, aſſembled, may condemn ſuch an Hereſy, and forbid Communion with ſuch and ſuch, or not, as they ſhall find it moſt expedient for the ſaving of their own Flocks, and the general good of the Catholick Church. For this is matter of Diſcipline. And in this they have Authority, to which their Flocks ought to ſubmit: And this they may alter, retain, or relax, according to the variation of times and circumſtances. But the Faith they cannot alter, only bear witneſs to it; therefore in matters of Faith they have no Authority, properly ſpeaking: For example, they have no Authority to determine, whether there be a God or not: Whether *Chriſt* is come in the Fleſh: Whether he dy'd for the ſins of Men: Whether the holy Scriptures are true: Whether we ought to receive the Creed. Their Negative in any of theſe points muſt be deteſted by all Chriſtians. And theſe are the higheſt points of Faith, wherein they have no Authority, can determine nothing by their Authority, cannot make uſe of that topick to convince any Gain-ſayer. For no Biſhop, or Council of Biſhops, can have any Authority but upon the ſuppoſition of a God, a *Chriſt*, of the truth of the holy Scriptures, whence they prove their Authority: And therefore none of theſe can ſtand upon their Authority. But the Church doth bear witneſs to the truth, and preaches, and preſerves that Faith which was once deliver'd to the Saints; and in this ſenſe is the pillar and ground of the truth, as the ſupporters and propagators of it, not the Authors of it, or having dominion over it. To convince us in which, it has pleas'd God to permit Councils, even thoſe who have call'd themſelves œcumenical, to fall into groſs errors, as the fourth of *Lateran*, that enacted the depoſing Doctrine, which both the *Gallican* and *Engliſh* Church think to be damnable, according to *Rom.* XIII. 2. And not only ſo, but œcumenical Councils have oppos'd and contradicted one another, have cenſur'd and condemn'd each other, as the ſecond Council of *Epheſus* was condemn'd by the fourth general Council at *Chalcedon*.

Beſides the diſpute yet not determined, in the Church of *Rome*, where that infallibility of which your Lordſhip ſpeaks, is plac'd: Whether in the Pope alone, as the only Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, and Heir of the Promiſes made to him, of *Super hanc Petram—Tibi dabo Claves*, &c. as *Bellarmin*, and the Canoniſts and School-Men have contended: Or, whether in a Council, as ſuperior to the Pope, according to the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil:* Or, whether in neither of them ſeparate, but only in both together: Or, laſtly, (becauſe of many objections even in that Scheme, ſome Popes and Councils having been againſt others,) whether this infallibility is to be look'd for only in the Church diffuſive, as ſome of their Writers do aſſert. This uncertainty muſt render this infallibility utterly uncertain: Seeing it is the ſame, not to have a thing, as not to know where to find it. And none can embrace any one of theſe Schemes of infallibility, but he muſt oppoſe all the others, and conſequently the greateſt part (it may happen) of the Church of *Rome*, becauſe there are ſo many odds againſt him. For none can hold to more than one of theſe Schemes, they being all ſo oppoſite to one another, that if any one of them be true, all the reſt muſt be falſe; and, according to *Bellarmin* (as before quoted) heretical, as overthrowing the very *Summa rei Chriſtianæ*.

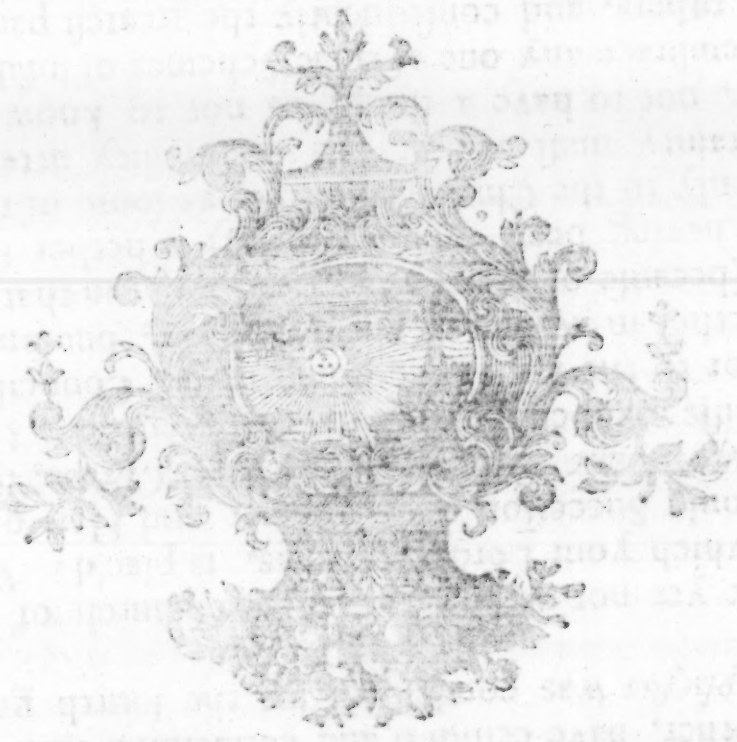
And now, my Lord, you cannot think it ſtrange, That we ſhould be at a loſs about this infallibility, when there is ſo great variety, and even contradiction among thoſe who do aſſert it.

But tho' we think no Church to be infallible, yet we have an infallible aſſurance of the Faith, in it's being deliver'd down to us, by ſuch an univerſal conſent of all Ages and Churches, as that it was not in their Power, tho' they ſhou'd be ſuppos'd ſo wicked as to deſign it, at ſuch vaſt diſtance, even where all correſpondence was ſtopp'd, to have combin'd together and all agree in the ſelf-ſame Doctrine, if it had not been the ſame which had been taught them from the beginning. And the riſe of Hereſies does rather confirm the truth of this; becauſe ſuch were found to be Novelties, and to go againſt this univerſal Tradition: Which whatever has, (according to the rule of *Vincenſius Lirinenſis*, *Quod ſemper, ubique, & ab omnibus)* we willingly receive; and what has not this evidence, we cannot admit as of Faith.

We reſt fully ſatisfy'd and aſſur'd of *Chriſt*'s Promiſe, that he will always preſerve a Church to himſelf upon Earth, (tho' there is no Promiſe to *Rome*, *England*, or any particular Church,) againſt which the Gates of Hell ſhall not finally prevail. But we are told, that they will be permitted to make great inroads upon her, and ſhe is repreſented to us, as perſecuted in the Wilderneſs at ſome times.

God grant we may ſee her Reſtauration. And I am confident your Lordſhip will join with us in this Prayer, That the ὁ καθέχων, (whoever, or whatever it is,) ἐν ἐκ μέσῳ γένηται. *Amen.*

Sept. 26. 1703.



THE CASE OF THE REGALE AND OF THE PONTIFICATE STATED.

IN A

CONFERENCE

CONCERNING THE

Independency of the Church

Upon any POWER on Earth, in the Exerciſe of her purely SPIRITUAL POWER and AUTHORITY.

As likewiſe a DEFENCE of it, (in a SUPPLEMENT) being a REPLY to an ANSWER lately Publiſh'd againſt it.

Alſo a PREFACE, wherein is ſhewed, that there is no Danger in aſſerting the divine and inherent Rights of the Church: But, on the other hand, that there is greater Security, and an indiſpenſable Obligation to inſiſt upon them.

If the Foundation be deſtroyed,
What can the Righteous do? Pſal. IX. 3.

CONFERENCE

CONCERNING THE

INDEPENDENCY of the CHURCH

POWER and AUTHORITY

OF

PRIESTS

AND OF THE

PEACE

OF THE

CHURCH

THE PREFACE.

I. *SINCE the first Edition of this* Conference, *the* Present State of the Controversy, *(which is the subject of* Sect. X.*) has receiv'd some Variation. There were then two Hypotheses, one of Dr.* Hody, *and some who follow'd him, not to justify the* Regale *in Lay-Deprivations; but containing Precedents of submitting to it, when we cou'd not help it, that is, when it was too strong for us, and so irresistible: Provided only, that the second Bishops put into the room of the depriv'd were Orthodox in the Faith. The other way taken by Dr.* Wake, *and which, I think, more generally obtain'd, was to keep more aloof from the cause, and go in the historical way of giving account of the Progress and Proceedure of the* Regale *in several Countries, more especially here in* England; *still happening to keep the byas on the side of the* Regale, *whereby one's own opinion is laid less open to objections, because it is not so expressly declar'd, and there is more room for defence; especially where some strictures are scatter'd up and down, looking towards the original and inherent Rights of the Church; which may serve, upon occasion, to explain other Passages, when taken in the opposite sense.*

II. *Since that time Dr.* Atterbury *has appear'd in opposition to Dr.* Wake; *and Dr.* Kennet *has reply'd in his defence. But this dispute is limited to the Laws of the Land, particularly as to Convocations, their right to meet, sit, act,* &c. *which depends*

upon Records, Conſtitutions of Acts of Parliaments, and other Law-points.

I intend not to interpoſe in this diſpute; only this uſe I have to make of it, that both Parties do now happily agree in the original and inherent Rights of the Church, deriv'd from Chriſt, *as a Society diſtinct from, and independent upon the State, even when the State is Chriſtian. This Dr.* Kennet *does frankly declare to be the chief end that mov'd him to write his Book,* viz. To aſſert the nature of the chriſtian Church, as a Society endowed with fundamental Rights, to preſerve its own Being: And among theſe, a Right for the Governours to aſſemble, and agree upon the common meaſures of Faith and Unity, as at firſt independent on the Heathen, ſo even now on the Chriſtian Magiſtrate; when the neceſſities of deſertion, or perſecution ſo require, *Pref.* p. 9. In ſuch a caſe, *(ſays he, in his Book,* p. 98.) let the Church be true to *Chriſt*, and to the Powers ſhe receiv'd from him. This is the original Right which we aſſert. *And* p. 109. The Biſhop of each Dioceſs had an original right to convene his own Clergy, and with their advice and conſent to ordain ſuch rules and orders as were proper to declare the doctrine, and regulate the diſcipline of their own Body. *And* p. 197. *That* the chriſtian Church was endowed, as a Society, with a divine right of preſerving the Faith, and ſecuring the diſcipline that ſhould be neceſſary to hinder the gates of Hell from prevailing againſt her. In order to this end the Church Governors had authority to meet and conſult of all urgent affairs; and when ſo aſſembled, their reſolutions and decrees were thought declaratory of the ſenſe of Scripture, and of ſound Traditions; and were ſo far binding to the inferior Prieſts and People. *And* p. 201. *That it was ſo in* England *as in other Churches. That* from the time that Church Government was here eſtabliſhed, our Biſhops had a right of calling their own Clergy to a Synod, and to enter upon debates, and draw up rules and orders that ſhould be binding within that ſpecial Juriſdiction. That this power was apparently exercis'd for ſome ages, to the times of Reformation, under *Hen.* VIII. when the ſubmiſſion of the Clergy made all dioceſan meetings to be executive viſitations, no longer legiſlative Synods. *And that as every Biſhop in* England *was thus ſupreme in his own Dioceſs; ſo that the* Engliſh *provincial Synods of* Canterbury *and* York *were called by their reſpective Metropolitans.* And they both *(ſays he,* p. 202.) exerciſed this ſpiritual right, without recourſe to the civil Magiſtrate; aſſembling their comprovincial Biſhops and Clergy at their own time and place, and ordaining by their own eccleſiaſtical authority, even

down to the Reformation. But then the ſubmiſſion transferred all power of convening provincial Synods from the Metropolitans to the King; and likewiſe alter'd the legality of Canons and Conſtitutions, before valid in Conſcience and in chriſtian Courts by the pure ſynodical authority, but now to be ratify'd and authorized by the regal Supremacy.

Whether this authorizing by the regal Supremacy is not to be underſtood only as to the civil authority added to the eccleſiaſtical Synods and Canons, as hereafter explain'd, Sect. ix. *Or whether Dr.* K. *does not extend that ſubmiſſion too far, in the legal ſenſe: Whether Dr.* A's *interpretation of it, or his muſt ſtand, I will not here diſpute. But ſure the moſt chriſtian ſenſe it will bear ought to be put upon it: For if it be meant, as here expreſs'd by Dr.* K. *to alter the obligation of Conſcience, as to the Canons of the Church, from our eccleſiaſtical Governors, to the ſecular, it is moſt anti-chriſtian, and roots up at once the whole foundations of a chriſtian Church. But we hope better things; for Dr.* K. *aſſerts,* p. 83, 84. That Dr. *Wake* and his Friends are for the Church having inherent right to Convocations; *and names that paſſage of his quoted in the* Caſe, Sect. xvi. N. 3. *to prove it, and ſays,* I like theſe principles extremely well, and ſure my Church of *England* Brethren all approve them.

And he quarrels with Dr. A— *for not aſſerting of theſe original and independent rights of the Church; but ſtanding wholly upon her legal Eſtabliſhment, by the Conſtitution of our municipal Laws.* He *(that is Dr.* A— *ſays Dr.* K. p. 107, 108.) claims no divine right. He quotes not one text for the divine right of Councils, or eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies. He propoſes no one reaſon for the neceſſity of ſuch an inherent and original power in the Church. He does not labour to prove that chriſtian Magiſtrates cannot retract, nor a national Clergy recede from antecedent rights— He waves the Chriſtian, and acts only the Engliſhman.

He builds all upon the Nature of our Government, and the Conſtitution of our Church and Nation, as eſtabliſhed by ſucceſſive Laws, and confirm'd by perpetual practice.

I am ſorry the Church of England *is come to that paſs, that to aſſert only her rights is to wave the Chriſtian.*

Have not our Laws confirmed to her all the rights belonging to a chriſtian Church? If not, ſure they ſhould be mended.

Here appears the neceſſity of maintaining and keeping up principles, without putting the extreme caſes of perſecution or deſertion: Thoſe are invidious topicks, and no chriſtian State will bear the reflexion.

If the independence of the Church, not only on heathen but chriſtian Magiſtrates, be an original, inherent and divine right, with

with which Christ *has inveſted her; it ought always to be maintain'd: Good Princes will be moſt willing to allow it: But if granted to them, others will not part with it; nor will they endure to have their encroachments upon the rights of the Church called either perſecution or deſertion: And they will always find time-ſervers and flatterers to ſupport them in it: And thoſe whoſe zeal would prompt them to oppoſe it, may be called hot Men, whoſe indiſcretion might provoke the civil Government to have an evil eye upon the Church, and deprive them of the remainder of thoſe civil rights which they enjoy.*

Then it is hard to tell where we ſhould ſtop, in caſe of ſuch encroachments: Better bear this and the other, than hazard a breach with the State.

So that by this the Church muſt bear on without end: And perhaps all of the Clergy themſelves may not agree when a ſtop is fit to be made: This will make diviſions and animoſities amongſt them.

Beſides, how can rights that are divine be given up? If they are divine, no human authority can either ſuperſede or limit them.

If they are divine, it is Sacrilege to invade them, or to give them up; as it had been in Aaron, *to have compounded for any part of that authority which God annexed to his Prieſthood: And it had been greater Sacrilege (as in* Korah, *&c.) to have robb'd* Aaron *of his authority, than of his holy veſtments, or the Temple or the Altar of any of their Utenſils; for the conſecration of Perſons is more than of things, and God is more nearly repreſented in his Prieſts than in Temples made with hands.*

Again, How can rights that are inherent be given up? If they are inherent, they are inſeparable. The right to meet, to conſult, to make rules or Canons for the regulation of the Society, is eſſential to every Society, as ſuch; and conſequently to the Church, as ſhe is a Society. Can ſhe then part with what is eſſential to her?

But however, the Province which Dr. A. *did undertake, was not the original, or divine rights of the Church, but only the Conſtitution, as now by Law eſtabliſhed; as he tells us in his* Preface, p. 2. A learned adverſary indeed has taken him *(Dr.* Wake) to task upon the general principles of Church Diſcipline and Government: But in the domeſtick part of the diſpute, which relates to our own Laws and Uſages, nothing has been ſaid. *And that is the reaſon he undertook it; therefore his not mentioning the other, which was not his ſubject, is no argument that*

he wav'd it, or gave it up; he referred to it with an approbation of the Author, and conſequently of the Subject.

But Dr. A. *is accus'd for coming ſhort, even as to the legal rights of the Church, and not deſiring more than the Laws at preſent will bear.*

Well then, they who lay this to his charge ſhould be ſure to go farther themſelves than he has done, at leaſt not to oppoſe him even in thoſe ſmaller rights for which he contends.

III. *But however they agree about theſe matters, I wiſh with all my heart they had put on more decency and moderation on both ſides in the management, and forbore thoſe perſonal reflexions, which are a deformity in ſuch learned Tracts; wherein the lateſt is ſtill moſt to blame, eſpecially where he takes upon him to reprehend the ſame fault in another.*

Dr. A's *work had been more perfect if he had left out that charge of ignorance againſt Dr.* W. *His learned and former uſeful labours will clear him from this: Ignorance will not be his excuſe, and therefore ought not to be his accuſation.*

And if Dr. W. *had been more ſparing in his cenſures of the preſent* Engliſh *Clergy, his* Authority of Chriſtian Princes *had not been leſs acceptable.*

Laſtly, *Dr.* K. *has, I believe, recommended himſelf but to a very few by the mal-treatment he has afforded to Dr.* A. *which I will not repeat, becauſe I would have it die: It is only wit and paſſion, it faſtens not upon him: And the marks of favour and approbation he has receiv'd for his work, not only from the Convocation and Univerſity, but alſo from the honourable Houſe of Commons, ſhews that they had a different eſtimation of Dr.* A. *and his work, from what Dr.* K. *does repreſent them.*

The difference betwixt their performances ſeems to be this, that Dr. A. *deſign'd to retrieve ſome of thoſe legal rights to the Church which were loſt, particularly her right of meeting in Convocation, which had of late years been worn into diſuſe, and render'd wholly precarious; and has proved ſo ſucceſsful in it, that to his Book chiefly we owe the preſent Convocation.*

But in the managing of this he has dropt ſeveral expreſſions which are not tenable, as of deſiring no more, *&c. perhaps to ſmooth the way towards obtaining of this that he asked, which will not juſtify, though it may in ſome ſort mitigate the exceſſes that were meant for a good end.*

As where he ſays, (1ſt Edit. p. 112.) The Statute of Submiſſion is none of their (*the Clergy's*) grievances, nor do they ask or wiſh a repeal of it. *This muſt paſs for a compliment.*

As likewiſe what he ſays of the Proteſtant Clergy, p. 113. Who have been more than once inſtrumental in ſhaking off yokes of every kind from the necks of Engliſhmen. *This is liable to miſconſtruction, as if they had countenanc'd former Rebellions, in all of which the ſame pretences were made.*

And p. 362. *He leans too much to popularity on their behalf, as to the preſent Revolution, where he ſays, that* none had been more inſtrumental than they in promoting the common deliverance. *The expreſſion is general, and the generality of them have not a good title to ſo great a boaſt. If he means thoſe who choſe to comply and ſubmit, rather than to ſuffer, their numbers are indeed great; but as for thoſe who had a hand in the promoting, contriving, and bringing about the Revolution, there are not I believe ſo many as a half dozen of the Clergy who have the honour to be ſuſpected in it, or who were intruſted with the ſecret.*

For, not to reckon upon the Archbiſhop, and eight other Biſhops with him, (who were near the half of the then Biſhops in the Kingdom) and betwixt three and four hundred of the inferior benefic'd Clergy, beſides many others who are not known, who have ſtood their ground; this appears yet more in that reluctancy which many, and the moſt eminent of thoſe who comply'd, did expreſs in their ſwallowing the Oaths, with declarations, in a higher and lower ſenſe, ſome ſticking out to the laſt day, and ſome even after: Let Juſtice be done, and let not Poſterity be impoſed upon; let neither Clergy nor Laity ſhare more either of reproach or glory than what they have deſerved.

But bating ſuch popular and unguarded expreſſions as theſe, the deſign of Dr. A's *Book was clearly for the promoting the intereſt of the Church, and retrieving ſome of her loſt legal ſecurities.*

Whereas on the other hand Dr. K. *has expreſſions very full for aſſerting original and independent rights of the Church: But then he would not have them inſiſted upon, and gives them up. And the drift of his Book is to oppoſe thoſe regal rights of the Church, which Dr.* A. *has ſet himſelf to maintain: Nor does Dr.* K. *ſet up other and better in the room of them; he only acts the part of an opponent.*

And as to expreſſions of giving up, *&c. and receding from rights, he ſeems to aſſert, Dr.* K. *needs excuſe as well as Dr.* A. *and his reproaches do retort.*

But I wiſh rather their diſputes ſhould turn upon the merit of the cauſe than upon thoſe perſonal advantages they think they may gain

gain upon one another, as to expreſſions and manner of management, which ſerves more to expoſe both than to juſtify either.

Is it not poſſible for theſe great Men to differ without falling foul on one another?

But when Men of parts encounter let them undervalue one another's ſtrength as they pleaſe, yet none can believe either of them. And undervaluing is not the heroical way: The more I give to my enemy, where he deſerves it, it ſhews I am the leſs afraid of him, and renders my victory more manly wherein I overcome him.

If I ſhould draw the diſpleaſure of either, or both parties upon me, for this interpoſing, it is for what I thought a charitable office, and is capable of a good conſtruction.

However, I willingly leave an unpleaſing ſubject, perſonal conteſts and animoſities: But I muſt take leave to reaſon freely upon the cauſe itſelf.

IV. *There is one thing therefore which I would deſire to be explain'd upon this head, which is,* Dr. K's Requeſt to his Brethren *(at the end of his Preface,* p. 12.) not to ſet up for independence, and another fatal ſeparation, which none but our enemies *(ſays he)* can project or wiſh. *I beg his aſſiſtance to underſtand this, for I would not willingly miſtake another, or be miſunderſtood my ſelf. I take the meaning to be, that we ought not to put the Church out of the protection of the State. That is agreed on all hands, if we can poſſibly help it, by any lawful means; for protection is better than perſecution. But why ſhould independence do this? Or why ſhould that infer a ſeparation betwixt the Church and the State? Suppoſe the Church were independent upon the State, as to her purely ſpiritual power and authority, as* Dr. K. *does allow ſhe originally and inherently is; this would make a ſeparation of her power from that of the State, but no ſeparation of Communion, it would cement the Communion much more ſtrictly; nor would it exempt the members of the Church from being likewiſe members of the State, and anſwerable to the State in all civil matters; ſo that here is no ſeparation on that ſide.*

Therefore I ſuppoſe Dr. K's *meaning to be, that if the Church ſhould ſet up for independency, the State would never bear it, and ſo withdraw their protection, and perſecute the Church.*

If this be the meaning, it ſeems too ſevere a reflexion upon any chriſtian State, to ſuppoſe that they will rather perſecute the Church of Chriſt *than ſuffer her to enjoy thoſe original and inherent rights, with which* Chriſt *our bleſſed Saviour did inveſt her;*

beſides

beſides that, (as ſhewed hereafter, Sect. V.) *it is more for the ſecurity and intereſt of the State to have the Church ſo independent than otherwiſe.*

But what if the State will not be of this opinion, nor let go that dependence upon them, to which they have reduc'd the Church even in her ſpiritual capacity? Then the Church muſt not ſet up her independency, (that, I ſuppoſe, is the meaning) for fear of diſpleaſing the State.

But the diſpleaſure can only be as to the manner of ſetting it up: If by Rebellion and Arms, the State has reaſon to be diſpleas'd.

But will they be diſpleas'd at the very naming it, or thinking of it? Then Dr. K. *and Dr.* W. *(as Dr.* K. *has given us his ſenſe, and he ſays of* All their Brethren of the Church of *England) have incurred this diſpleaſure, becauſe they have poſitively aſſerted it in what is before quoted.*

And ſince we find that the State does very well bear the aſſerting it, and Dr. K. *ſaw no danger in that, wou'd they be more diſpleas'd at the proving it, and if he beſtow'd a little pains in perſuading them to it?*

He complains in his Book, as all other good Men do, as our very Office of Commination does, of the great failure of Diſcipline amongſt us, and wiſhes it were reſtor'd; that is, the State wiſhes it: For our Liturgy is an Act of Parliament: And if the State does much wiſh it, as they have worded it in that Office, where is the danger of perſuading them to it?

They have granted a great deal to thoſe who have not ſo good pretence as you. See what is granted to the very Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland. *You cannot ſay they will not grant till they have refus'd.*

Dr. K. *is angry with Dr.* A. *for not deſiring more legal rights to be reſtor'd to the Church; and will he not then deſire the reſtoration of thoſe which he himſelf acknowledges to be divine?*

For which there is this farther reaſon, that if Chriſt *left no more inherent power in his Church than he knew was neceſſary for that Diſcipline which was requiſite to ſecure her from the* gates of Hell prevailing againſt her, *(as Dr.* K. *has very well worded it, in what is above quoted) then will follow what he reproves Dr.* A. *for not remembring,* That chriſtian Magiſtrates cannot retract, nor a national Clergy recede from antecedent rights. *Then if the chriſtian Magiſtrate had a mind to retract, yet the national Clergy ought not to recede from them: And if not to recede, ſurely much more have they a right to expoſtulate, to repreſent, to entreat, and to proteſt.*

If

If the Clergy must not so much as speak for their inherent rights, for what is but sufficient to enable them to execute the office which Christ *has committed to them, how will they give up their lives for it?*

How will they answer to the great Shepherd for the effects of that want of Discipline they seem to bemoan? For all that loose of atheism, heresies, and immoralities which abound amongst us; and a little wholsome Discipline might have restrain'd? What have they done towards the regaining of it? Nay, who could have taken it from them? Or can now keep it from them? The civil Magistrate, it is true, may chuse whether he will assist the censures of the Church, by temporal penalties, and he must answer for this to God; but the censures are still in the power of the Church, and she cannot recede from them: And would still have their effect upon all truly conscientious, as in the primitive Church; and this would make more to be conscientious, and restore the now well-nigh lost notion of a Church, and of Religion. Are these small things not worth the contending for? Not worth the attempt? No, not fit to be mentioned, for fear of the State!

Let not the fault be laid altogether upon the State, it cannot be laid there till due application has been made to them, till they are sufficiently appriz'd of the merits of the cause, till they are instructed by those whose office it is to instruct them, to whom Christ *has given that command and charge, not to be forced or brib'd out of their hands, by all the powers or artifice of Hell.*

But if (alas!) instead of this, pillows are sewed under the arms of the States, if they are made believe that they are still doing right, that the Clergy desire no such thing, that it is better with them as it is; and that it is but a discontented party would set up original rights, &c. *If the* Erastian *principles are inculcated into them; and what Dr.* K. *here justly calls the divine rights of the Church, are represented as odious and dangerous, at best not now necessary: How will the State be chargeable by that Church which has misled them? No! the State will rather rise up in the judgment and condemn that Church which has instructed them no better: And all those vices and heresies, and schisms, and Rebellions too, destruction and bloodshed which have defac'd christian Churches, and ruin'd States, corrupted Religion, and debauch'd Mens lives and principles, for want of that Discipline which* Christ *left inherent in his Church, will be chiefly charg'd upon that Church, which did recede from that Discipline; and so despoil'd her self of the proper arms of her Ministry, with which*

Chriſt *her Head had endow'd her; and promis'd to ſtand by her, and protect her, even unto the end of the world.*

But they who have not faith in this, ſoon grow weary of the Theocracy, and dare not truſt to it: No, but will have a King to reign over them, like the Nations round about, when the Lord their God was their King: They muſt have a King to be Head of the Church; who elſe, ſay they, will defend the Church?

But if they would truſt to Chriſt, *and have Faith in his Promiſes, and not fear to execute the commiſſion he has given to them, in all ſobriety and modeſty, yet with courage and conſtancy, for the good of the Souls of Men; and without doing of which, they know, they confeſs, that they cannot diſcharge that great truſt as they ought to do; nor be true to their Maſter, nor to the Souls committed to their charge; many of whom they ſee run headlong every day to all deſtruction and perdition for want of that Diſcipline which they dare not execute, only content themſelves to wiſh every* Aſh-Wedneſday *that it were reſtor'd; ſend one poor longing wiſh after it, once a year, but move neither hand nor foot towards it, for fear of diſpleaſing him whom they have choſen King and Head of the Church, not next and immediately under, but in the ſtead of* Chriſt; *for ſuch they have made him, if they think he can diſpenſe with, and over-rule that Diſcipline which* Chriſt *has left in his Church, and which is abſolutely neceſſary, which* Chriſt *our Lord thought ſo, for the good government of his Church.*

But, I ſay, if the Church would truſt to him more than to the arm of Fleſh, ſhe need not fear the power of Kings: No, Chriſt *would then give her Kings, not as heads and ſpiritual Fathers over her, but as nurſing Fathers to protect, love, and cheriſh her, to reverence, and to ſerve her, as the Spouſe of* Chriſt, *inſtead of ſuch Fathers as ſhe has made Kings to be over her ſelf, and of whom ſhe now ſtands in awe, and dare not exert the power* Chriſt *has given her, without their good liking: She ſhould then have* Children whom ſhe might make Princes in all the Earth, *Pſal.* XLV. 16. *Kings would become her Sons, and her Servants, inſtead of being her Fathers.*

V. *My Brethren, let me freely ſpeak to you. Theſe Promiſes muſt be fulfill'd, and in this world, for they are ſpoke of it, and belong not to the ſtate of Heaven, but to the condition of the Church, in all the Earth. All the Prophets that have been ſince the world began have ſpoken of theſe days: Therefore they will ſurely come;* and though ye have lien among the Pots, *(in the moſt ſervile and abject condition)* yet ye ſhall be as the wings of a Dove, that is cover'd with ſilver, and her Feathers like gold, *Pſal.* LXVIII. 13.

And

And thoſe Kings that oppoſe you, ſhall flee before you, and they of the Houſhold ſhall divide the ſpoil. For the Nation and Kingdom that will not ſerve thee ſhall periſh; yea, thoſe Nations ſhall be utterly waſted. *This is not yet fulfilled, but muſt be in this world, for there are no Nations or Kingdoms, (except that of God alone) in the other.*

When this time will come is reſerved with God; but before it comes he will open the eyes of Men, and ſtir up their zeal to bring it to paſs, and he will proſper their endeavours; and bleſſed are thoſe who ſhall contribute towards it.

If it be not near, yet we may now rejoice to ſee it, as Abraham *did, afar off, and to teſtify to the world that it is not forgot, that we have ſtill Faith in what the holy Scriptures have, in ſo many places, aſſured us of; and this may ſtir up the Faith of others.*

But becauſe we know not the time, therefore we muſt always work, as if it were the time: It may not be brought to paſs in a day, and there may be diſpoſitions of Men requiſite to precede, may be, ſome ages, to prepare the way for it. The old primitive principles, and notion of the Church, and prerogative of the Peculium *muſt certainly be reviv'd: That ſecular Spirit which the principles of* Eraſtianiſm *have begot in the Clergy muſt be exercis'd; and their poor fear of temporal powers: They muſt be brought to believe at laſt, that God is ſtronger than the Devil, and* Chriſt *than all the Kings upon Earth: Then they will begin to truſt in him, and to venture ſomething upon his protection: Then the noble, the truly humble, but magnanimous Spirit of the Goſpel will riſe like the Sun, and all thoſe clouds of objections and fears which now benumb our Souls will ſoon evaporate, and Light and Life will be reſtor'd to us: Then ſtronger will he be that is in us, than he that is in the world; we ſhall get the aſcendant over him, and conquer him, as Light does Darkneſs; he will not be able to reſiſt the Spirit, and the Power by which we ſpeak.* Amen *Lord* Jeſu, *come quickly.*

VI. *He is a coming! His way is preparing, and with that force and power that nothing can reſiſt. He has begun to open the eyes of his Church, and to break off her fetters: Her original independence from all Kings and States, whether chriſtian or other, is ſet up,* cum bono Deo! *and aſſerted to be divine by thoſe who are afraid to ſet it up: But it is ſet up! and without pretending to prophecy, we may ſay, it will ſtand; it will go on and proſper, till this drop will become a River, and that River encreaſe unto a Sea, which may encompaſs other Lands. None of*

our

our Divines dare oppoſe it, without, at the ſame time, confeſſing to it: The truth is grown flagrant, none dare oppoſe it bare-fac'd: The Prieſtcraft Men are ſilenc'd, for they muſt deny the Bible if they ſpeak ſenſe againſt it: And it is not come to that time of day yet! The People will not let go their Bibles, nor ſuffer it to be trampled upon, where they know it: This keeps in the Deiſts, who love to be always on the ſafeſt ſide. The ſame popularity will influence Kings and States, who would not adventure, in a countrey ſo far chriſtian as England *is ſtill left, to make an Act to burn the Bible: and it is as much out of their power to hinder the People from apprehending the true meaning of it, in a caſe which is made very plain to them, and ſufficiently prov'd.*

But, as I ſaid, it is the greateſt reflexion that can be upon a chriſtian Government, to ſuppoſe, that our Governors would obſtruct the truth of the Goſpel of Chriſt, *or not let go any encroachments they had made upon it, when once they are made ſenſible of it; or that they would not rather thank than perſecute thoſe who ſhould make them ſo ſenſible, eſpecially thoſe whoſe office it is ſo to do; whom they have protected and eſtabliſhed by Law for that very end, to inſtruct them in the whole Counſel of God; without doing of which, if they leave any part undeclar'd unto them, ſo far as they know it, they are not free from their Blood,* Acts xx. 26, 27. *Eſpecially ſuch a material part as the original, fundamental, and divine powers with which* Chriſt *has inveſted his Church, and without which it is impoſſible ſhe ſhould effectually, and to the full purpoſe intended by* Chriſt, *diſcharge that great truſt committed to her; or adminiſter, as ſhe ought to do, to the Souls under her care, or give that account for them, which will be requir'd at her hands by* Chriſt, *according to thoſe powers he left with her; and not as ſhe has, out of fear, or whatever other conſideration, given them up, or ſuffer'd them to be wreſted from her, without her contending for them, even to the Death.*

But to ſuppoſe our Governors ſo averſe and prejudic'd againſt the Truth, ſuch Nabals *and Sons of* Belial, *that a Man cannot ſpeak to them, is, in the moſt effectual manner, to alienate the affections of the People from them: To make Men think that they will not bear our reaſoning with them out of the holy Scriptures; but are reſolv'd to keep what they have got, right or wrong, and will not reſtore to* Chriſt, *let them be never ſo much convinc'd!*

Therefore I think it an argument of much greater deference towards them, to adventure, not to think it any venture, to reaſon with them, to repreſent to them freely, but with all decency, theſe important Truths, which ſo nearly concern their own Souls as well

as others; and beſides, are the greateſt ſecurity to their Government, even upon politicks, (as ſhew'd hereafter) and will draw them from under the wrath of God, and entitle them to his bleſſing and protection.

Moreover to tell them, and not to fear they will be diſpleas'd at it, that Chriſt *is above them, and his Church too, and independent on them; that they themſelves are part of her flock; and ſo ſubject to her diſcipline, in that capacity as well as any others, though entirely and without reſerve, ſubject to them in all temporals.*

Nay more, that if they ſhould take part with Hell againſt her, they ſhould not both prevail. They might pull down vengeance upon their own heads: But the Church will ſtand whether they will or not, even in England, *unleſs the policy of the Clergy give way ſo far, as to provoke God to remove their Candleſtick: Nothing elſe can ruin them, while they remain true to their God, and are not aſham'd of the Goſpel of* Chriſt, *and to aſſert thoſe powers he has committed unto them. No enchantment will prevail againſt our* Iſrael: *No none, till themſelves are firſt enchanted and bewitched, as the fooliſh* Galatians, *not to obey the Truth, not to ſtand by it,* and contend earneſtly for the Faith which was once deliver'd unto the Saints, not to ſpeak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority, *and* to let no Man deſpiſe them; *for then God will deſpiſe them, and* make them contemptible and baſe before all the People, becauſe ye have corrupted the Covenant of *Levi*, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.

And now I have not the leaſt apprehenſion that I have hereby given any offence either to the civil Government or to the Clergy, and true Sons of the Church of England: *But I wou'd warm, if I could, ſome frozen Souls, who ſay,* There is a Lion in the way, *and* are afraid where no fear is; *they* flee when no one purſueth!

But if after all, they will not take the Apoſtle's advice, quit you like Men, be ſtrong; *if they dare not come out to ſtop the* way againſt the perſecutor, *if they will not* ſtand in the gap, *let them return home: Let all that are afraid, or faint-hearted, depart out of this battel, leſt they diſcourage their Brethren:* By the Men that lapped will I ſave you, ſaith the Lord: *Let the timorous prudent, and wiſe ſtay with the baggage till the danger is over, they may come in for ſhare of the ſpoil.*

But let them beware that they look not towards the enemy; that they do not dodge, ſpeak one word, but covertly, againſt them, and ten expreſſly for them, to labour the point, and take pains on their ſide; and only drop an expreſſion here and there (to have it to ſay) that may be conſtrued againſt them, and re-

conceal'd to them, if they prevail: To pick quarrels with those who are most zealous for the Church, and give intelligence to Erastus. *It is easy to see to what side they incline, and from whom they expect their reward. This is not to be Neuters, (if they will be such) but Traditors; but* God will not be mocked: What a Man soweth that shall he reap: *He that is not for us is against us. Whose hands do I strengthen when I write? I belong to that side, however artificially I manage the argument. Men's actions are better demonstration than their words, which with a double-minded Man are always unstable; and* let not *(as the Apostle says)* such a Man think that he shall receive any thing of the Lord, *whatever he may from Men:* Woe be to fearful hearts, and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways.

Let no Man value his own parts or learning, or undervalue those who stand for God and Truth; for as God wants no Man's help, so is no instrument insufficient in his hand; and he often chuses the meanest, that we may perceive it is his work; that the praise may be to God, and not to Man: He destroy'd Ægypt *by Frogs and Lice: And Hornets, if arm'd with a divine commission, are an army sufficient to drive out the Sons of* Anak.

Glare not upon legal establishments (though make your best use of them) till your eyes are dazled, that you cannot see the Sun; it will have more power than that Glow-Worm. You have stay'd long enough in this Wilderness, turn the way towards Jordan, *and take possession of* Canaan: *Assert your divine rights, in full taile; leave not a hoof of them behind. Who dare oppose what they acknowledge to be divine? The world will stand by you, they find that they cannot be well without it: You have God, and a greater than* Moses *upon your head: Think not scorn of that pleasant Land: Remember the fate of the cautious and wary spies! whose hearts fail'd them, and persuaded the People that they were not able to deal with the* Canaanites! *Remember the judgment upon all that were discourag'd by them! It is no indifferent matter to be dispirited in the cause of God, and of his* Christ! *It is a down-right distrust of God, and chusing another for our God, whom we think greater and stronger than he! But those helpless infants, whom we are afraid to make a prey to our enemies, these shall possess the Land! And the carcasses of the faithless cowards shall fall in the Wilderness, and be an abhorring to all Flesh.*

Faith is the life of a Christian, without it he is dead, quite dead! And where Faith is but as big as a grain of Mustard-Seed, there must be assurance, and courage, and zeal: And the use of prudence is to direct this to the best manner of working; but not to make a dispute whether we should work or not: We must

always work, and God will work with us: There is no discharge in this warfare, while any Canaanite *is left in the Land: We must cry aloud, and spare not; and that whether a stiff-necked People hear, or whether they will forbear, yet they shall know that there hath been a Prophet among them: We cannot otherwise deliver our own Souls; they shall die in their sins; but their Blood will be required from those watchmen who gave them not warning.*

Nor will their modesty excuse them, that they thought not themselves sufficient for these things. Why then did they undertake the employment?

But it is not modesty, it is a cowardly fear and pride. What are we poor worms that we should think the work of God depends upon us? Do we put in for share of the glory? Let us do what we are commanded, and leave the issue to God. How do we know by what means or methods he will please to work? Such Men are totally unconcerned for this work. We see Souls a perishing, and the enemy sowing tares at noon-day: Must the Husbandmen then go to sleep? The Nation is poison'd with pestilent and blasphemous Books, ridiculing our Religion, our holy Scriptures, and our Christ! *And must the Bishops and Shepherds of his flock be forc'd to go to Council learned in the Law to know how the case of* Præmunire *stands, if they should presume to censure such Books without first obtaining the K's Licence for it?*

Now, suppose (which I do not) that the Act of Submission, in construction of Law, should be found to extend even thus far; and suppose the K. should not grant his Licence, or had not a mind to be ask'd; must then the Bishops let this infernal poison spread, and take its full effect, without any remedy; or else incur a Præmunire? *If so, here is a picture of the* Regale *wou'd put any Man in doubt of his Christianity: And he has not yet been christen'd, or has forgot it, who would have the least hesitation, or scruple to damn the Act (I mean if taken in this sense) to the place from whence it came, if there were ten thousand other Acts of Parliament pinn'd to the back of it! It is a maxim in our Law, that* An Act of Parliament contrary to the Law of God is void: *And if this be not contrary, then* Christ *left no Church upon Earth, appointed no Shepherds to feed his Flock, or gave them not sufficient authority to do it! But if any of those Shepherds have pleaded for this Act of Submission, in this sense, they have undermin'd their own foundation: And till they return, and make restitution all that is in their power, they have not come up to the repentance of* Judas: *And I should be afraid to share their sin, if I were not thus plain upon this point; if I leaned not, with my whole strength,*

upon

upon this main pillar of the Temple of Dagon. *And if God give the word, any honeſt Man has the force of a* Sampſon: *For the ſtrength was not his, but God's, which was ſhewed by placing it in his weakeſt part, in his hair: And the blaſt of a Ram's Horn, from the mouth of a Prieſt, aſſerting the Truth of the Goſpel, is ſufficient to level the walls of* Jericho. Perfect Love caſteth out Fear. *Every true Chriſtian has authority from* Heb. XIII. 5, 6. *to apply to himſelf, even in his private concerns, as to his ſupport in this life, that eſpecial Promiſe made to* Joſhua, Deut. XXXI. 8. Joſh. I. 5. I will not leave thee, nor forſake thee. *Nay, more, what was ſpoke of* Chriſt *himſelf,* The Lord is my helper, and I will not fear what Man can do unto me, *Pſal.* LVI. 4, 11. CXVIII. 6. *Then ſure, if we have this ſtrong aſſurance of Faith, as to our own particulars, much more may we truſt to it, in the cauſe of* Chriſt *and his Church.* David *drew this argument from God's enabling him to kill a Lion and a Bear, in defence of his own flock, that he ought not to be afraid of a* Goliah, *who defy'd the Armies of* Iſrael, *which was the Flock of God and his Church, whoſe Armies are therefore call'd,* the Armies of the living God. *An act of Faith will open our eyes, as of the Prophet's fearful Servant, and ſhew us theſe encamping round about his Church, like the Hill on which* Eliſha *ſat,* full of Horſes and Chariots of Fire. *Then will we ſee, that* they that be with us, are more than they that be againſt us; *and we will have courage to ſay with the Apoſtle,* I can do all thing through *Chriſt* who ſtrengtheneth me.

And is not all this ſufficient againſt one poor Act of Submiſſion, (I mean, as before, if taken in the full Eraſtian *ſenſe) made by a Popiſh Clergy, lying under the laſh of a* Præmunire? *Have we not ſhaken off Popery yet? Are our Biſhops ſtill bound by their Submiſſions? Cou'd they give away the rights of their ſucceſſors the Proteſtant Biſhops!*

If they will not hear me, I hope they will give heed to Dr. Sherlock *the preſent Dean of St.* Paul's, *who, in his* Summary of the Controverſies between the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome,* p. 119. *ſays very emphatically,* If Biſhops will not exerciſe that power which *Chriſt* has given them, they are accountable to their Lord for it: But they cannot give it away, neither from themſelves, nor from their ſucceſſors, for it is theirs only to uſe, not to part with it: And therefore every Biſhop may re-aſſume ſuch rights, though a general Council ſhould give them away, becauſe the grant is void in its ſelf. *This makes ſhort work with the Submiſſion: Let Lawyers therefore look to it, how they can reconcile it with this great and fundamental*

mental truth: If not, then down it muſt come. The Biſhops are no ways concern'd: Let them try whether any Judge in Weſtminſter-Hall *will hold up an Act of Parliament againſt the Goſpel! Or ſay, that they are more proper Judges of the Goſpel than the Biſhops! Let* Eraſtus *ſhew his Face without a Vizard; it is the only way to overthrow him effectually. You need not be afraid that any Chriſtian will fall in love with him! But if the Biſhops will ſubmit themſelves to his yoke, who can ſpeak in their defence? Some would let them go if Religion did not go with them; and that is the reaſon why others would have them gone. They find the keys of their Diſcipline hung at the belt of* Eraſtus; *and ſome would perſuade them that it is beſt ſo, leſt* Pharaoh *encreaſe their burdens; and that to think of a deliverance, is to put a Sword in his hand to ſlay us! If it were ſo,* Chriſt *is ſtronger than* Moſes; *and his Promiſes as ſure of defending his Church: But, bleſſed be God, our Land is not* Ægypt *yet; we all profeſs to be of* Iſrael, *and none dare ſay, (whatever they think) Who is the God of the* Hebrews? *And you ſhall not ſacrifice unto him. They who are afraid upon this account, muſt think, that they have a* Pharaoh *over them indeed! Therefore this will be no excuſe to them, whether they be try'd by God, or their Countrey: And it is come to that now, that if they ſtir not a little, ſhew ſome zeal for Religion and concern for the breaches of* Sion, *they may be in danger of loſing, I will not ſay quitting their Countrey: But they will loſe the hearts of the People, whoſe eyes are all now upon them, and expect ſomething from them, not of giving back, but of aſſerting the cauſe of* Chriſt *and his Church. This is more friendly advice than of thoſe who would perſuade them to ſit ſtill for fear of diſpleaſing ſome, who, perhaps, may take this very occaſion of ruining them, firſt with the People, in their good opinion; and then with their repreſentatives. The Diſſenters will play* Toland *againſt them: They have a good faculty at making outcries: And the Deiſts will not ſtand by them, they will laugh in their ſleeve, and give them good words (they are Men of breeding) for their prudence and moderation! They know how to turn the tables, as the game alters; and their Friends will be out of countenance, and mourn in ſecret. This is a ſad truth, but it ought to be told by thoſe who have ſeen all theſe effects of it; and can do no more than to pray God to diſappoint their fears of the impending ruin of this once glorious Church; and in order to this, that he would detect all her falſe Friends, and defeat her open Enemies.*

A Prayer for the Deliverance and Victory of the CHURCH.

O Almighty God, King of all Kings, and Governor of all things, whoſe Power no creature is able to reſiſt, who haſt often mightily delivered the Sons of *Jacob* and *Joſeph*, and haſt promiſed to reſcue thy Church from all her adverſaries, and make her glorious upon Earth; that it may pleaſe thee to ſtretch forth thy Hand upon the furiouſneſs of her Enemies; abate their pride, aſſwage their malice, and confound their devices. Amend thou Lord what is amiſs in us, and confirm the remainder that is about to periſh. Stir up thy Strength, O Lord, for us; ſtabliſh the thing, O God, that thou haſt wrought in us. Let the glorious Majeſty of the Lord our God be upon us; proſper thou the work of our hands upon us; O proſper thou our handy-work. Turn us again, O Lord of Hoſts, ſhew the Light of thy Countenance, and we ſhall be whole. That we being armed with thy defence, may be preſerved evermore from all perſecution, that the Devil or Man worketh againſt us, to glorify thee, who art the only giver of all Victory; that we may ſee the felicity of thy choſen, rejoice with thine inheritance, and triumph becauſe of the Truth. Awake, awake, put on Strength, O Arm of the Lord; awake, as in the ancient days, in the generations of old. Art not thou he that hath cut *Rahab*, and wounded the Dragon? It is time for thee, Lord, to lay to thine Hand, for they have made void thy Law.

O God, we have heard with our Ears, and our Fathers have told us what mighty works thou didſt in their days, and in the old time before them.

O Lord, ariſe, help us, and deliver us for thy Name's ſake, for *Chriſt Jeſus* ſake, the Captain of our Salvation, who will tread down every Enemy that hath evil-will at *Sion*.

Lord haſten it in thy time. Thy Kingdom come, in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Remember thy Church, which thou haſt purchaſed and redeemed of old. It is time that thou have mercy upon her, yea, the time is come.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt.
As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be, world without end, Amen.

THE CASE OF THE REGALE, &c.

SIR,

ACcording to your desire, I here give you a short and clear state of the case you heard lately discours'd, concerning the Regale, or Power of the State over the Church, as to her purely spiritual Authority.

The Case stated.

1. It was agreed on all hands, That the State cannot deprive Bishops of their episcopal character: But that they remain Bishops still; and their Ordinations, Confirmations, and other episcopal Acts are valid. Except such Acts of Jurisdiction as respect that particular Diocese, out of which they are ejected by the State: As visiting and censuring the Clergy and others; conferring Benefices, &c. But because the word Bishop is a relative word, and implies a Flock; and that no Bishop is made, nor hath been since the days of the Apostles, but with relation to a particular Flock or Diocese: Of which more hereafter, in the case of *Abiathar*.

2. Therefore the question was resolv'd into this point, whether the State can dissolve the relation betwixt a Bishop and his particular Flock or Diocese; and deprive him of the exercise of his Jurisdiction within his own proper district; and substitute another Bishop in his place? That is, whether the State can stop the execution of the episcopal Commission, in the hands of the proper Bishops, within their own Dominions? Against which it was urg'd;

I. As to Kings in the general.

1. That to stop the execution of a Commission, is, to render it ineffectual; for what signifies a Commission, that cannot be executed?

2. That

2. That no Authority leſs than that which gives any Commiſſion, can ſtop the execution of it.

3. That therefore the ſame Authority which can ſtop the execution of any Commiſſion, may likewiſe vacate it: As Epiſcopacy is vacated by the State in *Scotland*.

4. That all States have equal Authority within their own Dominions: And by this rule, the apoſtolical Commiſſion may not only be ſuſpended, but ſuperſeded all the World over.

5. That all the States in the World did for three hundred years together, forbid the execution of the apoſtolical Commiſſion; and, as much as in them lay, did vacate it: Which if they had Power from God to do, then it was vacated, and Chriſtianity muſt have periſh'd in its Birth, or have been all that time an unjuſtifiable Rebellion.

6. That there is a ſpiritual Relation, or Marriage, inſtituted by *Chriſt*, betwixt the Biſhop and his Flock or Subjects; that, as St. *Ignatius* ſpeaks, the Biſhop does repreſent the Perſon of *Chriſt* to us, and does his, *Vices gerere*, is his Deputy or Vicar, and the Principle of Unity in the Church which he governs: That who keep outward Communion with their Biſhop, do thereby partake of the inward Communion with *Chriſt* the Head: That who unjuſtly break off from the outward Communion of their Biſhop, do thereby forfeit the inward Communion with *Chriſt:* That nothing ought to be done in the Church, nor even Marriages made, without the Biſhop's conſent: That the very Prayers and Sacraments out of the Communion of the Biſhop, are (like the Offerings of *Korah*) Rebellion againſt the Lord.

That this Relation, this Marriage of the Biſhop to his Flock, ſo deeply founded by *Chriſt* himſelf; whom *Chriſt* does impower, as his Ambaſſador, to marry the Church, in his ſtead, and in his name, promiſing to ratify and conſummate it, in his own Perſon, for ever in Heaven, where the eternal Marriage-Feaſt will be celebrated: That this Marriage to our Biſhop whereby we are, by Proxy, married to *Chriſt*, cannot be diſſolv'd, nor we divorc'd from him, and marry'd to another Biſhop, by any other means than thoſe which *Chriſt* has appointed; otherwiſe, the Marriage ſtill remains: And a ſecond Biſhop is a ſecond Husband, that is, an Adulterer, while the firſt Husband ſtill lives, and is not divorc'd for a juſt cauſe, and by an Authority that is competent.

That if the Authority of ſecular Princes be competent for this, then may they divorce all the Churches in the World from their Biſhops: And either give them no more Biſhops; or ſet over them the baſeſt of Men for their Biſhops. Then it is in the Power of Infidel Kings to appoint Proxies for *Chriſt*, and oblige him to conſummate the Marriage they have made for him, by ſuch Proxies whom they pleaſe to name!

II. As to chriſtian Kings.

This turn'd the queſtion to the Authority of chriſtian Princes: Whether they had not more Authority over the Church, than Kings that were Infidels? And to this it was ſaid;

1. That the Right of the Crown does not alter for the qualifications of thoſe who wear it; and that Dominion is not founded in Grace: That therefore if chriſtian Kings claim Authority over the Church, as a Right inherent in the Crown, they muſt allow it to all who have a Right to the Crown. And if they hold it not as a Right of their Crowns, then they muſt ſhew how otherwiſe they came by it: And as they got it, they may loſe it.

2. That the Church had ſuffer'd more under *Conſtantius*, *Valens*, and other *Arian* and Heretical Kings, than even from Heathens. That it is in the Power of an *Arian*, a *Socinian*, Popiſh, or Presbyterian King, to corrupt

rupt the Doctrine of the Church, more than a King who is a profeſs'd Heathen, and open Perſecutor.

3. That an orthodox and a good King (for a time, as *Nero)* may turn Heretick, or Apoſtate, as *Julian.* And how can he be Head of any Church, who denies the Faith of it? Or indeed, how can a King be the Head of different Communions? Or of any other Communion than that to which he keeps? For how can he be Head of any Church who is not ſo much as a Member of it? He may be Head of it, or of a hundred different Churches, if there were ſo many in his Dominions, that is, to be the civil Head or Governor, and to exerciſe the Power of the civil Sword, in all Cauſes, and over all Perſons, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal: But to be the eccleſiaſtical Head or Governor, and to have any ſort of eccleſiaſtical Power or Authority, is utterly inconſiſtent, and as great a contradiction, as that all theſe different Communions can be one: That not only Epiſcopal and Presbyterian, Popiſh and Proteſtant, but Chriſtian and *Jew*, *Mahometan* and Heathen, are all one and the ſame Church and Body: For ſo they muſt be, if they have all one Head. And ſome Kings have been, and may be again, Governors over theſe ſeveral ſorts of Churches. They are all one Body, in the temporal ſenſe, that is, are all Subjects, and ſo have one Head, or temporal Governor: But they cannot all have one eccleſiaſtical Head or Governor, more than they are one eccleſiaſtical Body, or more than one Man can be, at once, of all theſe different and oppoſite Churches or Communions: More than our King (for example) can be Epiſcopal in *England*, and Presbyterian in *Scotland*, and Popiſh in *France*, if he had the Poſſeſſion as well as title of it.

Then again, if either Infidelity, Apoſtaſy, or Hereſy does deſtroy the *Regale*, it muſt be deſtroy'd as to ſome of theſe Communions, who do lay theſe charges upon one another. And then the *Regale* extends not to all Subjects, or Churches.

Again, who ſhall be Judge of the King's Apoſtaſy, Hereſy, *&c?* If the Church, his *Regale* lies at her Mercy. But if the King himſelf be the Judge it is not to be ſuppos'd that he will condemn himſelf. And ſo, neither Infidelity, Apoſtaſy, nor any thing elſe can hurt his *Regale.*

But once more, a King may return from his Apoſtaſy or Hereſy, and if he loſt his *Regale* for that, he may recover it again. So that, by this, the *Regale* is not fixt and inherent in the Crown, but fleeting and caſual, may be gain'd and loſt.

And then the former queſtion will occur, who ſhall be Judge of the reality and ſincerity of his converſion and pretences to Religion? For it is not impoſſible that a King may counterfeit, on purpoſe to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the *Regale:* And that for a good end, as he may think, that is, to under-mine that Church, which he cou'd not batter down by main force. And by this means, he may do ten times more miſchief to the Church, than if he were an open and profeſs'd Enemy.

Indeed (ſaid one) we have found it to our coſt. And the profeſſions of Princes, when a Crown is the bait, are a ſlender ſecurity. It is like the ſacramental teſt to the Diſſenters, which keeps them not from places of profit; but encreaſes their indignation againſt that Communion, which impoſes ſuch hard terms upon them, as not to let them get Wealth and Power, but at the expence of their Conſcience! That we may probably Shipwreck the Conſcience of a Prince, by forcing him into our Communion: and ſo undo the greateſt ſecurity we can have from him for our Religion; and bribe him to betray, inſtead of protecting us: That therefore, we can have no ſecurity to our Religion, at leaſt none equal, in all human appearance, to the ſettling of the Church upon her own primitive bottom, where-

on *Chriſt* did place her, independent, as to her whole ſpiritual Authority, upon any earthly Power; tho' with ſufficient guard for their obedience to the State, in all civil Matters, even upon the penalty of damnation: That if the Church were once thus ſettled, we need then be in leſs pain for the Religion of our Prince, except for the good of his own Soul; for he cou'd then hurt our Religion no otherwiſe than by open perſecution; which in *England* wou'd not be in his Power; and it is not likely, that ever he wou'd attempt it. But he cou'd no longer betray and undermine it; he cou'd not then put in Biſhops that wou'd be his Tools, and give up the Rights of the Church to purchaſe his favour; nor wou'd they hire underwork Men, to employ their parts and learning to diſarm their Mother of all, even legal, defence againſt her Raviſher, in hopes that they too may come, in their turns, to be in his good Graces! They will have their reward!

4. That beſides all theſe caſes, there is that of lewd, atheiſtical, and debauch'd Princes, who will prefer Men in the Church of their own complexion, that will ſerve their luſts and ambition, at leaſt, ſuch mealy-mouth'd ones, as will not dare to reprove them: And by this means it will be in the Power of their vileſt favourites, and inſtruments in ſins not fit to be nam'd to ſell Biſhopricks; and render Religion what it is now come to among too many, eſpecially in Courts, not only an empty name, but a cheat and impoſition upon Mankind, while they ſee it ſo proſtituted, and made a pretence to the baſeſt purpoſes.

5. That during the Minority of Kings, the Election of Biſhops, and other Affairs of the Church, muſt be left in the hands of their Governors and Courtiers. And the Church muſt take her chance, as to their Religion. Under this head comes in likewiſe the perſonal indiſpoſition of Princes, by ſickneſs, frenzie, or other accidents; and their neceſſary abſence ſometimes, on their important Affairs. Their being made Priſoners in the land of their Enemies, as ſome of ours have been; and many other caſualties: To all of which the Church is made liable, while it depends upon the *Regale*: But there is one, which too often occurs, and therefore chiefly to be conſider'd, which is;

6. Revolutions and Rebellions in any Nation. Here the Church muſt either change Sides and Principles, according to the various ſucceſs of the contending Parties; or undergo as various a perſecution: For while the *Regale* is made part of the Church-conſtitution, it thereby neceſſarily brings in the Church to be concern'd in all State-Revolutions; not only as to the immoralities or defection from chriſtian Principles, wherein ſhe ought to adviſe and direct in this, as in all other caſes: But ſhe is hereby involv'd as a Party in all State-diſputes; and her even ſpiritual Authority muſt, like ſecular Commiſſions, take out a new Charter, under every new Head.

Upon all theſe conſiderations, the inconveniencies, the ſnares, the ſcandals that hereby ariſe to the chriſtian Religion: Beſides the apparent abſurdities and contradictions that flow in on all ſides upon this blending of the ſacred and the civil Powers, it did appear to all the Company, that the limiting of the *Regale* only to chriſtian Princes, did rather involve and perplex the Cauſe, than any ways ſolve it; that it rais'd much more and greater difficulties than allowing it, as a Right of the Crown, to all Princes, without regard to their Religion; that therefore it muſt either be granted even to infidel Kings, or no other Kings whatſoever can have any pretence to it, upon the Right of their Crowns.

III. Of the incorporation of the Church with the State.

Then it was ſaid, That Kings hold not their Right over the Church, *jure Coronæ*, becauſe then infidel, and all other ſort of Kings muſt have it: But that upon the converſion of Kings and States to Chriſtianity, there was a com-

a compromiſe made betwixt them and the Church, and the Church being incorporated into the State, made ſuch and ſuch conceſſions to the State, in lieu of the protection of the State, and other honours and advantages receiv'd from them. To this it was anſwer'd,

1. That no ſuch compromiſe does appear; nor is there any Record extant of it, or any authentical inſtrument or deed of conveyance to be found.

2. That Kings claim not by it, but do utterly diſown it: And ſtand upon it, as the Right of their Crowns; and to have been given them by God, and atteſted in holy Scripture; as you may ſee in 37 *Hen.* VIII. *c.* 17. and ſeveral other Statutes. And they make it conſequently the Right of all Princes; and to have been always ſo: But if it was by compromiſe, then it was not always ſo: And ſome Kings would have more, and ſome leſs Power in eccleſiaſtical matters: For we cannot ſuppoſe the ſame compromiſe to have been made with all Kings, and in all Countries.

And thoſe Acts of Parliament which eſtabliſh the *Regale* in *England*, do it by way of recognition, and reſtoring the ancient Right of the Crown in eccleſiaſtical Matters, and over eccleſiaſtical Perſons.

What the Power is, we ſhall ſee by and by: But whatever it is, Kings do not claim it by way of compromiſe, or grant from the Church.

3. That ſuch grant, if made, wou'd be void, becauſe it is a Maxim, as well in Law, as Reaſon, that no truſt can be transfer'd, eſpecially ſuch a truſt as *Chriſt* has committed to his Church, in which the Souls of Men are concern'd: And the Church is anſwerable for the diſcharge of this truſt. And if no Executor, or other Truſtee whatſoever can delegate the truſt committed to them, in Temporals; much leſs can the Church, in Spirituals.

That the Power of a Nurſe is limited. She cannot ſend the Child into other Countries, or give it to any other Nurſe, without conſent of the Parent. That therefore the Biſhops, whom *Chriſt* has commanded to feed his Flock, cannot commit this charge to any other. No Man would allow it to a keeper of his Sheep. Much leſs can the Paſtors of *Chriſt*'s Sheep have any ſuch Power.

One Biſhop may deſire the aſſiſtance of another Biſhop, in his abſence, indiſpoſition of Body, impriſonment, or other temporary incapacity: So there may be coadjutor-Biſhops, and *Chore-Epiſcopi*. Becauſe all Biſhops are Paſtors of one common Flock, *Cujus à ſingulis in ſolidum pars tenetur*; which is diſtributed rather than divided into ſeveral diſtricts, for the better Regimen of the whole. And the Diſcipline of the Church will not allow Αλλοτριο-Επισκοπεῖν, that one Biſhop ſhould interfere and intrude into the Government of another Biſhop's Dioceſe, without his permiſſion; that wou'd bring all confuſion, and conteſts. Yet nothing hinders their mutual aſſiſtance of one another, in their ſeveral charges by agreement, as occaſion ſhall require. But they cannot delegate their Power to thoſe who are no Paſtors, to whom *Chriſt* has given no ſuch Authority. They muſt firſt make Men Paſtors, and give them Ordination, before they can commit the Flock to their charge. They cannot delegate the epiſcopal Power (properly ſo call'd) to Presbyters, without giving them epiſcopal Conſecration: Much leſs can they do it to Lay-Men. No compromiſe, or bargain can do this; no temporal advantages or honours can be taken in exchange for this, nor indeed can make compenſation for ſuch an infraction upon the very foundation and conſtitution of the Church.

4. That the Church in *England*, and in other places, has been much reduc'd in honour, wealth, and power from which ſhe formerly enjoy'd. Therefore, that if for theſe ſhe gave up her Power to the State, the bargain

is

is broke. Since Covenants muſt be kept on both ſides, elſe neither ſide is oblig'd. And either ſide may take the advantage when they think fit.

Iſai. i. 8. 5. That the Church upon Earth is deſcrib'd in the Scripture, as *militant*, as *a City beſieg'd:* Kings have been the Beſiegers, and may be again: And to raiſe the Seige we ſuppoſe one of the Articles to be, That Kings ſhall ever thereafter have the nomination of the Biſhops, the Governors of the City, and placing of the Guards. This is a total giving up of the City, and a betraying of their truſt in the Biſhops, whom *Chriſt* left the Governors.

That the unreaſonableneſs of this will appear, if we put the caſe *è contra*, (which is the trueſt way to judge,) and ſuppoſe, That the Church requir'd it as an Article, leſt the State might prejudice the Church, that the Church ſhould have the Power of nomination and depoſing of Kings, that no Parliament ſhou'd meet, or tranſact any thing relating to the civil Government of the Nation, without Licence obtain'd from the Biſhops; nor enact any thing, but in the Biſhop's Name, and by their Authority.

Either of theſe caſes is not a compromiſe, or an incorporation; but a diſſolution of the one Power, and giving it up to the other.

For that as the well-being of any Society does conſiſt mainly in the Governors of the Society, becauſe they have the greateſt Power to do good or hurt; And therefore, where the choice of the Governors of one Society is in the hands of another Society, that Society muſt be dependent and ſubject to the other: So, if the Power of one Society extend likewiſe to the making of Laws for another Society (as if the Church cou'd make Laws for the State, in temporals; or the State make Laws binding the Church, relating to ſpirituals) then is that Society entirely ſubject to the other.

But whereas no Society can ſubſiſt without meeting and conſulting of their Affairs, and giving orders, as occaſion ſhall require: If one Society cannot meet or convene together, without the leave and licence of the other Society; nor treat or enact any thing relating to their own Society, without the leave and authority of the other; then is that Society, in a manner, diſſolv'd, and ſubſiſts precariouſly upon the mere will and pleaſure of the other.

This is a degree of ſubjection to which the *Romans* did not reduce the Church of the *Jews*, when they had entirely conquer'd them; for their High-Prieſts and Elders, their Council or *Sanhedrin*, met whenever they pleas'd; as we find frequently in the Goſpels, and Acts of the Apoſtles.

IV. Obſ. Of *Imperium in Imperio.* Then the diſcourſe turn'd to the common objection of *Imperium in Imperio*, That a Church independent on the State, wou'd be ſetting up one Government within another; and ſo breed nothing but confuſion. And the contraſts betwixt Popes and Emperors, betwixt the Popiſh Clergy, and the Kings of *England*, as well as of other Countries, were largely inſiſted on. To all which it was anſwer'd:

1. That the ſacred and civil powers were like two parallel lines, which cou'd never meet, or interfere; for theſe two authorities lie in two diſtinct chanels: As for inſtance, in the caſe of murther, or any other crime, the criminal may be excommunicated, and abſolv'd upon his repentance, and ſatisfaction made to the Church; but this hinders nothing the proceedings of the civil Courts, which reſpect the temporal puniſhment upon Body or Goods. Thus the ſame criminal may be abſolv'd by the Church, and condemn'd by the State; abſolv'd or pardon'd by the State, yet cenſur'd by the Church: So that each act independently upon the other, without any confuſion or interfering. But,

2. That

2. That the confuſion ariſes when the one will put their ſickle into the others harveſt; when the civil power will take upon them to controul or give Laws to the Church, in the exerciſe of her ſpiritual authority; or the Church do the like to the State in their temporal authority.

That all the conteſts and wars betwixt Popes and Emperors were upon this foot: The Emperors claim'd the inveſtiture of Biſhops; and the Popes, to be even with them, aſſum'd the power of depoſing the Emperors from their temporal authority. Here was wrong done on both ſides: And what could follow but confuſion? The ſacred and the civil powers were let in upon one another, and then there could be no iſſue, but the one to ſubdue and conquer the other.

That the ſame was to be ſaid as to the conteſts betwixt the Biſhops in the Popiſh times, and their own natural Kings; for theſe Biſhops aſſerted the power of the Pope over the Kings, even in Temporals; and by the Pope's command refus'd to pay Taxes, or contribute towards the ſupport of the Government; which was, indeed, ſetting up *Imperium in Imperio*; a diſſolving of their allegiance, and owning a ſuperior Sovereign to their King, in his own dominions, and that in Temporals.

That our bleſſed Saviour, in his all-wiſe Providence, foreſeeing the conſequences on both ſides, as he ſet up his Church independent of all the powers upon the Earth, ſo he gave her no authority that could poſſibly interfere with the civil powers: He alter'd nothing of the civil powers, but left them as he found them; he gave to *Cæſar* all that was *Cæſar*'s: But the things of God, and the adminiſtration of the ſpiritual Kingdom of Heaven, upon Earth, that he left in the hands of his Church, and accountable to none but himſelf: That as it is rebellion and uſurpation in the Church to extend her commiſſion to civil power, ſo is it the higheſt ſacrilege and rebellion againſt *Chriſt* for the civil power to extend their commiſſion into the ſpiritual Kingdom, and uſurp upon the ſacred Office: It is confounding of Heaven and Earth: Theſe agree beſt at the diſtance God has plac'd them: To bring them together wou'd be a new *Chaos*, and contradiction irreconcileable: Such is the attempt of blending the ſacred and the civil powers together. While each move in their own ſphere there is concord and harmony.

And each may and ought to aſſiſt the other, without encroaching upon one another's province: The State may protect and honour the Church, without invading any part of her Office: As the Church ought to enforce obedience to the civil Magiſtrate, in all lawful things, without aſſuming any temporal power over him. This is the concordate and agreement betwixt the Church and the State, upon what we call their incorporation: And there is no other incorporation but this. It is not their giving up their powers to one another; that would be confuſion, and an eternal ſeed of debate and jealouſy of each other: The beſt way to maintain and keep up the agreement, is, to preſerve their powers diſtinct and independent of each other.

Then it was ſaid, that Biſhops being made Lords of Parliament, of the Council, *&c.* it was but reaſonable for the ſecurity of the State that the King ſhould have the choice of them.

Anſ. That it was very reaſonable in thoſe caſes the King ſhould have full ſecurity as to their loyalty; and not only for them, but for all who were to be admitted into any offices or degrees of the Church: That ſuch reaſonable teſts ſhould be put to them as ought to be requir'd from all o-other his Majeſty's Subjects, for the ſecurity of the Government: And that they ſhould renounce all civil power in the Church, to coerce or limit, by the Sword, the authority of the civil Magiſtrate, in any exerciſe of his au-

thority, tho' it were in ſacred things, or over ſacred Perſons, or even tho' exercis'd unjuſtly: Which one would think is going as far as can reaſonably be expected.

But that this ought not to extend the *Regale* to the choice of the Perſons, becauſe that is an encroachment upon the divine commiſſion granted by *Chriſt* to his Church: And does carry along with it all the conſequences of *Eraſtianiſm*.

That as Kings do promiſe to protect and defend the Church, ſo does the Church, to ſupport and defend the Crown; yet ſhe has no title from hence to have the choice of the King in her hands, on pretence of ſecurity to the Church, tho' her Biſhops ſet the Crown upon his head: As little reaſon is there for the King to have the nomination of the Biſhops of the Church on pretence of ſecurity to the State.

That there is more pretence on the Churches ſide, becauſe the King, at his Coronation, ſurrenders his *Regalia*, his Crown, Scepter, and Sword, upon the Altar, and receives them thence again by the hands of the Biſhops, as the Miniſters of *Chriſt*, and repreſenting his Perſon; from whom all chriſtian Kings do derive their authority, as their King and God: And ſwear, upon thus accepting their Crowns from the hands of his authoriz'd Ambaſſadors, to maintain and defend his Church in all her liberties and freedoms.

That the State has the ſame returns from the Lords Spiritual, in Council, Parliament, *&c.* for their Honours and Eſtates, as from the Temporal Lords: Beſides the ſpiritual advantages the State receives from the Church, which are infinitely greater than all that the Church can receive from the State.

That in all Ages and Religions thoſe who ſerv'd at the Altar were reckoned a diſtinct, and the chief of the Eſtates of the Nation.

That if chriſtian Kings intend to do honour to the commiſſion of *Chriſt*, they ſhould do it freely, without encroaching upon any part of it. They would not have their beneficence and protection to the Church of *Chriſt* underſtood as a bribe to her, to betray and deliver up into their hands the powers committed unto her charge by *Chriſt!* That wou'd be to invade *Chriſt* himſelf! And to act the part of the greateſt enemy to his Spouſe the Church, to tempt her to unfaithfulneſs, and render her obnoxious to his heavy diſpleaſure! And will ſhe be true to them, whom they have corrupted to be falſe to *Chriſt?*

Nor will they eſcape! For he is a jealous God, and will not give his Honour to another; he alone will be head of his Church: It is an honour and a truſt he has not communicated to any Angel of Heaven, much leſs to any King upon Earth.

And he lets them taſte their folly, in ſuffering them to deſtroy the greateſt ſecurity of their Government, while they think to preſerve it.

V. Prejudice to the State in having the Church depend upon them.

For we find by experience that the State, particularly in *England*, have been out in their politicks, in reducing the Church to ſo low an ebb of credit and authority with the People; for we have ſeen that Laws and Conſtitutions have prov'd too weak to reſtrain the unruly paſſions and ambition of deſigning Men. The State have no ſecurity ſo great as the Principles of the People, when they are taught to obey for conſcience ſake, and to believe that Rebellion is a damning Sin; which the Church cannot inculcate into them, farther than her credit reaches with them. And when they ſee Biſhops made by the Court, they are apt to imagine that they ſpeak to them the Court-Language; and lay no farther ſtreſs upon it, than the charge of a Judge at an Aſſizes, who has receiv'd his inſtructions before-hand from the

the Court. And, by this means, the State has loſt the greateſt ſecurity of their Government.

Beſides, that this does inſenſibly draw Men into a diſ-eſteem and ſuſpicion of Religion in the general; whoſe foundation they cannot think to be divine, while they ſee the Church depoſable by the State. Hence they are inclin'd, and eaſily impos'd upon by *Deiſts* and *Atheiſts*, to reſolve all into Prieſt-craft, managed by a ſuperior State-craft. This looſes all Bonds ſacred and civil; diſſolves all relations, as well natural as political; and gives full reins to all lewdneſs, immoralities, rebellion, and whatever wickedneſs, where there is proſpect of ſucceſs, or that can be acted *Impuné*.

That the State can never find their ſecurity in ſuch a frame of things: That if Religion were a State-craft, it were not ſuch, unleſs they can make the People believe it not to be ſo; which they cannot do, while they ſee the Governors of the Church exerciſing almoſt no eccleſiaſtical Power, but what is dependent upon the State: That the Heathen Governments underſtood this ſo well, as to preſerve their Religion moſt ſacred, and the Prieſts inviolable, and ſuperior to all others, in what related to their function, That God himſelf did ſo ordain it among the *Jews:* That it were a greater ſecurity to the State, to have a falſe Religion, ſo it were believ'd by the People, than to have no Religion at all: That nothing can be believ'd to be Religion by any People, but what they think to be divine, that is, ſent immediately from God; and they think nothing to be ſo, that is in the Power of Man to alter, or tranſverſe.

Then it was urg'd, that the *Eraſtian* Principle has had two viſible effects in *England:* That it had turn'd the Gentry, *Deiſts*; and the common People, Diſſenters: For the Diſſenters, one and all, from Presbyterians down to Muggletonians, pretend to divine Commiſſion, independent of all the Powers upon the Earth; therefore the People run to them; and look upon the Church of *England*, as a Parliamentary Religion, and eſtabliſhment of the State: And the *Deiſts*, when they find themſelves in Committees of Religion, can never think that there is any thing divine in that which they ſee ſtand and fall by their Vote.

That next to the obligation of conſcience, before ſpoke of, there is no ſecurity ſo great to any Government, as that mutual truſt and confidence which ought to be betwixt a Prince and his People. Where that is once broken, it is the hardeſt thing in the World to cement it again: The beſt actions are miſconſtru'd on both ſides; no promiſes or oaths are longer believ'd or truſted.

Now this of the *Regale* is ſo far from promoting of theſe good ends, that it is almoſt unavoidable but it muſt diſſolve them. It is a perpetual ſeed of jealouſy and diſcontent on both ſides: For a King may look upon thoſe who are zealous for Religion and the Church of *Chriſt*, as Enemies to his Crown and Dignity, and ſeeking to impair his Prerogative: And on the other hand, the friends of the Church may be tempted to think his *Regale* an Encroachment upon her original and inherent Rights; and conſequently that inſtead of being a Defender of the Faith, and Nurſing-Father to her, he is her greateſt invader and enemy.

This conſequence is ſo natural, that in every place almoſt, where the *Regale* has obtain'd, the effects of it have been ſeen: Not only in the great encreaſe of Diſſenters, for the reaſon before-mention'd; but even in conteſts betwixt the Church and the King, eſpecially where he happens to be of a different Communion from that of the eſtabliſh'd Church; and yet muſt have the diſpoſal of Biſhopricks, and other affairs of the Church in his Power, can ſet up eccleſiaſtical Commiſſions, in what hands he thinks fit; hinder

hinder Convocations to ſit, or act, *&c.* of this we have ſeen inſtances at home.

And likewiſe abroad, in *France*, where the *Regale* prevails moſt of any Popiſh Country, as in the caſe of *Henry* IV.

Nor does Kings being of the ſame Communion with the Church eſtabliſh'd in their Dominions, and truly, and zealouſly ſo, hinder always the jealouſies, that may ariſe; witneſs the holy League againſt *Henry* III. of *France*. And the ſolemn League and Covenant (which was thence tranſcrib'd, almoſt *Verbatim*, with the change only of names and circumſtances) againſt our King *Charles* I. And the conteſts with him, by thoſe that call'd themſelves of the Church of *England*, about the high Commiſſion Court, and other exerciſes of his eccleſiaſtical *Regale*, tho' ſtrictly purſuant to the Act of Parliament which did ſet it up 1 *Eliz.* Yet that was ſo far abrogated by Act of Parliament 17 *Car.* They could not endure the exerciſe of that *Regale* which themſelves had eſtabliſh'd!

Under this head may come in the ſeveral conteſts and wars betwixt Popes and the ſecular Princes, for the maintenance of their oppoſite *Regales*: As likewiſe the oppoſitions of the Eccleſiaſticks, at the Council of *Trent*, in *France*, An. 1682. (hereafter-mention'd.) And many other inſtances, againſt the *Pontificate*, or *Regale* of the Pope.

But now (ſaid one) let us ſee if we can find an inſtance of a chriſtian Church, here amongſt our ſelves in *Europe* (for we have little knowledge of farther parts, as to Church-Affairs) where neither of theſe *Regales* do obtain, neither of the Pope, or of the King.

And it was found in *Sweden*, ever ſince the Reformation there; which was made (as others ſhou'd have been) upon the foot of the primitive *Epiſcopate*, and not of the *Regale*. The King there is perfectly abſolute, as to all civil Affairs; yet leaves the Church entirely free, as to the choice of her Biſhops, and all other eccleſiaſtical Matters whatſoever: He intermeddles not at all.

Nor is he offended, that in their Liturgy, they pray not only for the Church in the general, but for the Clergy, the governing part of it, before the King and his Miniſters in the State: Thus it is in the *Greek* Liturgies, and all others except ours. They think it no Soleciſm to pray for their Biſhops before the King; and to be more concern'd for the Faith and Welfare of the Church than of the State. They let the Church ſtand all together, with her Biſhops at the Head. But the King in our Litany, is thruſt in betwixt the Church (which for decency ſake they wou'd have nam'd before the State, as being the language of all the World) and the Biſhops, upon the notion, I ſuppoſe, of his being Head of the Church. And the whole Royal Family are drawn in with him, as being Heads in Reverſion. And the Nobility too in the Office, 5th *Nov.* We improve! And ſeem to take care in the firſt place, for our Bodies, before our Souls; and for this World more than Eternity! But they retain the primitive form and conſtitution in *Sweden*: They reform not backwards.

And the effects of this are very remarkable: For, firſt, they have no Diſſenters there, Popiſh, or other; they are all uniform. And this contributes not a little to the peace and ſecurity of the civil Government. In the next place, there has been no where ſo good agreement betwixt the Church and the State. No jealouſies, no diſcontents, no murmuring at all: For indeed the ground and foundation of them is out of the way, that is, the *Regale*. The Powers, ſacred and civil, are kept, as they are in their own nature, diſtinct, and independent on each other, and ſo can never interfere. And where there is not interfering and claſhing, there muſt needs be, in this caſe,

caſe, the greateſt love, and tendereſt concern for one another; while both daily experiment the mutual benefits receiv'd on both ſides, ſpiritual and temporal. Then they will both watch over one another, for good; for it is their own. The Church will make it her utmoſt care to inculcate the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience to the civil Government: And ſuch a Church will have a credit and authority over the conſcience of the People. And the King on the other hand, finding the benefit of this to his Government (beſides more ſpiritual conſiderations) will protect and cheriſh the Church, without any fear or jealouſie, as being the greateſt ſupport to his Crown: And will be, in a true ſenſe, a Nurſing-Father to her.

VI. Of Kings being Nurſing-Fathers to the Church.

But, ſaid one, can the King be a Nurſing-Father to the Church, and yet have no Authority over her? If he be a Father, where is his honour? I have heard this, ſaid he, much inſiſted upon to prove the King's Authority over the Church. And it ſhou'd ſeem to infer ſome ſpiritual Authority or other over her, as a Church: For, as they are Subjects, they are in the ſame Claſs with Lay-Men, all equally liable to the temporal Government: But if the King have no Authority at all in her conſtitution as a Church, how is he a Father to the Church? Or, is he a Father, and yet has no Authority?

This turned the Company to the conſideration of that text *Iſai.* XLIX. 23. whence the Authority of Kings over the Church had been ſo often infer'd. But that objection ſoon vaniſhed, when the whole verſe was read out. *Kings ſhall be thy Nurſing-Fathers, and Queens thy Nurſing-Mothers: They ſhall bow down to thee with their Face towards the Earth, and lick up the Duſt off thy Feet.*

Theſe, ſaid one, are ſtrange marks of fatherly Authority! Therefore it was concluded, that the office here aſcrib'd to Kings and Queens muſt be an office of Service, and the moſt profound reverence; and withall of the greateſt love and affection, ſuch as Nurſes have for the Children committed to their care; as likewiſe of protection, and proviſion for them. And the Children here ſaid to be committed to the care of Kings and Queens, are the Sons and Daughters of God: Therefore their protection of them, and proviſion for them, their love, reverence, and ſervice to them muſt be proportionable.

Then the word Nurſing-Father was enquir'd into; and it was found to be an old *Engliſh* word, and to mean the ſame as Foſter-Father, that is, a Nurſe's Husband, whoſe office is, to protect and defend the Child, and to carry it, when there is occaſion. Thus the compariſon is us'd, *Num.* XI. 12. *As a Nurſing-Father beareth the ſucking Child.* And in this text of *Iſaiah* it is taken in the ſame ſenſe, as is expreſs'd, ℣. 22. *They ſhall bring thy Sons in their Arms, and thy Daughters ſhall be carry'd upon their Shoulders: And Kings ſhall be thy Nurſing-Fathers,* &c. Our Margin reads it, *Nouriſhers*; and the *Latin* renders it *Nutritii:* For neither in the Original, or any one Tranſlation, is there ſuch a word as Father; only this old *Engliſh* word of Nurſing-Father ſtands in our Tranſlation, which yet it explains upon the Margin: But the Prophet repeats the ſame again in other words, Chap. LX. 16. which fully explain his meaning; where ſpeaking of the future glories of the Church, he ſays, *Thou ſhalt ſuck the Milk of the* Gentiles, *and ſhalt ſuck the Breaſt of Kings.* And to ſhew that this was not an office of Authority, but of Service, he ſays, ℣. 10. *The Sons of Strangers ſhall build up thy Walls, and their Kings ſhall miniſter unto thee: Therefore thy gates ſhall be open continually, they ſhall not be ſhut day nor night, that Men may bring unto thee the forces of the* Gentiles, *and that their Kings may be brought: For the Nation and Kingdom that will not ſerve thee, ſhall periſh; yea, thoſe Nations ſhall be utterly waſted.*

ed. And ℣. 14. *The Sons alſo of them that afflicted thee, ſhall come bending unto thee; and all they that deſpiſed thee ſhall bow themſelves down at the ſoles of thy Feet.* Theſe are the ſame expreſſions with thoſe, Chap. XLIX. 23. which plainly ſhew the meaning of that Prophecy; that it is apply'd to Kings and Queens.

This turn'd the ſtream of the Diſcourſe another way: And ſome did urge from this vaſt ſubmiſſion which is mention'd of Kings, that the Perſon to whom it muſt be paid cou'd not be the Church but *Chriſt* himſelf; of whom they wou'd have all theſe texts underſtood.

But then (reply'd another) you muſt give up your argument of any ſort of Authority being imply'd in the word Nurſing-Father, in this text: For otherwiſe, if *Chriſt*, and not the Church, be here meant, you will give to Kings a Fatherly-Authority over *Chriſt*.

And ſuppoſe that *Chriſt* wanted ſuch a glorious Revolution of the Church as was there fore-told, to confirm him that there was a God, and an all-governing providence; for this is the concluſion of the verſe, *Iſa.* XLIX. 23. *Kings ſhall be thy Nurſing-Fathers, and Queens thy Nurſing-Mothers. They ſhall bow down to thee with their face toward the Earth, and lick up the duſt off thy feet. And thou ſhalt know that I am the Lord; for they ſhall not be aſhamed that wait for me.*

Beſides that from ℣. 13. to the end of this Chapter, all is ſpoken of *Zion*, of the Lord's People, as it is expreſs'd, ℣. 13, 14. and concludes, ℣. 26. thus; *And all Fleſh ſhall know that I the Lord am thy Saviour, and thy redeemer; the mighty one of* Jacob. *Chriſt* is the Saviour and Redeemer of *Jacob*; which is, his Church. But if this were ſpoken of *Chriſt*, then it makes *Chriſt* to be the redeem'd, and not the Redeemer.

Again, ℣. 16. it is ſaid, *Thy Walls are continually before me.* And ℣. 19. *Thy waſte and deſolate places, and the land of thy deſtruction, &c.* Now, what Walls has *Chriſt*, but thoſe of his Church? What other *waſte and deſolate places?* Is he a captive, and *removing to and fro?* As it is expreſs'd, ℣. 21. *Then ſhall thou ſay in thine heart, who hath begotten me theſe, ſeeing I have loſt my Children and am deſolate, a captive, and removing to and fro? And who hath brought up theſe? Behold I was left alone; theſe, where had they been?* This was ſpoke of the flowing in of the *Gentiles* to the Church, as it is expreſs'd in the next verſe, *I will lift up my hand to the* Gentiles. *And Kings ſhall be thy Nurſing-Fathers, &c.* as before-quoted. This was to anſwer the great aſtoniſhment of the Church, for the new and unexpected acceſs of ſo many Children, after thoſe of *Iſrael* had been carrie captive, and deſtroy'd. But did not *Chriſt* know this? Did not he not know *theſe, where they had been?* Did he ſay, *Who hath begotten me theſe?* Or are theſe the words of his Spouſe the Church?

And in the parallel place before quoted out of Chap. LX. after what has been repeated of *ſtrangers building thy walls; and their Kings miniſtring unto thee; Nations and Kingdoms ſerving thee; and all they that deſpiſed thee ſhall bow themſelves down at the ſoles of thy feet,* the next words are in the ſame ℣. 14. *And they ſhall call thee, the City of the Lord, the* Zion *of the Holy One of* Iſrael. This is certainly the Church, and not *Chriſt*. As the Prophet goes on, ℣. 15. *Whereas thou haſt been forſaken, ſo that no Man went through thee:* Still of *Zion*, and not of *Chriſt*. And ℣. 16. *Thou ſhalt ſuck the breaſt of Kings; and thou ſhalt know that I the Lord am thy Saviour?* Did not *Chriſt* know this before? Was not he himſelf the Saviour of his Church? Again ℣. 6. *I will alſo make thy Officers Peace, and thine Exactors Righteouſneſs,* or, as the LXX. renders it, and St. *Clem. Rom.* (*Ep. ad Corinth.* N. 42.) and others of the primitive Fathers, quoted

quoted it, (following herein the example of *Christ* and the Apoſtles, who generally quoted the Old Teſtament according to the Tranſlation of the LXX.) *I will give thee thy Princes in Peace, and thy Biſhops in Righteouſneſs.* The Biſhops were to be the Princes of the Church: But not of *Chriſt*, as this forc'd interpretation for the *Regale* would turn all theſe texts in favour of Kings: Who muſt, by theſe texts brought in their defence, either become Sons and Servants to the Church, or otherwiſe ſet themſelves up as Fathers and Kings over *Chriſt!* Unleſs they can make us believe that by *Zion*, and *the City of the Lord*, not the Church, but *Chriſt* is meant: For what is ſaid in theſe texts, themſelves do ſay, is ſpoken of *Zion*, &c.

Add to this, that the contents of both theſe Chapters do apply them to the Church, and not to *Chriſt*: Which ſhews what the ſenſe of our Church is of theſe texts.

VII. Of *David*'s ordering the courſes of the Prieſts and *Levites*, &c.

Then *David*'s ordering the courſes of the Prieſts and *Levites*, and *Solomon*'s thruſting out *Abiathar* were objected. To this it was ſaid,

1. That *David* and *Solomon* were extraordinarily inſpired Men, the one a Prophet, the other a Preacher; and that what they did, by an extraordinary commiſſion from God, is not to be brought in precedent for the ordinary power of Kings: Otherwiſe that Kings may take upon them to preach, to conſecrate Churches, (according to *Hobbs*) becauſe *Solomon* did conſecrate the Temple, and calls himſelf a Preacher. And to conſecrate Biſhops, becauſe *Moſes* conſecrated *Aaron*: Nay, to write Scripture for us, becauſe all theſe did ſo.

2. That *David* and *Solomon* were as extraordinarily raiſed up by God, and by him impower'd, and particularly inſtructed, to build the Temple, and inſtitute a new Temple-Service and Oeconomy, as *Moſes* was to make the Tabernacle, and inſtitute the Tabernacle-Service. And that as *Moſes* was commanded to make every thing of the Tabernacle after the pattern that was ſhew'd to him in the Mount, *Exod.* xxv. 40. ſo was every thing of the Temple, even to the weight of a Fleſh-hook, given to *David*, as you may ſee, 1 *Chron.* xxviii. from ℣. 2. And that in writing, ℣. 19. *All this, ſaid* David, *the Lord made me underſtand in writing, by his hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern:* Or, as it is better render'd in the *Vul. Lat.* nearer to the original, and other tranſlations, *All theſe things* (ſaid *David*) *came to me written with the hand of the Lord, that I might underſtand all the works of this pattern.* And the LXX. ſays, that *David gave all this to* Solomon, *written with the Hand of the Lord.* So that this bears the ſame authority as the Decalogue, which was wrote with the finger of God upon the Mount: And this was not only as to the Temple itſelf, and all the Utenſils of it; but likewiſe as to the Service and Oeconomy, then new made of the Prieſts, and their Miniſtration, as it is written ℣. 13. *Alſo for the courſes of the Prieſts and the* Levites, *and for all the work of the Service of the houſe of the Lord.* And theſe things were not only given to *David* himſelf, *by the Spirit*, as it is ſaid ℣. 12. but they were likewiſe commanded by *Gad*, and *Nathan*, as it is written 2 *Chr.* xxix. 25. *And he* (Hezekiah) *ſet the* Levites *in the Houſe of the Lord with Cymbals, with Pſalteries, and with Harps, according to the commandment of* David, *and of* Gad *the King's Seer, and* Nathan *the Prophet: for ſo was the commandment of the Lord by his Prophets.* Therefore theſe things cannot be brought in precedent for the ordinary power of Kings. *Hezekiah* here diſowns it, and ſhews by what authority he did it, *for ſo was the commandment of the Lord, by his Prophets:* And this needed not, if *Hezekiah* could have done it, *jure Regio*, by his own power, as King.

If

If Kings had had this power, then had not the great and victorious *Uzziah* been ſmitten with Leproſy to the day of his death; and *Saul* dethron'd by God, for invading the Prieſt's office: Then had not *Jeroboam* and his Houſe been curſed, with ſo ſevere a curſe, even *to cut it off, and deſtroy it from off the face of the earth*, for depriving the Prieſts of *Levi*, and ſetting up new Prieſts of his own chuſing, 2 *Chr.* XIII. 9. And yet he had as great reaſon to do it as State-conſiderations could afford: For theſe Prieſts of *Levi* not only join'd with *Rehoboam* againſt him, and forſook their poſſeſſions in his Kingdom, and came themſelves to *Jeruſalem* to ſtrengthen the hands of *Rehoboam*, but they brought over with them as many as they could from *Jeroboam*, as it is told, 2 *Chr.* XI. 13. to ℣. 18.

Here one interpos'd, and ſaid, that he could not oppoſe theſe authorities of holy Scripture; which he had not ſo well conſider'd before: But that otherwiſe he did not ſee ſo great inconvenience in the King's nomination of Biſhops; becauſe, ſaid he, I have obſerv'd that very excellent Men have been advanc'd in the Church, particularly by King *Charles* II. as by former Princes; and that Lay-Patrons generally put in as good Men, as where the collation was in the Biſhop.

To this it was reply'd, that the compariſon would be invidious, therefore we would not enter upon it. And moreover, ſaid this Gentleman, I am not ſo ſanguine as to promiſe my ſelf, that if the election of Biſhops were reſtor'd to themſelves to morrow, there would not be found among ſome of them, corrupt practices: They are Men; and there is no perfection in this world: The Apoſtles themſelves had their conteſts, and were Men of like paſſions as we.

But ſtill, ſaid he, there is a neceſſity for the good government of the world, and of every Society (and the Church is one) that all things ſhould go in their proper chanels. Perhaps, ſaid he, you or I might name as good a Man to be Lord Chancellor, Treaſurer, or Lord Mayor of *London*, as ſome that are choſen into thoſe places: But if, for that reaſon, we ſhould take this upon us, we ſhould be juſtly chargeable with a great offence, and in ſome caſes, of Treaſon, for aſſuming to our ſelves the office and prerogative of the King.

Beſides, that they ought to have the adminiſtration of any office, who are accountable for the diſcharge of it: And the Biſhops being anſwerable to *Chriſt* the chief Shepherd for the diſcharge of their under-Stewardſhips, ought therefore to have the adminiſtration in their own hands.

And if this was not truſted to a *David*, a *Solomon*, or a *Hezekiah*, no other King, for his opinion of his own Virtue, Wiſdom, or Godlineſs, ought to encroach upon the ſacred office.

VIII. Of *Solomon* and *Abiathar*.

Then it was deſir'd that ſomething more particularly ſhould be ſpoken concerning the deprivation of *Abiathar* by *Solomon*.

1. And you remember it was deny'd that *Solomon* did deprive him: And this was call'd a vulgar error. Then the ſentence which *Solomon* paſt upon *Abiathar* was read, 1 *Kin.* II. 26. *And unto* Abiathar *the Prieſt ſaid the King, Get thee to* Anathoth, *unto thine own fields, for thou art worthy of death; but I will not at this time put thee to death becauſe thou bareſt the Ark of the Lord God before* David *my Father, and becauſe thou haſt been afflicted in all wherein my Father was afflicted.* This was the ſentence. *Solomon* here was giving judgment upon the ſeveral Rebels who had conſpir'd againſt him: And he paſt ſentence of death againſt *Adonijah*, *Joab*, &c. But this was the ſentence of *Abiathar*, which was totally a civil and not any eccleſiaſtical ſentence: It was baniſhment from *Jeruſalem* to *Anathoth:* It was a reprieve as to his life, which he had forfeited by his Treaſon,

Treaſon, but not a full pardon: I will not, *at this time*, put thee to death: He kept him upon his good behaviour.

It was like the ſentence he paſt upon *Shimei*, at the ſame time, of confinement to *Jeruſalem*, the breach of which afterwards coſt him his life.

But it was urg'd *è contra*, that this was an eccleſiaſtical ſentence of deprivation; becauſe it is ſaid, as a conſequence of this ſentence, ℣. 27. *So* Solomon *thruſt out* Abiathar *from being Prieſt unto the Lord.* How was that? Becauſe the proper office of the Prieſt-hood was limited to the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, and cou'd not be perform'd any where elſe. And ſo *Abiathar*'s baniſhment from *Jeruſalem*, was a conſequential hindering of him from the execution of his office, during that time; but it was no deprivation: And if the King pleas'd to relax his ſentence of baniſhment; there was no incapacity upon *Abiathar* of exerciſing his office as before: For after this ſentence, he was ſtill reckon'd Prieſt, as before, 1 *Kin.* IV. 4. Zadok *and* Abiathar *were the Prieſts.* This was in the account of the chief Officers in Church and State, in *Solomon*'s Reign.

It was ſaid, That if this text be underſtood to imply a deprivation, it will alſo prove a degradation, becauſe it is ſaid, *He thruſt out* Abiathar *from being Prieſt.* And then it will prove too much: Becauſe our Kings do not pretend to ſuch a Power as to degrade Biſhops from their character. And therefore they will be forc'd to ſolve this text, by *Solomon*'s having an extraordinary Commiſſion to do this; ſeeing they pretend not to ſucceed him in ſuch a Power, which they grant to exceed theirs.

But if, ſaid one, the thruſting *Abiathar* from the Temple, and that his office was confin'd to that place, and that this was reckon'd not only a deprivation, but a degrading of him from the office of Prieſthood; it wou'd ſeem as if, by a parallel from this, the office of a Biſhop in the chriſtian Church were to be underſtood always with relation to a particular Church or Flock, and that where a Biſhop has no particular Church, of which he is Head, he is, as it were, no Biſhop of the catholick Church, that conſiſting only of ſeveral particular Churches.

To which it was added, that the Apoſtles, wherever they went, did always make Biſhops of particular Diſtricts or Churches; and never did make any ſuch thing as a Biſhop at large, without relation to ſome particular Flock: Nay that they were ſo careful in this, that, as *Clem. Rom.* tells us in his firſt *Ep.* ad *Corinth.* N. 42. they made Biſhops τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν, leaving Biſhops in places to be heads of thoſe who ſhould afterwards be converted.

That from that time to this, there has been no Biſhops in the catholick Church, but of particular Diſtricts.

That the word Biſhop, like that of King, is a word of government and relation: And as there cannot be a King without People; ſo neither a Biſhop without a Flock.

That therefore, tho' a King or a Biſhop, being depriv'd, hinders not their right of being reſtor'd, yet it is, for the time, an un-kinging or un-biſhoping of ſuch an one; and in that ſenſe, may be call'd not only a deprivation but a degradation of him, and taking of his character from him; which remains then only *in Potentiâ*, as the Schools ſpeak, in a capacity to be afterwards reduc'd into act.

That therefore, as ſaid in the beginning of this diſcourſe, whoever has a power to diſſolve the relation betwixt a Biſhop and his Dioceſs, has power over his character: As it is ſaid here of *Abiathar*, that he was *thruſt out from being Prieſt unto the Lord*; that being imply'd in the diſabling a Man from executing his office, in the place whereto he is appointed: For he has more right to that place, to that particular Flock, over which he is

appointed, and to exerciſe his office there, than in any other place, or to any other Flock; for every Flock have their own Biſhop or Paſtor; and one Biſhop muſt not thruſt himſelf into the charge of another Biſhop, without his leave: And therefore a Biſhop juſtly depriv'd, is for the time, degraded, and thruſt out of the Prieſthood; and is not to be reckon'd as one of the epiſcopal College. And if the ſecular Magiſtrate can put another Biſhop in his place, then may the State alter and model the whole epiſcopal College, at their pleaſure, and conſequently, the whole Authority of the Church of *Chriſt*.

Here one ſaid, that *Solomon* did not only *thruſt out or deprive* Abiathar, but did ſubſtitute another in his place; therefore it was deſir'd that ſomething ſhould be ſaid to explain, 1 *Kin.* II. 35. Zadok *the Prieſt did the King put in the room of* Abiathar. *Anſw. Abiathar* was chief or High-Prieſt of the ſecond Order of Prieſts, which was the eight Families of the Houſe of *Ithamar*, the ſecond Son of *Aaron*, from whom *Abiathar* deſcended. And *Zadok*, as the chief or ſupreme *Metropolitan*, was over the ſixteen Families of the Houſe of *Eleazar* the eldeſt Son of *Aaron*, from whom he deſcended. You may ſee the diſtribution, 1 *Chr.* XXIV. Therefore *Zadok* is all along, even in *David*'s time, put before *Abiathar*, wherever they are nam'd together. And the ſucceſſion of the high Prieſthood κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or properly ſo call'd, was reckon'd only in the Sons of *Eleazar*, as you may ſee, 1 *Chr.* VI. to ℣. 15, and ℣. 50, to 54. And *Ezra* VII. to ℣. 6. where none of the Family of *Ithamar* are reckon'd; neither *Eli*, nor *Ahitub*, nor *Ahimelech*, nor *Abiathar*, but *Zadok* is. And *Zadok*, and not *Abiathar*, was Prince or Ruler of the *Aaronites*, 1 *Chr.* XXVII. 17. where the Princes of the twelve Tribes are reckon'd up in *David*'s time. And *Zadok* only, and not *Abiathar*, was anointed with *Solomon*, in the life-time of King *David*. 1 *Chr.* XXIX. 22. to be *Prieſt*; that is, the *chief*, or *ſupreme high Prieſt*; or as *Joſephus* ſays, (*Antiq.* l. vii. c. 9.) *High-Prieſt of all the People*. As the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* is call'd Primate of all *England*, in contradiſtinction to the Arch-biſhop of *York*, who is ſtyl'd Primate of *England*. But when *Abiathar* was baniſh'd, and therefore could not adminiſter his high Prieſthood over the ſecond Order of the eight Families of the Houſe of *Ithamar*, they were all put under the charge of *Zadok*. And thus the putting *Zadok* in the room of *Abiathar*, was not advancing *Zadok* above *Abiathar*, for ſo he was always; but as if the Primate of *Canterbury* had the rule and government given him over the Province of *York*, during an incapacity of the Primate of *York*: Which incapacity ariſing from a civil ſentence, as of impriſonment or baniſhment (for ſuch, and no other was the ſentence of *Solomon* againſt *Abiathar*) it was no deprivation, but he remain'd notwithſtanding ſtill Primate of *York*, or ſecond *Metropolitan*, as *Abiathar* was ſtill reckon'd the ſecond Prieſt after *Zadok*, in the Court of *Solomon*, notwithſtanding of that ſentence of baniſhment paſs'd againſt him.

Who was made ſecond Prieſt, or high Prieſt of the ſecond Order, after the death of *Abiathar*, or if he was reſtor'd, by being releas'd from his baniſhment, does not appear, nor is it material to our preſent purpoſe. But this we find, that there were two ſuch Prieſts from the time of *Aaron*, *Numb.* III. 4. 1 *Chr.* XXIV. 2. and continu'd to the Captivity, 2 *Kin.* XXV. 18. *Jer.* LII. 24. and in our Saviour's time, *Luke* III. 2. and that after the new eſtabliſhment of the Temple Service and Oeconomy, the ſucceſſion of the high Prieſthood was reckon'd from *Zadok*, who was the firſt high Prieſt of the Temple, as formerly it was from *Aaron*; and inſtead of the Sons of *Aaron* the Prieſts were afterwards call'd the *Sons of* Zadok, *Ezek.* XL. 46. XLIII. 19. XLIV. 15. XLIII. 2. And inſtead of *the Houſe of* Aaron, it was ſaid, *The Houſe of* Zadok, 2 *Chr.* XXXI. 10.

As inſtead of *The Houſe of the Lord*, and *the Temple of the Lord in* Shiloh, 1 *Sam.* 1. 3, 7, 9. it was afterwards ſaid, *The Houſe* and *The Temple of the Lord in* Jeruſalem. This was a mighty Revolution in the *Jewiſh* Church: And all expreſſly order'd by God himſelf, and moſt particularly ſet down in holy Scripture.

From the *Jews* firſt poſſeſſion of *Canaan*, the Temple was ſet up in *Shiloh*, *Joſh.* XVIII. 1. And there continu'd all the time of the Judges, which was about four hundred and fifty years (*Acts* XIII. 20.) to the days of *Samuel*. The Tabernacle of *Shiloh* was then call'd, *The Tent which God had placed among Men*, Pſal. LXXVIII. 60. Then the Ark was taken, *Eli* and his Sons ſlain; and great reproach came upon *Iſrael*. After this the Ark return'd no more to *Shiloh*, but was long in a wandering condition, being twenty years in the Houſe of *Abinadab*, 1 *Sam.* VII. 1, 2. and remov'd to ſeveral other places. At length God himſelf pitch'd upon the place, where he ſhew'd himſelf, by a great Miracle, to *David*, 2 *Chr.* III. 1. or as the vulgar reads it, *which place God ſhew'd to* David. It was firſt conſecrated by *David*'s being commanded to rear an Altar there for ſtaying the Plague from the People. And it was the ſame place where *Abraham* was commanded to ſacrifice *Iſaac*, *Gen.* XXII. 2. which is obſerv'd by *Joſephus*, *Antiq.* l. vii. c. 10. *God choſe not only the Tribe, but the Mountain where he would have his Temple built*; having rejected the Tribe and Tabernacle where it was built before, *Pſal.* LXXVIII. 67, 68. It was not in Man's Power to determine the Tribe or the Place; no, nor was the leaſt circumſtance, the meaſure of a Chamber, or the weight of a Fleſh-hook (as before ſaid) left to the diſcretion either of *David* or *Solomon*, but all moſt minutely ſet down to them in writing. And as all other things, ſo the Perſon who ſhould build the Temple was particularly pitch'd upon by God himſelf. *David* was rejected for this Work, tho' he had a great mind to it. And God foretold by Prophecy whom he would have to do it, and nam'd his Name before he was born, 1 *Chr.* XXII. 8, 9, 10. ſo that in all things the Temple-œconomy was wholly divine, and not eſtabliſh'd by an ordinary regal or human Power or Authority.

2. Hence it was argu'd, that tho' the ſentence of *Solomon* againſt *Abiathar* had been an eccleſiaſtical ſentence; and that not only of deprivation, but degradation, yet it cou'd not be brought in precedent for the ordinary Power of Kings: That it muſt in that caſe, be reckon'd as a part, and a principal part of the new ordering of the courſes of the Prieſts, which was particularly commanded by God to *David*. And acccording to which it is written that *Solomon* did execute it, 2 *Chr.* VIII. 14. *And he appointed according to the Order of* David *his Father, the courſes of the Prieſts to their Service——for ſo had* David *the Man of God commanded.*

3. That if the Kingly Power extend to the depriving of Prieſts, and putting others, whom they think fit, in their room; then *Solomon* might have put any other whom he pleas'd, and not *Zadok* in the room of *Abiathar*: which I have not yet heard any adventure to ſay: For at this rate *Solomon*, or any after-King might have quite overthrown and alter'd the whole Temple-œconomy, and made what new diſtribution of the courſes of the Prieſts he thought fit, *And for all the work of the Service of the Houſe of the Lord*. For both are joyn'd together, and alike commanded. 1 *Chr.* XXVIII. 13. And by *v.* 21. it appears to be an injunction laid upon *Solomon*, particularly as to the courſes of the Prieſts, that even he could not alter: For this is there put as part of *David*'s charge to him. *And behold the courſes of the Prieſts and the* Levites, *are for all the Service of the Houſe of the Lord.*

4. That

4. That if *Abiathar* or *Eli* before him, of the Houſe of *Ithamar*, had uſurp'd the ſupreme high Prieſthood, from *Zadok*, and his Predeceſſors of the Houſe of *Eleazar*, as *Joſephus* (*Antiq.* l. viii. c. 1.) ſeems to ſuppoſe, and reckons there five of the Family of *Eleazar*, who had led a private life, while the high Prieſthood was in the Family of *Ithamar*, which was during the ſucceſſion of four, *viz. Eli*, *Ahitub*, *Ahimelech*, and *Abiathar*; and therefore he ſays, that *Zadok* was the firſt high Prieſt under *David*, he means (I ſuppoſe) of the Houſe of *Eleazar*: Then, if ſo, *Solomon*'s depriving *Abiathar*, and putting *Zadok* in his room, was only reſtoring the Right Line; and comes within the ordinary Power of Kings, who are, by their places, *Cuſtodes utriuſque Tabulæ*, Keepers, and Protectors of both the Tables of the Decalogue, as well of the firſt, which reſpects the Worſhip of God, as of the ſecond, that reſpects Juſtice betwixt Man and Man; that is, in their own Sphere, not to take upon them in any part of the ſacerdotal office, but to coerce, by the ſecular Arm, the intruders and offenders. Thus a King may and ought juſtly, by force, expel an intruding Biſhop, and reſtore the rightful Biſhop.

But it was offer'd as an objection to *Joſephus*, that thoſe five of the Houſe of *Eleazar*, who, he ſays, led private lives while the high Prieſthood was in the Houſe of *Ithamar*, viz. *Bockias* the Son of *Joſeph*, *Joathan* the Son of *Bockias*, *Mareoth* the Son of *Joathan*, *Aropha* the Son of *Mareoth*, and *Achitob* the Son of *Aropha*, who was Father to *Zadok*, are not the names of the high Prieſts which are recorded in their Genealogies, 1 *Chr.* VI. and *Ezra* VII. for *Joſephus* makes *Achitob* to be the Son of *Aropha*; who in the Scripture Genealogy is call'd *Amariah*: And he calls *Mareoth* the Son of *Joathan*, but the holy Scripture calls him the Son of *Zerahiah*: He makes *Bockias*, or *Bukki* the Son of *Joſeph*, who the holy Scripture ſays was the Son of *Abiſhua*. If he means the ſame Perſons, it is hard to ſuppoſe ſo great variation in their names, for there is nothing in the Scripture Genealogy like *Joſeph*, *Joathan*, or *Aropha*.

And if theſe were high Prieſts *de Jure*, tho' not *de Facto*, as being put out of poſſeſſion by the Houſe of *Ithamar*, then either their names muſt be put into the Genealogy of the high Prieſts, or elſe the names of thoſe of the Houſe of *Ithamar*, who fill'd the Pontifical Chair, while the others led private lives, as *Joſephus* ſays: But, as obſerv'd before, none of the Line of *Ithamar* are reckon'd in the Genealogy. And therefore, tho' they were high Prieſts of the ſecond Order, that is, over the Houſe of *Ithamar*, yet they were not the chief or ſupreme high Prieſts: Or otherwiſe, if they uſurp'd it, they were not ſo eſteem'd by God, tho' in poſſeſſion, but the ſucceſſion was reckon'd by the Prieſts who had the Right, tho' turn'd out of poſſeſſion; and that for four Generations, for ſo many were the high Prieſts that are reckon'd of the Houſe of *Ithamar*.

Selden tells us (*de Succ. in Pontif.* l. I. c. 2.) from ſome *Jewiſh* Authors, that they did believe the high Prieſthood was tranſlated from *Phineas* of the Houſe of *Eleazar*, to *Eli*, the firſt high Prieſt reckon'd of the Houſe of *Ithamar*, by the expreſs command of God, *Ex juſſu Numinis*; as ſuppoſing it cou'd not be done by Man. And he ſets down ſome of the Rabbies Reaſons for it, as, that *Phineas* and his Family were ſo much to blame for the many wickedneſſes of the *Iſraelites* under their Judges; and particularly, that he being conſulted about *Jephthah*'s Vow, refus'd to abſolve him from it: And therefore that the *Numinis Majeſtas ſeu Præſentia*, the *divine preſence, or influence departed from him.* But this looks like the reſt of the *Jewiſh* Fables and Traditions: For if the high Prieſthood had been tranſlated to *Eli*, by the command of *God*, it is hard to give a reaſon

reaſon why neither he nor any of his Poſterity ſhould be reckon'd by God amongſt the high Prieſts.

Therefore if *Eli* was high Prieſt (properly ſo call'd) and had it not from God, it is moſt probable, that he uſurp'd it when he was Judge, that is, the ſupreme civil Magiſtrate. And then he will ſtand the firſt example of the civil Magiſtrates incroachment upon the Church: for he was then in a double capacity, as the Biſhops of *Rome* are now, having the ſupreme civil Government in his hands; and by that might have exalted himſelf above his ſtation in the Church; which will come in under the notion of *Eraſtianiſm*, as being carry'd on by a civil Power, tho' in an eccleſiaſtical Perſon. This has begot the diſtinction (firſt broached by the Roman Catholicks themſelves) betwixt the Church and the Court of *Rome*.

Then it was obſerv'd, that if this matter of fact was ſo, this firſt example of the ſecular Power encroaching upon the Church, was attended (as moſt other beginnings of nefarious wickedneſs, as of Schiſm in *Korah*, &c. uſually have been) with very remarkable Judgments: For within ſeven Months after *Eli*'s entring upon his Government, the whole Nation of *Iſrael* was conquer'd by the *Philiſtines*; and remain'd in ſubjection to them all his life (the longeſt of any of their captivities before that of *Babylon*) and, which was much more terrible, the Ark of God was (then only) taken and led away in Triumph by theſe curſed *Philiſtines*, and ſet up as a Trophy in the Temple of their *Dagon*; the wicked Sons of *Eli*, who attended the Ark, were ſlain; the Armies of *Iſrael* routed; *Eli* broke his Neck, and the *Glory departed from* Iſrael. And as if the Government of *Eli* had been the cauſe of all theſe Judgments, within ſeven Months after his death, the Ark was miraculouſly reſtor'd, and *Iſrael* recover'd their freedom.

It was deſir'd by one of the Company to ſhew how this calculation was made, that the conqueſt of *Iſrael* by the *Philiſtines* was within ſeven Months after *Eli*'s entring upon his Government, and the Reſtauration within ſeven Months after his death; which was thus ſhewn. The Government of *Eli* was forty years, 1 *Sam.* IV. 18. The Captivity of *Iſrael* to the *Philiſtines* was forty years, *Judg.* XIII. 1. And the Reſtoration of the Ark was ſeven Months after its being taken, 1 *Sam.* VI. 1. and the death of *Eli*, which was the ſame day, 1 *Sam.* IV. 18. Therefore the Captivity muſt begin ſeven Months after *Eli*'s entring upon his Government, to compleat the forty years of the Captivity.

Then it was farther obſerv'd, that this was the time, and the occaſion why God forſook his Tabernacle at *Shiloh*, where it had remain'd ever ſince *Iſrael*'s firſt poſſeſſion of *Canaan*, about four hundred and fifty years, as before-mention'd.

And moreover, how Judgments purſu'd the Houſe of *Eli*; his Sons *Hophni* and *Phineas*; Sons of *Belial*, the moſt wicked that ever was heard of in any Hiſtory, they robbed the Men who came to ſacrifice, and *lay with the Women who aſſembled at the door of the Tabernacle*. And thus corrupted *Iſrael*, and made them abhor the offerings of the Lord, 1 *Sam.* II. 12, 16, 17, 22. Theſe were ſlain by the *Philiſtines*, when the Ark was taken. *Ahimelech* was maſſacred by *Saul*, and the whole City of the Prieſts for his ſake. His Son *Abiathar* fell into Treaſon, and was the laſt high Prieſt of the Line of *Ithamar*. And there was a Prophecy of theſe terrible Judgments upon the Houſe of *Eli*, and of their being remov'd from the Prieſthood, 1 *Sam.* II. 35. And *Solomon* being an extra-ordinarily inſpired Perſon, and raiſed up by God immediately, and commiſſionated by him in manner before-mention'd, we cannot doubt, had inſtruction likewiſe as to this caſe of *Abiathar*, and for the fulfilling of that Prophecy; which

we are told was the deſign of *Solomon* in what he did. *So* Solomon *thruſt out* Abiathar *from being Prieſt unto the Lord; that he might fulfill the word of the Lord which he ſpake concerning the Houſe of* Eli *in* Shiloh. 1 *Kin.* II. 27.

Therefore it was ſaid, that tho' *Abiathar* had been the high Prieſt, properly ſo call'd; and that his Family had not uſurp'd upon the Family of *Eleazar*, but that the Prieſthood had been tranſlated to the houſe of *Ithamar*, by divine Commiſſion; here was the divine Commiſſion to out them, and reinſtate the Family of *Eleazar:* And that neither the one nor the other was within the ordinary, regal, no nor human Power.

But the firſt Hypotheſis did pleaſe beſt, and ſeem'd to render all this matter more eaſy, that the high Prieſthood, properly ſo call'd, was not tranſlated to the Houſe of *Ithamar*, tho' it is probable that *Eli* the ſecond high Prieſt being alſo Judge of *Iſrael*, might take more upon him as to the Prieſthood than he ought, and withdraw his Subjection to the firſt high Prieſt: Whom, by the addition of his civil Authority, he did ſo over-ſhadow, that no mention is made, in the reign of *Eli* of any other high Prieſt than himſelf. But in the reign of *David* we find that *Zadok* gain'd the aſcendent over *Abiathar*, as ſhewn above, even before his being thruſt out by *Solomon*; which it was thought might be, nay that it muſt be reckon'd among the regulations of the courſes of the Prieſts; and ſo, that it was by immediate divine Commandment.

5. It was conſider'd how dangerous and uncertain an argument mere example is, eſpecially in holy Scripture, where many things, are told very ſhort, and the reaſons of them not always ſet down: That the leaſt variation of a circumſtance may make that lawful in one, which would be a ſin in another. And many unwarrantable actions are barely related in holy Scripture, without any mark put upon them. And many extraordinary actions of Prophets and others are told, for which we do not doubt they had divine Commiſſion, yet no ſuch Commiſſion mention'd: And wherein if we ſhould imitate them, we ſhould greatly ſin. That examples are encouragements to our duty, in things that are commanded; but no rule of themſelves: That following the example of *Phineas*, gave riſe to that deſperate and bloody Sect of the *Zealots* among the *Jews*; and many the like amongſt our ſelves; who govern themſelves chiefly by examples, and brought moſtly out of the Old Teſtament, as *Curſe ye* Meroz, *&c.* The like miſtaken Zeal poſſeſs'd the two fiery Diſciples, to imitate *Elias*, Luk. IX. 54.

That there being but this one example of *Solomon* in all the holy Scripture of a King's thruſting out a Prieſt, except where it is ſeverely reprehended by God, as in *Jeroboam*; it is a very dangerous method to take no notice of thoſe examples where God has condemned it, and to build only upon one inſtance, from this ſingle encouragement: That God has not in that place condemned it: That condemning it in ſome Kings, ſhews it not to be within the regal Commiſſion; and therefore the example of it in another King muſt be likewiſe condemnable, tho' it be not there expreſs'd: Or otherwiſe, that King muſt have had ſome extraordinary Commiſſion from God for the doing of it; as it muſt be ſuppoſed that *Solomon* here had; elſe no doubt it had been a ſin in him, as well as in another: That is, if it was any more than a civil ſentence of baniſhment, as before has been diſcours'd.

6. That it is certain the levitical Prieſthood was ſet up by God four hundred years before there was a King in *Iſrael*; as the evangelical Prieſthood was three hundred years before there was a chriſtian King in the World: And therefore, that neither the one nor the other cou'd be made dependent upon Kings. That ſince chriſtian Kings do build the *Regale* upon

on the precedent of the *Jewiſh* Kings, it muſt go againſt them: Seeing they muſt grant, that it was not in the power of the *Jewiſh* Kings to alter the *Aaronical* Prieſthood, and ſet up other Prieſts in their place; and that as well the King, as all the People were to be directed by the high Prieſt, as it is written, *Numb.* XXVII. 21. *At his word ſhall they go out, and at his word they ſhall come in, both he* (the King or chief Governor) *and all the Children of* Iſrael *with him, even all the Congregation.*

IX. Concerning our Laws at preſent, and ſince the Reformation.

Here one interpos'd, and deſir'd to know, how all this would agree with our preſent Laws, and ſince the Reformation: And inſtanc'd the Statutes 25 *H.* VIII. c. 19. and 37 *H.* VIII. c. 17, *&c.* with the Commiſſion that Arch-biſhop *Cranmer* took out for his Biſhoprick from *Edw.* VI. which is inſerted in Biſhop *Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation,* Part. II. *Collect. Record.* to Book I. N. 2. p. 90. And the like done by other Biſhops, whereby they held their Biſhopricks during pleaſure of the King; and own'd to derive all their power even eccleſiaſtical, from the Crown, *Velut à ſupremo Capite, & omnium infra Regnum noſtrum Magiſtratuum Fonte & Scaturigine,* as from the fountain and original of it, *&c.* To this it was ſaid,

1. That all this is to be underſtood only of the civil Power and Authority, which by the Laws of the Land, were annex'd to the ſacred office: As the civil juriſdiction that is granted to the Biſhops Courts, to the Biſhops themſelves, as Lords of Parliament, *&c.* to the civil penalties which follow their excommunications, and the legal protection to their ordinations, and other acts of their office: And theſe are deriv'd onely and ſolely from the King. Nothing of this was granted to the Apoſtles, or the Biſhops, their Succeſſors by *Chriſt.* And as the State granted theſe, they may recall them, if there be ſufficient reaſon for it.

That in that very Commiſſion before-mention'd, which was given to *Cranmer* for his Biſhoprick, there is an exception, *Per & ultra ea quæ tibi ex ſacris Literis divinitùs commiſſa eſſe dignoſcuntur.* (i. e.) *Over and above thoſe Powers and Authorities, which the holy Scriptures do teſtify, are given to thee by God.* Theſe the King did not take upon him to grant; but only what was over and above theſe, that is, the protection and civil privileges granted by the State, which were annex'd, to fortify and encourage theſe. And take notice, that that of which the King is here call'd the Head and Fountain, is *Omnium Magiſtratuum,* of all the Magiſtracy within his Dominions, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal: For there is a civil Magiſtracy annex'd by the Laws to the eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction: And of this only ought theſe expreſſions to be meant; becauſe we ſee the other, the ſpiritual Authority which in holy Scripture is granted to the Church, is expreſſly excepted: And that eccleſiaſtical Authority which in this Commiſſion is ſaid to flow from the King, is, *Juris dicendi Authoritas, & quæcunque ad Forum Eccleſiaſticum pertinent*; that is, *The epiſcopal Juriſdiction, conſider'd as a* Forum, *a Court eſtabliſh'd by the ſecular Power, and part of the Laws of the Land.*

That in the ſaid *Hiſt. of the Reformation,* Part. I. in the *Addenda* N. v. p. 321. there is *A Declaration made of the Function and divine Inſtitution of Biſhops and Prieſts,* ſubſcrib'd by the Lord *Cromwell,* then Vice-gerent to King *Hen.* VIII. in eccleſiaſtical matters, by Arch-biſhop *Cranmer,* with the Arch-biſhop of *York,* eleven other Biſhops, and twenty Divines and Canoniſts, declaring that the Power of the Keys, and other Church Functions is formally diſtinct from the civil Power, *&c.* And *ibid. Collect. Record.* N. x. p. 177. There is the Judgment of eight Biſhops concerning the King's Supremacy, whereof *Cranmer* is the firſt, aſſerting that the Commiſſion which *Chriſt* gave to his Church had *No reſpect to Kings or*

Princes Power: But that the Church had it by the *Word of God, to which christian Princes knowledge themselves subject.* They deny that the Commission *Christ* gave to his Church did extend to civil Power over Kings and Princes: And they own that the civil Power was over Bishops and Priests, as well as other Subjects, that is, in civil matters, which the Church of *Rome* did deny: But they assert that *Bishops and Priests have the charge of Souls, are the Messengers of* Christ, *to teach the truth of his Gospel, and to loose and bind sin,* &c. *as* Christ *was the Messenger of his Father.* Which sure was independent of all Kings and Powers upon Earth.

Here one desir'd it might not be forgot, that *Bonner* took out the same Commission for his Bishoprick from *Hen.* VIII. as that before-mention'd of *Cranmer* from *Edw.* VI. which is, *verbatim* inserted in the said *Hist. of the Reformation,* Part. I. *Collect. Record,* to B. III. p. 184.

And that the Convocation who made that submission of the Clergy, 25 *Hen.* VIII. were all Roman Catholicks, for it was before the beginning of the Reformation, before the King's Supremacy was enacted, which, when enacted afterwards, was grounded upon this submission of the Popish Clergy, and the acknowledgment of both Convocations before that time (22 *Hen.* VIII.) who own'd the King as supreme Head of the Church within his own Dominions. This was the first time, and these Popish Bishops and Clergy were the first who bestowed that title upon the King; with which they have ever since upbraided the Reformation.

2. It was farther said, That as our Laws stand at present, the Church is left wholly independent on the State, as to her purely Spiritual Power and Authority.

Because our Kings claim no other ecclesiastical Authority than was granted by God to the Kings in holy Scripture: And what that was we have seen before, to have nothing in it but mere civil Power; tho' it might be exercised over ecclesiastical Persons (who are subject, as all others, as *Christ* himself was, to the civil Powers in all civil things) and in ecclesiastical causes too, to punish with temporal pains, as well Blasphemers, Idolaters, and Hereticks, as Thieves, Robbers, *&c.* as well the Transgressors against the first as second Table. Thus the Godly Kings in holy Scripture did: Thus they were impower'd by God: And this, and no more is attributed to our Kings, as it is fully express'd in our 37th Article, *viz. That only Prerogative which we see to have been given always to all Godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himself: That is, to rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal: And to restrain with the civil Sword the stubborn and evil doers.* These are the words of the Article.

And hence it was urg'd, that the precedents drawn from any extraordinary Acts of *Moses, David,* or *Solomon* are hereby excluded; because it is said such Prerogative, and such only, as was always given, and to all Godly Princes. And that is explain'd, *viz. To restrain with the civil Sword.*

That therefore, by this, all ecclesiastical Power whatsoever is utterly disown'd and disclaim'd: Tho' the civil Power, as said before, may be exercis'd upon ecclesiastical Persons, and in ecclesiastical Causes.

That this was made in explanation of the Oath of Supremacy. And therefore does oblige us to understand those words in that Oath, where the King is said to be *Supreme Governor, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal,* to extend only to civil Government, and the Power of the civil Sword.

That this explanation was made neceſſarily, for, as Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, (*Hiſt. Reform.* Part. II. p. 386.) the Biſhops oppos'd the Queen's Supremacy, as ſet forth in that Oath; and many others were offended at it. And the ſame Biſhop, in his Travels, *Letter* 1. from *Zurich*, p. 52. of the *Dutch* Edition at *Rotterdam*. An 1686. quotes a Letter of Biſhop *Jewel*'s to *Bullinger*, dated *May* 22, 1559. wherein he writes, *That the Queen refus'd to be call'd Head of the Church*, and adds, *That that Title cou'd not be juſtly given to any mortal.* Therefore Queen *Elizabeth* laid aſide the Title of Head of the Church, and inſtead thereof the word Governor was put into the Oath, as it ſtands to this day. The King being now ſtyl'd therein only ſupreme Governor, which is a more ſecular word than Head (tho' it may mean the ſame thing) and, as here explain'd, means only ſupreme civil Governor.

That this Article mentions Queen *Elizabeth*'s Injunctions, which explain and limit the regal Supremacy, as it has done; and deſires that none ſhou'd take the Oath in any other ſenſe.

That Primate *Uſher* gave the ſame explanation of it, in a Speech at the Council-Table in *Dublin*, upon occaſion of ſome Magiſtrates there, who refus'd the ſaid Oath. And King *James* I. ſent him a Letter of thanks and approbation of his Speech: Both which are in Print.

And that none of our ſucceeding Kings or Parliaments have given any other explanation of it, or requir'd that it ſhould be taken in any other ſenſe; but all along refer to theſe.

That the thirty nine Articles are incorporated into our Laws, and requir'd to be ſubſcrib'd by Act of Parliament.

That therefore, if any think the former Acts of Parliament 25 *Hen.* VIII. c. 19. the 37 *Hen.* VIII. c. 17, *&c.* And the Commiſſions for Biſhopricks, taken out by *Cranmer*, *Bonner*, &c. cannot be reconcil'd by the means before-mention'd, with that expoſition in the 37th Article, *&c.* and with ſeveral practices formerly, or at this day: Yet this they muſt grant, that not only former Cuſtoms, but Acts of Parliament, are ſuperſeded and annull'd by latter Acts of Parliament: And therefore if thoſe former Acts cannot be ſo conſtrued as to agree with the latter, the latter muſt take place, and ſo on all hands it is plain, that as our Laws ſtand at preſent, the Church is left wholly independent on the State, as to her purely Spiritual Power and Authority, *Quod erat demonſtrandum.* And if there is or has been any practices contrary to theſe Laws, yet that annuls not the Laws.

And as the original Rights of the Church are here aſſerted independent of the civil Power; ſo likewiſe her Authority, is not left undetermin'd, in her ſpiritual capacity, even over the King himſelf; not only to debar him the Prayers and Sacraments, but to proceed to excommunication, if other methods prevail not to bring him to Penance for open ſcandals: Thus it is expreſs'd in *The ſecond Part of the Homily of right uſe of the Church*, where after having ſpoke of *Chriſt*'s ſcourging the buyers and ſellers out of the Temple, theſe words follow, *And according to this example of our Saviour* Chriſt, *in the primitive Church, which was moſt holy and godly, and in the which due diſcipline with ſeverity was uſed againſt the wicked, open offenders were not ſuffer'd once to enter into the Houſe of the Lord, or admitted to Common-Prayer, and the uſe of the holy Sacraments with other true Chriſtians, until they had done open Penance before the whole Church. And this was practiſed, not only upon mean Perſons, but alſo upon the rich, noble, and mighty Perſons; yea, upon* Theodoſius, *that puiſſant and mighty Emperor, whom, for committing grievous and wilfull Murder, St.* Ambroſe *Biſhop of* Milain *reprov'd ſharply, and did alſo ex-*

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communicate the ſaid Emperor, and brought him to open Penance. Some have beſtow'd a Marginal Note upon this place, and ſay, *He was only debarred from receiving the Sacrament, until by repentance he might be better prepar'd.* But there was ſomething more in it, or elſe, both the Hiſtory of it, and the Homily have been fouly miſtaken. The Homily ſays, he was excommunicated, and brought to open Penance. Let who will comment upon theſe words; they are confirm'd, and every Clergy-Man in the Nation oblig'd, by Act of Parliament, to ſubſcribe them: They are part of our thirty nine Articles of Religion; and ſtand to this day unrepealed; and therefore are a ſufficient explanation of the ſenſe both of Church and State in this matter: And if ſome of our Divines would explain the Doctrine of our Church, more by her Articles, Homilies, and Canons, than the ſenſe of private Doctors, they would go upon ſurer grounds, and have better ſucceſs.

Tho' there want not Doctors, even modern, and of no ſmall reputation, who have given ſufficient Teſtimony againſt the *Eraſtian* Conſtruction of our Laws, or obligation of them, if ſo conſtru'd.

That of Dr. *Sherlock* is full and expreſs, which is quoted at the end of the Preface, * That Biſhops have no Right to give away thoſe Powers which *Chriſt* has given them, and if granted by them that the grant is void, and they ought to re-aſſume them. Much more, if taken from them, by any whatſoever.

And Dr. *Burnet*, now Biſhop of *Salisbury*, whoſe *Hiſtory of the Reformation* is before-quoted, as to the ſenſe of the Laws then made, is fuller upon that point, in a Treatiſe wrote ſince, when the Popiſh Controverſy was a-foot, and he was in *Holland*; it is intituled, *Reflexions on the relation of the* Engliſh *Reformation, lately printed at* Oxford. This was printed at *Amſterdam* for *J. S.* 1688. There in the firſt Part, ſpeaking of the Acts of Parliament that concern the King's Supremacy, he ſays, p. 18. *When our Author doth*, &c. *Then may we undertake to juſtify all the flouriſhes that may be in any Act of Parliament——It is a very unreaſonable thing to urge ſome general expreſſions, or ſome ſtretches of the royal Supremacy, and not to conſider that more ſtrict explanation that was made of it, both in King* Henry VIII's *time, and under Queen* Elizabeth. And p. 19. he ſays, *Upon the definition of the King's Supremacy, in* The neceſſary Erudition of a chriſtian Man, *All People were obliged to take their meaſures, and not upon ſome expreſſions either in Acts of Parliament, or Acts of Convocation, nor upon ſome ſtretches of the King's Juriſdiction. In this* (Erudition of a chriſtian Man) *it is plainly ſaid,* That Biſhops and Prieſts are bound to obey all the King's Laws, not being contrary to the Laws of God: *So that here is expreſſed that neceſſary reſerve upon their obedience, it being provided that they were only bound to obey,* when the Laws were not contrary to the Laws of God. *The other reſerve is alſo made*; of all that Authority which was committed by *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles to the Biſhops and Prieſts, *And we are not aſhamed to own it freely, that we ſee no other reſerves in our obedience to the King beſides theſe.* [He goes on to Queen *Elizabeth*'s explanation, and ſays p. 20.] *That ſince this ſenſe was not only given by Queen* Elizabeth, *who allowed ſuch as took the Oath to declare that they took it in that ſenſe; but it was afterwards enacted both in Convocation and in Parliament, and put into the Body of our Confeſſion of Faith, this explanation muſt be conſider'd as the true meaſure of the King's Supremacy: And the wide expreſſions in the former Laws muſt be underſtood to be reſtrain'd by this: Since poſterior Laws derogate from thoſe that were at firſt made*, &c.

* *Summary of the Controv.* p. 119.

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[And quoting the Queen's Injunctions, he says] *This is all the Supremacy which we are bound in conscience to own. And if the Letter of the Law, or the stretches of that in the administration of it, have carry'd this farther, we are not at all concern'd in it. But in case any such thing were made out, it cou'd amount to no more than this, that the civil Authority had made some encroachments on ecclesiastical Authority. But the submitting to an oppression, and bearing it till some better times may deliver us from it, is no argument against our Church*, &c. And p. 21. he says, *We may see in* Godeau, *and many other modern Writers, how much they complain of this, as a servitude, under which their Church* (the *French*) *is brought, and an infraction of all the ancient Canons.* Again, p. 23. *If the great and unmeasur'd extent of the papal Authority made our Princes judge it necessary to secure themselves from those innovations, by stretching their Jurisdiction a little too much*, &c. *And if in the time of our Reformation, some of our Bishops, or other Writers have carry'd the royal Supremacy too far, either in Acts of Convocation, or in their Writings; as those things are personal matters, in which we are not at all concern'd, who do not pretend to assert an infallibility in our Church; so their excess in this was a thing so natural, that we have all possible reason to excuse it, or at least to censure it very gently*, &c. And p. 28. *It is certain no Clergy in the World can make such a deputation*, &c. This is agreeable to what is before quoted of Dr. *Sherlock*, that the Clergy cannot give up their Powers, nor depute a Convocation so to do. Again, p. 54. Speaking of the Act of Submission, he says, *The Clergy did not bind themselves never to meet without the King's Writ. They only said, that the Convocation had ever been, and ought always to be assembled by the King's Writ: Yet it doth not bind them up from meeting, in case the necessities of the Church require it, and that the King refuses his Writ.* This supports Dr. *Atterbury*'s exposition of it. Lastly, for what I shall quote at this time, he says, p. 92. *The civil Supremacy that we ascribe to our Kings*, &c. Here he gives the King only a civil Supremacy, tho', as said before, this civil Power may be exercis'd over ecclesiastical Persons, and in ecclesiastical Causes. And this is fully agreeable to the 37th Article, and that exposition of it, and of our Laws, which has been given; and now carries more force with it, having the concurrence of so learned a Person, and so particularly skill'd in the History of our Reformation, who owns it as part of our Confession of Faith.

More might be brought from the same judicious Author, and others of as great name in the Church of *England*, to ballance the authorities that are produc'd out of her writers on the other side; for whom the Bishop here has made an excuse, that the torrent and prejudices of those times, ought, at least, to make our censure of them very easy. To which we are very willing; and wou'd hide them: But the continual quoting of them by the *Regale*-Men, and heaping up catalogues of them, does expose them, and the Church of *England* with them: And then laying the whole stress of their cause upon such precedents, renders it very precarious; and forces the Church-Men to produce some contrary precedents: But they not laying their issue barely upon precedents, these may suffice for this time; though they say more are ready when call'd for, and when it can be to any purpose: For having vindicated the sense of our Laws by our Articles and Homilies, which are confirm'd both by Convocation and Parliament, what need is there of the suffrage of private Persons?

X. The present State of the Controversy.

From that of the Laws, the discourse turn'd to the present state of the Controversy concerning the Independency of the Church; occasion'd by the now unhappy Schism which has arisen in the Church of *England* upon that

that ſingle point: For tho' the depriv'd Biſhops and Clergy went out upon account of the Oaths, yet this made no Schiſm; no not even when they were actually depriv'd and ouſted by Act of Parliament: That the Schiſm did not commence till the day of the conſecration of new Biſhops into the Sees of the Biſhops who were ejected; for then, and not till then, there were Biſhops and Anti-Biſhops, and oppoſite Altars ſet up.

The Company did not meddle at all with the State point, as to the Oaths: But kept themſelves entirely to the Church-point, of her Independency, as to her purely ſpiritual authority from the State; and that not only here in *England*, with relation either to paſt or preſent occurrences, but all the world over, upon the intrinſical and original rights of the Church: Though the preſent occaſion has ſtarted the diſpute amongſt us; and therefore the company deſir'd to follow that as far as it has gone, that we might ſee the true ſtate of it on all ſides.

I. Dr. *Hody*, and thoſe who write on his ſide, do not take upon them to juſtify Lay-Deprivations; but only to comply with them, tho' ſuppoſing them to be not only unjuſt, but invalid, if impos'd by an irreſiſtible power, and that the Biſhops whom the Lay-Power does put into the Sees of the ejected, are orthodox in the Faith.

They ſupport this hypotheſis upon the authority of precedents: Which they would improve to be the practice of the whole catholick Church, in all ages; and therefore a ſufficient rule to determine Conſcience.

But whereas ſeveral precedents are given on the contrary ſide in the *Vindication of the depriv'd Biſhops*, and the *hiſtorical collections concerning Church affairs*, &c. of thoſe who adher'd to their Biſhops when unjuſtly, but moſt of all if invalidly depriv'd, tho' the ſucceſſor was orthodox in the Faith: Therefore they add*, that theſe ſucceſſors were rejected for other reaſons, *either becauſe they were accounted Hereticks, or becauſe their orders were look'd upon to be null and invalid, as being deriv'd (either immediately or mediately) from ſome who were accounted Hereticks: Or becauſe they communicated with Hereticks: Or laſtly, becauſe they were for ſome other crime excommunicated.*

And it was ſaid, that it would be hard indeed to find a Biſhop againſt whom ſome of theſe objections might not lie: For example, all the Biſhops of the Reformation, as well in *England* as elſewhere, are ſtruck off at one blow; for they all deriv'd their orders from thoſe whom they now account to be, and then to have been Hereticks: And for this reaſon their orders are accounted to be null and invalid by many of our Diſſenters.

And the Ordinations of the Church of *Rome* muſt go off too, eſpecially ſince the Council of *Conſtance*, that turn'd out all the Popes who were then in the world, which were three oppoſite or Anti-Popes, contending one againſt another: And they cannot ſay of any of their Ordinations at this day, that they are not deriv'd from ſome of theſe Anti-Popes.

Nay all the Churches as far as the *Arian* Hereſy reach'd may come under this objection: For many of their Ordinations were deriv'd from ſome or other who were *Arians*, *Semi-Arians*, &c. or ſuſpected ſo to be: And the ſcene of theſe precedents alledg'd, being chiefly in thoſe ages, wherein this Controverſy was moſt hotly debated, pretences of this ſort could hardly be wanting againſt any whom they otherwiſe diſlik'd.

Beſides that, as ſhewn in the *Vindication of the deprived Biſhops*, p. 24. &c. the notion of Hereſy was then taken in a much more large ſenſe than it is underſtood now with us: That it was then apply'd to any ſeparation that was made upon any principle.

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* *Reflexions on the Remarks upon the eighth occaſional Paper*, &c. p. 27.

So that if it could be alledg'd that ſuch a Biſhop did but once communicate, or join ſo much as in Prayer, or any holy office, at a Marriage or a Chriſtening, with any ſo accounted: Or laſtly, if any other crime can be charg'd upon him—— Now ſome of theſe excuſes will never be wanting where Men will fiſh for them: And under the terror of an irreſiſtible power it is very natural to think, that moſt Men would be inclin'd to put the cauſe of their non-compliance with that power upon any thing rather than to diſpute the authority of ſuch a power.

Eſpecially conſidering, that Dr. *Hody* himſelf, from his *Baroccian* MSS. makes ſome of the ſecond Biſhops, who came in the room of St. *John Chryſoſtome*, when he was depriv'd, to be Saints; and ſo free from all theſe exceptions: And yet tells of thoſe numbers of Chriſtians, who therefore were call'd *Joannites*, becauſe they adher'd to *John* their depriv'd Biſhop; and could not be charm'd with the Saintſhip of any ſecond Biſhop during his life; nor frighted with the irreſiſtible power of the Emperor, which was let looſe upon them, to make them own the ſecond Biſhops he had ſet up. Hence that bold challenge was thought very ſtrange, which is given in moſt peremptory terms, p. 27. of *Reflex.* before quoted, *To ſhew as much as one ſingle Perſon throughout all the fourth age* (in which St. *Chryſoſtome* liv'd) *that actually ſtood out on that account.*

But in former ages their ſtanding out upon that account was ſhewn to have been much more univerſal: Which Dr. *Hody* excuſes only becauſe there was not then an irreſiſtible power to compel them. And upon this alone he does reſolve the whole cauſe: For when the practice not only of ſingle Perſons, but Churches, nay of the whole catholick Church was produc'd againſt ſubmitting to ſecond Biſhops during the lives of the firſt lawful Biſhops, if invalidly depriv'd, Dr. *Hody* concludes his *Caſe of Sees vacant by unjuſt or un-canonical deprivations*, with an anſwer to this, in theſe words, p. 195.

It is alledged by one of our adverſaries *, *that the* Novatians, *the* Donatiſts, *and the* Meletians *of* Ægypt *were Schiſmaticks, in the opinion of the Church, becauſe the Biſhops who firſt headed them were ſecond Biſhops. But this is eaſily anſwer'd: For the Biſhops whom they follow'd were not ſet up by any ſovereign coercive power, in the room of others depos'd; but were ſet up by inferior Perſons againſt others poſſeſs'd of the Sees. I have already ſaid, that it is not every one whom a ſmall tumultuous party ſhall get to be ordain'd, that ought to be receiv'd as a Biſhop; but that which we maintain is this, that where the lawful Biſhop is depos'd by an irreſiſtible party, there the ſucceſſor may be acknowledged.*

It was ſaid to this, that tho' the *Novatians*, *Donatiſts*, &c. were not irreſiſtible, yet they were very powerful parties; and kept up long and great Schiſms in the Church; and in ſome places they were irreſiſtible, that is, had the greater force.

That, by this rule, they were not Schiſmaticks in thoſe places; but thoſe who oppoſed them were the Schiſmaticks: Tho' in other places, where they were leſs powerful, there they were the Schiſmaticks; and thoſe who oppoſed them preſerved the Unity of the Church: And if they had been ſet up by any ſovereign coercive power, by the *Roman* Emperor, then had there never been ſuch Schiſmaticks in the Church as the *Novatians*, *Donatiſts*, or *Meletians*; but they had been the Church, and the Church had been the Schiſmaticks.

So that by this the notions of a Church, and of Schiſm, are very uncertain things; and may change ſides with every wind of perſecution, or

* *The Unity of Prieſthood*, &c. p. 58, 59.

of power, or of fright! And that may appear irreſiſtible to one which is not to another. But can we oppoſe irreſiſtible force? ſaid one. No, ſaid another, for if we oppoſe it, it is not irreſiſtible. But what ſort of oppoſition do you mean? For lawful powers are not to be reſiſted by arms, tho' we had ſtrength to do it, under penalty of Damnation, *Rom.* XIII. 2. Therefore they are always irreſiſtible in that ſenſe. But if you mean by reſiſtance, not complying with their unjuſt commands, then no power upon Earth can be irreſiſtible; becauſe the reſiſtance is by ſuffering, by prayers and tears, which are the arms of the Church.

That if it be lawful to ſupport the Faith of the Church againſt an irreſiſtible party, why not the Government and Diſcipline of the Church? Since without theſe the Church cannot ſtand, nor exert that commiſſion which was given to her by *Chriſt*.

That wherever the Government of the Church is placed, all Appeals, even as to maters of Faith, muſt determine there.

Suppoſe that not long ago the King had got a majority of Popiſh Biſhops in the Convocation, whither ſhould we have appeal'd from that Convocation?

To whom ſhall all the Biſhops, ſhall Epiſcopacy itſelf now appeal in *Scotland?*

And if the Government of the Church be put into the hands of Papiſts or Presbyterians, *&c.* how ſhall we ſecure the Faith?

Therefore it was wiſh'd, that Dr. *Hody*, &c. would let us know where they intend to ſtop, upon this their principle of complying, tho' in unjuſt things, with irreſiſtible force. Will they ſtop at Epiſcopacy? If ſo, then is it not the cauſe of Epiſcopacy which they oppoſe? Since the ſame irreſiſtible power that could deprive nine Biſhops in *England*, may deprive them all, and Epiſcopacy itſelf, as in *Scotland*. That if the State cannot deprive twenty ſix Biſhops, they cannot deprive one: And if one, they may twenty ſix. So that it is not the cauſe of the depriv'd, but of all Biſhops, of Epiſcopacy itſelf, which is here concern'd: And yielding it in one inſtance, is giving up the whole.

It was obſerv'd how very jealous our Parliaments have been of allowing any precedent, whereby the Life or Eſtate of the meaneſt Subject ſhould be at the arbitrary diſpoſal of the King: Becauſe, by the ſame rule, the Life and Liberty of every Subject muſt lie at his mercy.

That encroachments are made by degrees, from one ſtep to another; and the beſt time to ſtop is at the beginning; before we have given precedents againſt our ſelves; have yielded the cauſe, and are entirely ſubdu'd: Then it will be too late, and the power will be more irreſiſtible, and Mens courage will grow leſs.

That it was a common and a juſt judgment for Men to fall from one wickedneſs to another: That to conſent, or comply with the wickedneſs of another, is to make my ſelf guilty of it: As it is written, *Pſal.* L. 18. *When thou ſaweſt a thief, thou conſentedſt with him, and haſt been partaker with adulterers.*

That no examples are ſufficient to juſtify this, of no Church, at no age, no, not of the Apoſtles themſelves: Of whom one betray'd his Maſter; another forſwore him; all forſook him.

That inſiſting upon ſuch topicks may expoſe the infirmities of human Nature, and the failings of the beſt of Men; but can never juſtify our imitation of them; for we muſt not *follow a multitude to do evil: Nor decline after many* (if it were the whole world) *to wreſt judgment*, *Exod.* XXIII. 2. For the nature of things does not alter for our opinion or practice of them: Truth is Truth, and Injuſtice is Injuſtice, if all the world

ſhould

ſhould ſay the contrary: And, by the ſame neceſſity, Evil is to be avoided, and Good to be follow'd.

That therefore to yield Lay-Deprivations to be unjuſt and invalid, and yet to argue for our compliance with them, is to do Evil that Good may come of it; and to make it right to comply with wrong.

That it is indeed deſtroying all notion of right and wrong: For if it be right to comply with the wrong, then it is wrong to comply with the right; as theſe ſay of thoſe who comply with the depriv'd Biſhops, (allowing theſe Biſhops to have the right:) For they accuſe them of being guilty of the Schiſm, and of all the evils that follow.

We are commanded by the Apoſtle, to *eſchew evil, and do Good*, 1 *Pet.* iii. 2. But theſe command us to comply with the Evil, and eſchew the Good, if ſo bidden by an irreſiſtible party!

That this juſtifies all proſperous Schiſms and Uſurpations: For they would not be proſperous if the major number did not go in to them; and the major is the irreſiſtible party.

That, by this rule, the ten Tribes had not been the Schiſmaticks, tho' they threw off the Prieſthood of *Levi*: But the two Tribes who ſtuck to it were the Schiſmaticks, becauſe the feweſt in number: And thoſe of the ten Tribes who (as *Tobit*) would not own the Prieſthood ſet up by the civil power, but brought their tithes to *Jeruſalem*, and gave them to the Prieſts of *Levi*, were in ſo doing guilty of Schiſm.

That whatever Schiſms have been amongſt the Churches within the *Roman* Empire, were nothing ſo much in reſpect to the catholick Church, as the ten Tribes were in proportion to the two Tribes in the Church of *Iſrael*, the then only viſible Church of God in the world.

That many of our Schiſms in the Weſt were never heard of by the numerous chriſtian Churches in the Eaſt of *Aſia*, among the *Abyſſines* in *Africa*, and other far diſtant Churches: Which, becauſe not well known to us, we muſt by no means caſt off from the body of the catholick Church.

That therefore we muſt not make a computation of the catholick Church from that part of it which was within the compaſs of the *Roman* Empire, tho' called œcumenical.

No: Nor can we know the principles even of that part of it merely by the practice, tho' of the generality, when under an irreſiſtible force: For then Men do not ſpeak their judgments freely; and many will be ſilent, for fear, whoſe principles are contrary to the proceedings of the irreſiſtible party.

That therefore the principles of thoſe ages are better to be gather'd from their writings than their practices.

And that all thoſe Fathers and Councils who ſpeak againſt the *Regale*, or power of the civil Government over the eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, either to elect or deprive the Biſhops, to obſtruct or over-awe their Synods, *&c*, muſt be ſuppos'd likewiſe to forbid complying with what they thought evil: And ſo great an evil, as they made this uſurpation of the *Regale* over the Church to be, even the Reign of *Antichriſt*; and ſetting up the King in the place of *Chriſt*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Againſt which, the actual compliance, tho' of the generality, was not to be urg'd; for that theſe commonly run down the ſtream: And our bleſſed Saviour has caution'd us againſt the broad way, wherein there is always moſt company.

Therefore this topick was diſmiſs'd, of juſtifying compliance with Lay-Deprivations, ſuppoſing them to be both unjuſt and invalid: It was look'd upon as a betraying of the cauſe: And all deſir'd to turn to thoſe who take

upon them to maintain the Validity of Lay-Deprivations; as being the only thing that could determine this controverſy.

II. The firſt produc'd upon this head was Dr. *Wake*, his *Authority of Chriſtian Princes aſſerted*, &c. printed *An.* 1697. Wherein he ſets up the *Regale* to the very height. But tho' he, and thoſe who take his part, ſeem to go upon another topick than the former, yet it comes all into one; becauſe they ſupport the right of the Regale merely upon precedents: Which is the ſame as to ſay, that it has no other right: And that is indeed a perfect yielding up of the right; only pleading for compliance with it, upon the authority of precedents: Which is the ſame topick with the former. One ſays it is right, becauſe there are precedents for it; the other ſays, that it is right to comply with it, for the ſame reaſon: So that precedents are the top and bottom, the whole that is alledg'd for this cauſe of the *Regale* on both ſides.

Several of theſe precedents were touch'd upon; ſome were ſhewn to be modern, and of no authority; others that were not truly related, with the circumſtances neceſſary; and others which are truly related, to make nothing to the purpoſe intended; and ſeveral which made directly againſt it: But none that were of authority ſufficient to eſtabliſh or juſtify the *Regale*: Beſides contrary precedents which were of greater authority; and not anſwer'd by any of the *Regaliſts*: And that Dr. *Wake* himſelf, when he comes a little to the reaſoning part, overthrows all that power of the *Regale*, which he had built upon the authority of precedents.

Which is ſhew'd among the conſequences of this Principle of the *Regale*. Sect. XVI. N. 3. And not to interrupt the thred of this diſcourſe, it was deſir'd, that we ſhould proceed to enquire into the original of the *Regale*: For this was thought the cleareſt method to let us ſee into the bottom of this Cauſe.

XI. Original of the *Regale*.

The firſt inſtance of the *Regale*, in a King's depriving Prieſts was *Jeroboam*, of which we have ſpoke before, p. 616. and of the Provocations he had to do it. As to that of *Solomon* and *Abiathar*, it was no more inſiſted upon.

But to come to the chriſtian Church, and follow the Authors beforenam'd, who, of late, have handled this Controverſy. The *Hiſtorical Collections*, c. 2. §. 1. p. 69, 70, 71. give an account, that the *Donatiſts* were the firſt who appeal to the ſecular Power in any eccleſiaſtical Cauſe, which was to decide the diſpute they had rais'd concerning the election of *Cæcilianus* into the See of *Carthage*. But *Conſtantine* refus'd to accept their Appeal, as not belonging to him; and own'd, that the power of elections of Biſhops, and the judging of them was only in the Biſhops. That he himſelf was to be ſubject to their Judgment; that it was a work of the Devil, and an outragious, daring fury in theſe *Donatiſts*, whom he therefore calls Proditors, to refuſe the Judgment of the Biſhops, which he calls, *The heavenly Judgment*; and *to appeal to me* (ſays he) *for my Judgment*: And he calls this *inſulting upon God*: And a great deal more of ſuch vehemence which he uſes againſt the firſt riſe of ſubmitting the ſacred to the civil Power, in eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. Which Epiſtle of that godly and firſt chriſtian Emperor, is, *Inter geſta purgationis Cæciliani & Felicis, in fine Op. Optati* Ed. Pariſ. And great part of it is quoted in the *Hiſt. Collect.* p. 70, 71. The Emperor ſays, *That it is as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that God had ordain'd his Church only, to judge in ſuch caſes*: And wou'd not be join'd in Commiſſion with them, as if he had any act or part in it. *What madneſs* (ſays he) *is it which poſſeſſeth them, that, with an incredible arrogance, they think they may do that which may be lawfully neither ſpoke nor heard? And departing from the rightful Judgment, which God hath*

hath appointed, they require my Judgment, together with the Church's. What force of malignity dwells in their Breasts? How often have they been justly reproved by my self, for these wicked additions to God's Word in these cases? For I speak (as the truth is) that the Judgments of the Priests ought to be accounted, as when the Lord himself, residing, judgeth. So far was that Emperor at that time from having any thoughts of such a *Regale* over the Church, as has been since set up! He calls it an addition to the *Word of God.* He cou'd find no ground for it there; he understood not the fore-mention'd texts in favour of the *Regale.*

As the *Donatists* were the first who set up the *Regale*, and pleaded for it; so is it shewn in the *Hist. Collect.* that the after-Hereticks carry'd on the same Cause. The *Eusebians* appeal'd to *Constantius*; and as shewn *ibid.* p. 95. that first heretical *Arian* Emperor, was the first who assum'd the *Regale*; and by it had well nigh overthrown the christian Faith: But St. *Athanasius*, *Hosius*, and others, did with great zeal oppose and protest against the *Regale*, saying, that those who appeal'd to *Constantius* in ecclesiastical matters, did set him up instead of *Christ*: That this made him an *Anti Christ*: That *to make himself a Prince of Bishops, and to preside in ecclesiastical Judicatures, made him the very same abomination of desolation, foretold by* Daniel *the Prophet.* Athanas. *Epist ad Solitar* p. 861, 862. *Do not* (says *Hosius* to him) *concern thy self in ecclesiastical Affairs, nor command us in these matters: But rather learn those things of us. God hath committed to thee the Empire; and he hath intrusted us with those things that belong to the Church. And as he who with malignant Eyes reproacheth thy Empire, opposeth the divine Ordinance; so do thou beware lest drawing to thee those things that belong to the Church, thou becomest thereby liable to a great guilt. It is written, give unto* Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsar's, *and unto God the things that are God's. It is not lawful for us, O Emperor, to hold the earthly Empire; neither hast thou the power of holy things.* Athan. *ibid.* p. 639. And that his usurping this Power over the Church was without precedent, *ibid*, p. 831. He was the first who took it upon him. Other quotations more at large were read out of the same place of the *Hist. Collect.* p. 96, 97.

Then it was read out of Bishop *Burnet*'s *Hist. of the Regale*, p. 30. that *Constantine* did renounce the Power of electing Bishops; of which he gives several instances: That writing to the Bishops assembled at *Antioch* for the election of a Bishop, he leaves the choice freely to them, desiring them, *That the election shou'd be made according to the rule of the Church, and the tradition of the Apostles.* And p. 31. he names *Constantius* depriving the Orthodox Bishops, and putting *Arian* Bishops in their room by his own Authority; and quotes *Hilary* writing to these Court Bishops, put in by the *Regale*, and saying, *O ye Bishops, I pray you, What Suffrages did the Apostles make use of? Did they receive their dignity from the Palace?*——This was the beginning of the *Regale.*

XII. Princes who renounc'd the *Regale.*

But then he shews; That it was not kept up constantly from that time: Tho' some boisterors Emperors follow'd the example of *Constantius*, to enlarge their prerogative; but others wou'd not make use of it. He tells p. 37, 38. how the Emperor *Valentinian*, about the year 347, upon the death of *Auxentius* Bishop of *Milan*, who was an *Arian*, call'd the Bishops together, *And desir'd them to chuse such a Bishop as might, both by his Life and Doctrine, instruct those whom he was to govern; and that he might see such a Person set up, to whom he that held the Empire, might chearfully submit himself.* For which he quotes *Theod.* l. 4. c. 6, 7.

He afterwards gives ſeveral inſtances of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, who purely out of conſcience, being ſtruck with the horror of ſo great a wickedneſs, threw up the *Regale* which had deſcended from them to their Anceſtors. He ſays p. 93. that the Emperor *John Comnenus*, about the year of *Chriſt* 1130, did condemn the uſe of the *Regale*, under very ſevere pains; and he mentions a memorable Law which *Manuel Comnenus* made againſt it, A. C. 1150. wherein he calls it a *wicked cuſtom. So here* (ſays the Biſhop) *the* Regale *is moſt ſeverely condemned.* Again p. 97, 98. a later inſtance is given (which was in the 14th *Cent.*) of *John Cantacuzenus* the Emperor: And part of his Speech is ſet down which he made to the Biſhops, who were met for the election of a Patriarch; he ſaid, *They ought to follow the ſteps of the Apoſtles and Fathers; who being met together, invocated the holy Ghoſt, and implor'd the Grace of God to direct them in the choice of one that ſhou'd govern the Church according to his Will: But he acknowledged, that in elections great errors had been committed, which Men were apt to excuſe, as they did all their other ſins that were dear to them: For it was certainly a mocking of God, firſt to reſolve who ſhall be Patriarch, and then to meet, and hypocritically to pray for the divine direction or aſſiſtance. This he confeſs'd he had done by himſelf, and he did not doubt but his Predeceſſors had been guilty of it likewiſe: Wherefore he ingenuouſly confeſſed his ſin, and declar'd, he would be guilty of it no more.*

Then in *France* (which is the chief ſcene of this Hiſtory) we are told p. 190, 191. That when Pope *Lucius* the ſecond, to court the favour of *Lewis* the ſeventh, about the year 1148. ſent him a Bull with a Priviledge, that in all his Cathedrals he ſhou'd diſpoſe of the firſt vacancy, and enjoy the mean profits; he burnt the Bull with indignation, and ſaid, *He had rather burn a thouſand ſuch Grants, than have his Soul tormented in Hell fire.*

And p. 209. *Alphonſus* Count of *Tholouſe*, did about the year 1138. not not only renounce but condemn the *Regale*, which his Predeceſſors had enjoy'd in their dominions; and calls it, *That moſt wicked cuſtom of his Anceſtors by which they ſeiz'd violently on the Goods of the deceaſed Biſhops.* One branch of this *Regale* was the preſentation to Biſhopricks and other other Church-Livings: The other was, the ſeizing of the Revenues, during the vacancy. And this was a temptation to keep them long vacant. And both of theſe were condemn'd and given up, by theſe and ſeveral other religious Princes, in ſeveral ages, after the *Regale* had obtain'd: Tho' ſome of their Succeſſors took it up again, as they were otherwiſe inclin'd. But it was urg'd, that one precedent of a King who recedes from what the law or cuſtom has made his right, out of conſcience, is of more weight than many precedents of thoſe, who out of intereſt and politicks, do graſp at all, ſtretch the *Regale* to the utmoſt, and extend their conqueſt over the Church.

Here one deſir'd, that to the examples of Princes who have renounc'd their *Regale*, might be added the preſent conſtitution of *Sweden*, beforemention'd, where the *Regale* is kept out; and the many advantages thereby accruing both to Church and State, in a perfect uniformity both in Religion and Government: For the one ſeldom remains entire, when the other is broken; as the example of our own, and Neighbour Nations has too often inform'd us. And this inſtance of *Sweden*, on the other ſide, ever ſince the Reformation, ſhews the truth of this obſervation, and what has been the great ſource of our civil wars and confuſions.

And

And that Crown has had moſt ſignal inſtances of the favour and protection of Heaven, ſince that time; ſo great, that in the laſt age, ſome thought it was rais'd up to the fulfilling of Propheſies, and opening of the *Millenium*.

And the deliverance and victory which God has lately afforded to this preſent, young, magnanimous, and moſt religious King, is the moſt obſervable of any in this age. May the divine mercy continue to preſerve him. The particulars of his victory ſet forth a conduct and bravery above his years: But the Air of Religion in it exceeded all the reſt, and is a rare example in this age; he receiving the holy Sacrament with his Army, before they began their attack againſt ten times their number, in their trenches; and when, after a miraculous victory, he enter'd the tent of the *Czar*, falling down on his knees, and giving thanks and the glory to God.

Let me give another inſtance of it to our preſent purpoſe, continu'd this Gentleman. His Father the late King of *Sweden* had recommended to him upon his death-bed, that when the Arch-biſhop of *Upſal* (the only Arch-biſhoprick in the Kingdom) dyed (he being then an old Man) he ſhould endeavour to procure Dr. *Speggel* Biſhop of *Lincopin* (whom he much eſteem'd for his learning and piety) to be promoted to it. Accordingly the young King did uſe all his intereſt for him: But the Biſhops choſe Dr. *Benzelius* Biſhop of *Stragneſs* who is now Arch-biſhop. And the King was ſo far from taking it ill, that he excus'd himſelf, upon account of his Father's laſt directions, for meddling in it at all, as being a matter within their Province, and not his. Perhaps thoſe Biſhops were aware of letting in Kings recommendations; knowing what a few precedents of that kind wou'd amount to. They are a temptation, but no reſpect to a good King; and if enjoy'd by him, a bad King will not give them up.

However it was concluded, That bare precedents on either ſide, do not determine the right, without entring into the merits of the cauſe, which alone can be ſufficient ground to guide our conſcience.

XIII. Effects of the *Regale*.

And it was agreed, that this *Hiſtory of the Regale* was a full anſwer to both the Books before-mentioned of Dr. *Hody*, and Dr. *Wake*: Becauſe it ſhew'd how very little ſtreſs is to be laid upon the precedents they bring; and by what ſcandalous methods the *Regale* obtain'd its eccleſiaſtical Authority; and what were the diſmal effects of it, even the total overthrow of the *Greek* Church, where it prevail'd, as the learned Biſhop before-mention'd obſerves, p. 75. *The Emperors* (ſays he) *took the nomination of them* (the Biſhops) *into their own hands: And then gave them either to ſuch illiterate Monks as were much eſteem'd of for the ſtrictneſs of their lives; but were tools for any deſigns on which they ſet them: Or to ſuch of their Courtiers or Soldiers, that had merited beſt at their hands: And by theſe meaus were the* Greek *Churches brought to that paſs, for ignorance and corruption, that it is no wonder they were given up by God to ſuch terrible Calamities as were brought upon them, firſt by the* Saracens, *and then by the* Othoman *Family*.

And p. 97. he goes on thus, *In* Andronicus's *long reign, many* (Biſhops) *were put in and out, to the great ſcandal of the Church: Of which the Hiſtorian* * *makes this remark*, "Princes chuſe ſuch Men to their charge "who may be their Slaves, and in all things obſequious to what they ſhall "preſcribe, and may lie at their feet, and not ſo much as have a thought "contrary to their commands." *No wonder* (continues the Biſhop) *he broke out into ſo ſevere a cenſure, when many were raiſed to that dignity that cou'd neither read nor write.* Thus that learned Author.

* *Niceph. Greg.* l. 7.

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I am ſorry (ſaid one) that we have to add to this ſad proſpect, the preſent lamentable condition of the proteſtant intereſt in *Germany*, where thoſe Churches did run generally into Eraſtianiſm for facilitating the Reformation, and to incline Princes to be on their ſide; and they now ſuffer for it, for the Princes they depended on are like to be their ruin: They have either gone over to Popery, or given way to it, in their Countries, as beſt ſerves their intereſt: They took no care of the proteſtant concerns at *Reſwick*, but have left them in a much worſe condition, ſince that peace than before; even to give the *French* King cauſe to boaſt, in his Letter to the Arch-biſhop of *Paris* for ſinging *Te Deum* upon the Peace (which was printed here,) that the chief glory he had in that Peace, was the advancement of the catholick Religion, in other Countries, with the conſent of Sovereigns of a different perſuaſion. To whom tho' he reſtor'd many and great Countries, that had been proteſtant before he took them; yet by the 4th Article of that Treaty it is expreſſly provided, that their Religion ſhou'd not be reſtor'd to them, but remain as he then left it eſtabliſhed; that is, Popery.

And, continu'd this Gentleman, an eminent Profeſſor told a friend of mine in *Amſterdam*, whoſe Letter he ſhew'd, *That the proteſtant intereſt there was viſibly declining, becauſe either there were no Biſhops, or Biſhops that had no Power, but the whole Clergy in a ſtate of abſolute ſubjection, and entirely ſecluded from interpoſing, where even their concerns require it.* And added my friend (ſaid he) *This was much from one bred here.* It was not ſo much (anſwer'd another) when we conſider, that tho' the governing part in *Holland* are, what they call proteſtant, by excluding all Diſſenters from having any ſhare in the Government or bearing any places of publick truſt; whereby they are preſerv'd in peace and quietneſs; yet that much the major number of the Subjects are Popiſh; which one time or other will probably caſt the ballance: For the general inclination of the People, like Trade, is obſerv'd to force its way. However, where that is againſt the Religion eſtabliſhed, it cannot be ſaid to be out of danger: And the encreaſe of the Popiſh Intereſt, both there and in *Germany* (I wiſh I cou'd not add *England*) is by the opinion of the learned there, to be chiefly accounted as a natural effect of the *Regale* that prevails there.

Now (ſaid one) here are more precedents. And from ſuch precedents Dr. *Hody* and Dr. *Wake* defend their cauſe; and ſay, That this is ſufficient; and that no other argnment is needful to be produc'd for it!

XIV. Concerning the ſuppos'd conſent of the Church to the *Regale*.

It was argu'd on their behalf, that the force of their argument lay in the ſuppos'd conſent of the Church, to all this; for that none then did oppoſe this power in the Emperors: To which it was ſaid,

1. What oppoſition cou'd be expected from ſuch Biſhops as before deſcrib'd? And the Emperors wou'd take care to put in ſuch Biſhops, as ſhou'd not oppoſe them.

2. That the Body of the Church here ſpoke of, being then within the Emperors Dominions, none durſt oppoſe them without the apparent hazard of their Lives, the power of theſe Emperors being abſolute: And that ſuch a forc'd ſilence will not argue conſent: But that if this cauſe had been brought before a free national Church, out of the reach of theſe Emperors; and if the Biſhops of ſuch a Church had then aſſerted the *Regale* of thoſe Emperors over the Church, as the Doctrine of the chriſtian Church, their teſtimony had been to the purpoſe. And if this had been univerſally ſo declar'd, freely and without compulſion, by the whole catholick Church, then cou'd it not have been deny'd to have been the Doctrine of the catholick Church.

But it was ſo far from that, that beſides a multitude of quotations out of particular Fathers, in ſeveral ages; ſuch as *Athanaſius*, *Hoſius*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, &c. ſeveral Canons were produc'd, and that of Councils call'd general as well as others, for the independency of the Church and againſt the *Regale*, particularly as to the election of Biſhops and the ſitting of Synods. For inſtance, *Can. Apoſt.* c. 30, 31. 1 Conc. *Nice. A. D.* 325. c. 4. *Conſtant.* 2. Gen. Conc. *A. D.* 380. c. 6. Chalced. 4. Gen. Conc. *A. D.* 451. c. 9. 2. *Nice.* 7 Gen. Conc. *A. D.* 786. c. 3. *Conſtant.* 8 Gen. Conc. *A. D.* 871. c. 22. beſides Concil. *Eliber. A. D.* 308. c. 56. Concil. *Antioch. A. D.* 341. c. 11, 12, 16, 20. Concil. *Carthag. A. D.* 419. c. 13, 15, 21, 65, 107. In which, and in ſeveral others, Synods are appointed to ſit frequently for the neceſſities of the Church. It is made excommunication and deprivation to appeal from the Biſhop to the King or any ſecular power in eccleſiaſtical Cauſes: Or for any Biſhop to be made, not only by the King's command, but if he make uſe of the intereſt or recommendation of ſecular Princes, or obtain his Biſhoprick by their means; and that all election of Biſhop, Presbyter or Deacon by the ſecular Magiſtrate ſhall be void; and the method of their election is ſet down, *viz.* of Presbyters and Deacons by the Biſhop; and of the Biſhop by the com-provincial Biſhops; and that the civil Magiſtrate ſhou'd, upon ſome occaſions, be debarr'd from coming to the Church. Therefore that the argument can never be made good from the compliance or ſilence of ſome Biſhops put in by ſome Emperors, and hew'd down under them or who turn'd Sycophants to them, to infer that this of the *Regale* was the conſtant and univerſal Doctrine of the catholick Church; to which the direct contrary is the truth.

XV. Original of the *Regale* in *England.*

Then there were precedents ſhewn againſt the *Regale*, in the moſt primitive times of Chriſtianity in *Britain*, as of S. *Oudoceus* Biſhop of *Landaff*, who excommunicated three of his own Kings after one another, *viz. Mouricus*, *Morcant*, and *Guidnert*, for ſeveral crimes; and put them under ſevere penances, which he oblig'd them to perform before he admitted them to the Peace and Communion of the Church by Abſolution. This is told in Sir *Hen. Spelman*'s *Hiſt. of the Engliſh Councils*, tom. 1. p. 62, *&c.* Which Book Dr. *Wake* quotes in his *Authority of Chriſtian Princes*, for later inſtances which he thought favoured the *Regale*; but takes no notice at all of theſe and other more ancient and contrary examples.

And theſe are more conſiderable, becauſe they were about the years of *Chriſt* 560. and 565. among the *Britiſh* Biſhops, before *Auſtin* the Monk came into *England*; and conſequently before there could be the leaſt umbrage that this was any part of Popery.

Then it was ſhew'd how that after this, in times of Popery, the *Regale* began to obtain in *England.* That it is an effect of Popery, tho' at firſt ſight it ſeems contrary to it, as being a reſtriction to that univerſal Supremacy which the Popes claim over all Churches: But (as will be ſhewn hereafter) the Popes found that they could not maintain their uſurpations over all the other Biſhops in the world, who would be too many for them without the aſſiſtance of the Kings of the Earth; with whom therefore they were content to divide the prey, and bribe them with the nomination of ſome Biſhops and diſpoſal of the revenues of ſome Churches during the vacancies, and ſome peculiars exempt from the juriſdiction of the Biſhops; that the Kings might maintain the uſurpations of the Popes over all the reſt; both enlarging their powers upon the ruins of Epiſcopacy.

That Epiſcopacy thus grinded to powder betwixt theſe upper and nether Mill-Stones, yet did ſtruggle ſometimes and aſſert its right. Mr. *Prynne* in his *Records* gives many inſtances both in *England* and *Ireland* of Biſhops choſen by the *Clergy* without the King's Licence or his recom-

mendation of the Perſon, which afterwards grew by cuſtom, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, into a right abſolutely to diſpoſe of Biſhops and Churches at their pleaſure, as it is at this day, tho' under the mockery of a *Conge d' Eſlier*, as it is call'd in the *Statute* 1 *Edw.* VI. c. 2. And therefore is taken away and quite aboliſh'd by that Act of Parliament: And ſo continues in *Ireland*, where the King diſpoſes of Biſhopricks merely by his Letters Patent, without any *Conge d' Eſlier*, which is ſtill kept up in *England*, tho' to no other purpoſe than to ſhew the ancient right of the Church to elect her own Biſhops; and may one day prove a handle to recover it.

But it was ſaid, that the preſent practice is contrary to our 37th Article, wherein our Kings do renounce any other power over the Church than ſuch as was *always given to all godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himſelf.* Which was not to have the election of Prieſts under the Law, as before is ſhewn; much leſs of the Prieſts under the Goſpel, wherein nothing at all is ſaid of this power being in Kings, but was given into other hands.

That therefore if the ſaid *Statute* 1 *Edw.* VI. c. 2. may not be conſtru'd of the temporal juriſdiction only which Biſhops derive from the King, as before has been explain'd Sect. IX. then it is ſuperſeded by this ſubſequent Act of Parliament: Which being made in explanation of the former, obliges us rather to take the former in this ſenſe, than to think them abrogated by the later; and ſo to make our Laws all conſonant, rather than repugnant to one another. However, that the later muſt ſtand; and cannot be abrogated by any contrary practice: But, on the other ſide, our practice is to be regulated by the Laws; at leaſt the Laws are hereby juſtified, tho' our practice ſhould be contrary.

Now theſe inſtances which Mr. *Prynne* has collected, of Biſhops choſen by the Clergy without the King, were in the Popiſh times. And he tells us likewiſe, that the Kings took this ill, and ſometimes proceeded to puniſh theſe Biſhops, by ſeizing their temporalities and making them compound, *&c.* However it ſhews that the Biſhops and Clergy were then ſenſible of their right, and thought that the King's interpoſing in their elections, by nomination or recommendation, was an encroachment upon the Charter of the Church.

There is another Record I have met with, that is, an Inſcription now to be ſeen in the Parlour of the Hoſpital at *Ledbury* in *Herefordſhire*, (which for the ſatisfaction of the Reader, I have hereunto annexed) wherein is told, that *Hugh Foliot*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, the Founder of that Hoſpital, *was elected by the Presbytery of the Cathedral Church of* Hereford *in* October, *An. Dom.* 1219. *without Letters from the King, written to the prejudice of their free election, (even as it is teſtify'd of* Robert Foliot, *to have been choſen before him in the year of our Lord* 1173.) *He liv'd Biſhop in the Reign of King* Henry III. *&c.*

Mr. *Prynne* in his *Records*, vol. 2. p. 355. ſhews, that this ſame *Hugh Foliot* was Archdeacon of *Shrewsbury*, and then recommended by K. *John* to the Biſhoprick of St. *Davids:* Which, it ſeems, was rejected; for his name ſtands not in the liſt of the Biſhops of St. *Davids*, but is amongſt the Biſhops of *Hereford.* So that he was refus'd by the Clergy of St. *Davids*, to whom he had the King's recommendation, and choſen by thoſe of *Hereford* without it; which, as before ſhewn, they thought a prejudice to their free election.

It was here taken notice of, that the form of the *Conge d' Eſlires* in thoſe days, (as in the *Records* produc'd by *Prynne)* was not by way of command to the Clergy, as now, but of requeſt and deſire only. The King call'd it his Petition to the Clergy, and beſought them to lend a favourable and benign ear to it: *Ut huic Petitioni meæ favorem præbeant benignum,*

was the form then in uſe, and ſhews plainly where the right of election lay.

And likewiſe the force of preſcriptions, which in time grow up to create a right, and conſtrue Petition to mean Command.

And the recommendations of Men in power are commonly ſo underſtood: Which makes every petty Corporation, jealous of their Liberties, ſeek by all means to avoid them; leſt they have as little left them at the laſt, as that ſhare of the prey which the Lion left to the Aſs.

But to the ſubject in hand, the original of the *Regale* in *England*, it was concluded,

That before the coming of *Auſtin* the Monk into *England*, that is before the times of Popery, the *Regale* was not known, as by the inſtances before mentioned of St. *Oudoceus*, &c. is very plain.

Therefore that we muſt date the original of the *Regale* in *England* from the times of Popery; and that it muſt not paſs as a novelty of the Reformation, which did pretend but to reſtore the ancient *Regale*, free from the uſurpations of the Pope, who had got an overſhare in the diviſion which he and the King had made of the epiſcopal power and authority. But there was no reſtoring to the Epiſcopate on either ſide: All the choice left to it was, who ſhould be its executioner.

XVI. The Conſequences of the principle of the *Regale*.

After this it was ſaid, that the principle of the *Regale* did carry with it ſuch conſequences as were totally inconſiſtent with the notion of a chriſtian Church; and involv'd thoſe who hold it in many contradictions and abſurdities.

I. Here was call'd to mind what was before ſaid of the topick ſet up by Dr. *Hody*, &c. to make it right to comply with wrong: Which was farther improv'd.

One ſaid, that right and wrong were old oppoſites; but that theſe Authors had ſet up a diſtinction betwixt right and truth: For in the *Reflex.* (before quoted) p. 14. they tell us, that *Anaſtaſius* being invalidly depriv'd, was ſtill the rightful Biſhop, *and yet at the ſame time his ſucceſſor* Gregory *was true Biſhop of the ſame See:* By which they were either both Biſhops of the ſame See at the ſame time, and ſo that Church had two Biſhops; and then *Anaſtaſius* was not depriv'd, for he remain'd Biſhop ſtill: Or otherwiſe, Biſhops have no right or title but poſſeſſion; and then *Anaſtaſius*, when depriv'd, tho' invalidly, could not be rightful Biſhop: Nay, a Biſhop cannot be depriv'd invalidly if he has no right but poſſeſſion: For then deprivation, no matter how, does his buſineſs; and he has no right to ſeek to be reſtor'd, and his ceſſion, or giving up his right to his ſucceſſor, is a jeſt: Yet Dr. *Hody* beſtows a paſſionate exhortation upon our depriv'd Biſhops, to give up their right (which he does not diſpute) for the peace of the Church. But notwithſtanding *Reflex.* p. 24. tells how *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, when he was depriv'd, refus'd to ſubmit to *Felix*, who was put in his place: And finds no fault with him for this; but improves it to an argument for his *Hypotheſis*, that *though there was no ceſſion, yet they that knew* Felix *to be orthodox, very freely recogniz'd him.*

And where was the harm? ſaid one (ſmiling!) They only recogniz'd *Felix* as the true Biſhop; but they acknowledg'd *Liberius* as ſtill the rightful Biſhop!

But it was thought ſtrange, how a Biſhop, when depriv'd, if invalidly, ſhould have a right to claim the obedience of his Subjects; and yet that there ſhould be no manner of obligation upon his Subjects to pay it to him, or ſo much as to concern themſelves, for what, or by whom he was depriv'd, whether juſtly or unjuſtly, whether validly or invalidly!

Some

Some ſaid, that this did deſtroy all right of Biſhops, even when in poſſeſſion; for that he who has no right but poſſeſſion, has no right by his poſſeſſion: Mere poſſeſſion can never give right; elſe all robbers would have it: But poſſeſſion may continue ſo long, till thoſe who have a better title are all extinguiſhed; and then a right may follow that poſſeſſion, when there are none who claim a better right.

It was ſaid, that this was the caſe of the High-Prieſthood of the *Jews* under the *Romans*, when our bleſſed Saviour came into the world. The *Romans*, then their conquerors, had chang'd the order of their High-Prieſthood, made it annual and arbitrary, put out, and put in whom they pleas'd: As the *Grand Seignior* does now with the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*: And under that extreme ſervitude there were none who ſet up their claim againſt the High-Prieſt or Patriarch in poſſeſſion; but all agreed to ſubmit and obey them: So that there was no competition: And if any had a better right, they were content to wave it, and recognize the right of the other: There were no Prieſts and Anti-Prieſts in oppoſition to one another, and therefore there could be no Schiſm.

Hence it was that our bleſſed Saviour and his Apoſtles did own the High-Prieſts of the *Jews*, for there were then no other. And the *Greek* Churches under the dominion of the *Turk* do own the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, for they have none other.

But that this has no relation to the Caſe of Biſhops and Anti-Biſhops in the ſame Sees: Of whom one muſt be right, and the other wrong; not one rightful, and the other true! As this pleaſant diſtinction, without a difference, has reconcil'd them!

Theſe difficulties and abſurdities they labour under, who dare not oppoſe the irreſiſtible *Regale:* And yet want courage ſufficient to ſtand by the neceſſary conſequences of it!

And yet, ſaid one, ſee how ſoundly they ſleep in this their ſecurity! * *To what purpoſe* (ſay they) *ſhould we, who were not concern'd in the deprivation of the Biſhops, concern our ſelves ſo much about the queſtion, Whether it be lawful for the civil Magiſtrate to deprive a Biſhop or not?— Whether it were the doctrine of the Church that Biſhops may be depriv'd by the Lay-Power for political crimes, or not, we are not oblig'd to know. 'Tis enough for us that we know, that this at leaſt was the doctrine of the Church (and we know it from its conſtant and uniform practice throughout all ages) that when once they are depriv'd, (tho' never ſo unjuſtly) and we cannot avoid it, it is lawful for peace ſake, to own the poſſeſſor. Dr.* Hody *may publiſh, if he pleaſe, his* Vindication of the Authority of the Civil Power, [which he promis'd ſo long ago, that he has forgot it] *for the ſake and ſatisfaction of thoſe who concurred in the deprivation of the Biſhops; but we in the lower form, who were not at all concern'd in the matter, we want no ſuch Treatiſe to juſtify our practice: Our practice is ſufficiently juſtified by what he has already written. I will read it, if it comes out, as a matter of ſpeculation.*—— At this the Company held up their hands! That the rights of the Church, and deprivation of her Biſhops ſhould concern the Clergy no more (however unjuſtly, or even invalidly done) than as a matter of mere ſpeculation! Can they ſee no conſequence in allowing ſuch precedents? They who inſiſt ſo much upon precedents! And what is done now will be as good a precedent to after-ages, as ſome of former ages are to us. But is our caſe the better that it will be a precedent? Or will their caſe be the better, who ſhall have ours for ſuch a precedent? Will it be ever the better or the worſe for that?

* *Reflex.* p. 19.

But if we give a bad precedent which may miſlead after ages, their Blood, and the Ruin of the Church will lie upon our heads. This is a conſideration not to be neglected, or thought an indifferent matter, of mere ſpeculation! What would become of the Church if there were none more concern'd for her rights than this? Who would ſtand in the gap?

As to what is ſaid in the above quotation of the conſtant and uniform practice of the Church in this caſe, it is ſpoke to before; and for ſaying, *when we cannot avoid it*, they ſhou'd have added, *without ſome inconvenience:* For otherwiſe, they might chuſe whether they wou'd concur in it; at leaſt, whether they ſhou'd write in defence of it, and endeavour to make that look right which they thought to be wrong: But perhaps they thought, that they cou'd not avoid this neither, without ſome other inconvenience!

And, ſaid one, Dr. *Hody* knows whether a propoſal has not been made, and to whom, in order to put an end to the preſent Schiſm, by the voluntary reſignation of the depriv'd Biſhops; on condition, that the Biſhops in poſſeſſion ſhou'd own the principle of the independency of the Church upon the ſecular Magiſtrate, as to her purely ſpiritual Authority: Leſt, otherwiſe, the depriv'd Biſhops ſhou'd be look'd upon as Traitors; and their reſignation, who have ſtood ſo long Confeſſors to the Rights of the Church, ſhou'd be turn'd to an argument againſt it; as if they too had given up the Cauſe, after all the debate that has been about it. One wou'd think (ſaid he) that Dr. *Hody* ſhou'd be concern'd at the anſwer that was made to this, *That it was not practicable:* That is, I ſuppoſe, not now, at this time, becauſe of ſome inconveniences! Then we ſee on whoſe ſide the obſtruction does not lie. Dr. *Hody* does not ſo much as pretend to juſtify the principle of lay-deprivation. And if the depriv'd Biſhops will be perſuaded to give up their Rights for peace ſake, as he has moſt earneſtly exhorted them, upon what eaſier terms wou'd he deſire it, than to ſecure that principle from hurting the Church for the future? And will he not then beſtow one word of advice upon thoſe who have done the wrong, if any wrong be done to the depriv'd Biſhops and to the Church in them? And he does not deny their deprivations to be not only unjuſt, but invalid. Now ſuppoſe (ſaid another) that Dr. *Hody*'s principle were allow'd, and that we might ſafely comply with, own and join in what is unjuſt, againſt that which is juſt and right; yet that which is unjuſt, is unjuſt ſtill, at leaſt in the actors, tho' not in the complyers with it. And ought not ſuch actors to be admoniſh'd to repent and return from the unjuſtice they have committed? Or rather, are they to be ſupported in it; and our rage ſpent againſt thoſe who are not ſo clear-ſighted as we, to comply with it without any doubt or ſcruple at all?

Theſe ſeem to be difficulties which follow this principle of the *Regale*, in thoſe who would preſerve any notion or foundation of a Church, as conſiſtent with it; Therefore,

2. There are thoſe who, to make way for it, deny all Prieſthood in the chriſtian Church. Which, by the Apoſtle's argument, *Heb.* VII. 2. infers alſo *of neceſſity a change*, or rather a diſannulling of the Law of that Church, and of the Church itſelf which has no Prieſthood: For Church and Prieſthood ſeem to be convertible terms; otherwiſe a change of the Prieſthood wou'd not have inferr'd, of neceſſity, a change alſo of the Law of that Church. And if a change of the Prieſthood changes the Church, diſannulling of the Prieſthood diſannuls the Church.

Therefore it behoves us to conſider well of that poſition, which, to ſupport the *Regale*, is advanc'd in the *Second Defence of the Church of* England *from Schiſm*, &c. Printed *An.* 1698. p. 8. Where it is poſitively de-

ny'd, there are any Prieſts or Prieſthood now in the Church of *England*; (not being aware, that the very word Prieſt is retain'd in our Book of Ordination.) So that, by this, we muſt either part with our Prieſthood, or with the *Regale*. They are made inconſiſtent; and the reaſon is, becauſe otherwiſe the *Regale* cannot be advanc'd above the Prieſthood: But there are greater ſtraits than theſe to which this principle of the *Regale* does reduce its Clients.

3. Dr. *Wake* cannot ſtop the current of the *Regale* ſhort of matters of Faith; which, as well as Diſcipline, he brings under it: For in his *Authority of chriſtian Princes*, p. 75. ſpeaking of the extent of the power of the Prince, he ſays it reaches, *Not only in matters of Diſcipline, but in matters of Faith too.* And that the Prince may confirm, or reſcind the deciſions of a Synod, as he pleaſes, even in matters of Faith. And this he proves p. 138. by the example of *Hen.* VIII. in his modelling the Articles, which ſays the Dr. *Relate to Doctrines of Faith, and that in the moſt neceſſary points of it: And yet ſee what liberty the King took, in judging, as well as correcting of what they* (the Synod) *had done.* And p. 335. He makes the Law the ſtandard of Hereſy: And ſays, *There is no ſuch mighty danger in this, unleſs for thoſe who wou'd make more to be Hereſy than the Law declar'd ſo to be. And if that be the danger, I believe all wiſe and charitable Men will deſire, that they may be always liable to it.* And p. 125, 126. he ſays, That the King may ſuſpend or annul the ſentence of Hereſy (for that is the ſubject treated of from p. 116.) paſs'd againſt any Perſon by the Church.

But he comes round about again, and over-turns every ſtone that he had laid. For putting an objection he knew cou'd not be miſs'd, there were ſo many inſtances of it, he repeats it in theſe words, p. 43. *That Princes may abuſe this power to the detriment of the Church.* And anſwers, *That whenever the civil Magiſtrate ſhall ſo far abuſe his Authority, as to render it neceſſary for the Clergy, by ſome extraordinary methods, to provide for the Churches welfare, that neceſſity will warrant their taking of them.*

1. This makes the Clergy judge of the neceſſity. And then they may take to theſe methods, when they ſee cauſe.

2. No neceſſity can create any Authority; tho' it may excuſe ſometimes the exerciſe of an Authority in an extraordinary manner, which wou'd not be juſtifiable, but upon the account of ſuch neceſſity. Therefore it follows, that the Clergy have ſuch an Authority (againſt which he diſputes) independent of the State, and a right to execute it whenever they think fit.

3. If *Chriſt* left no more Authority with his Church than he thought neceſſary for the carrying on of thoſe ends, for which he did inſtitute a Church; then a leſs Authority will not be ſufficient for thoſe ends. Upon this it was queried, whether the Church cou'd give up any part of her Authority, and is not oblig'd to reſume it? Otherwiſe it was ſaid, that ſhe diſables herſelf from the effectual diſcharge of her duty, as to thoſe ends for which ſhe was inſtituted: And how then ſhall ſhe give an account to the great Shepherd, who inveſted her with ſuch Authority for thoſe ends?

And this was urg'd from the example of civil Government, which it is neceſſary ſhould be abſolute and uncontroulable; as the ſupreme Power is in all Governments, wherever it is lodg'd, whether in one or in many: And therefore no Government can do any Act to limit itſelf. The ſupreme legiſlative power cannot make it ſelf not to be abſolute; if it could, it muſt diſſolve it ſelf, and ceaſe to be ſupreme; for, whatever is limited, cannot be ſupreme; therefore it is a Maxim in our Law, *Suprema Poteſtas*

ſeipſam diſſolvere poteſt; ligare non poteſt. That *the ſupreme power may diſſolve it ſelf; but cannot limit it ſelf.* And the reaſon is plain, becauſe all limitation comes from a ſuperior; it muſt be a ſuperior power that can limit another.

Therefore the limitation here ſpoke of does not extend to Oaths or other obligations to God, ſuch as the King's Coronation-Oath, *&c.* for an Oath is a Promiſe made to God; and God is our ſuperior, ſuperior to Kings; and he is alſo the Guarantee and Avenger of all breach of Faith and Injuſtice: But the limitation here ſpoke of, is as to Man. And if the King ſhould give to any a coercive power over him, upon any account whatſoever; he would, *ipſo facto*, ceaſe to be King, and become ſubject to ſuch, and that upon all accounts whatſoever; becauſe whoever has a power, is judge when and how to make uſe of it. And this could not be call'd ſuch a King's limiting of his own power; but it is a diſſolving it and transferring it to another; it makes that other to be ſupreme, and him that was King before to be ſubject; for there is no Medium betwixt Supremacy and Subjection: Every Man muſt be one or t'other. And this makes it neceſſary, that every ſupreme power muſt be abſolute.

Upon this it was mov'd, whether the Church by limiting her Authority, or ſuffering it to be limited by the State, had not diſſolv'd her ſelf and given up her Charter? To which it was ſaid,

1. That there is a difference betwixt limiting ones ſelf, and being limited by another. And again betwixt ſubmitting freely, and by force. That the latter is the caſe of the Church. It was the *præmunire* that ſqueez'd out the Submiſſion of the Clergy, 25 *Hen.* VIII. c. 19. *Et ſic de Cæteris.*

2. When any conſtitution of civil Government diſſolves it ſelf, another immediately ſucceeds; as if a Monarchy be turn'd into a Common-wealth, or a Common-wealth into a Monarchy; and conſequently that which was diſſolv'd, is no more: But we cannot ſay that the Church is no more. There is ſtill a Church, tho' in ſervitude, and nothing ſucceeds to it; if it were diſſolv'd, there wou'd be no Church: But nothing wou'd come in its room, unleſs you will ſay a privation, that is the want of a Church.

That therefore, ſince no power can limit it ſelf; and that the Church is not diſſolv'd; the conſequence muſt turn, that ſhe is not limited by any thing that ſhe has done, paſt the power of her re-calling, more than a Parliament is by any preceding Act of Parliament, which it may alter or reſcind at its pleaſure, as is done every day.

3. The Church is a Society ſpread over the Earth. And therefore cannot be diſſolv'd in any one Kingdom or State; nor can the conceſſion of any national Church oblige the Church catholick: No, nor oblige that national Church her ſelf, otherwiſe than according to the rules of the catholick Church; more than a Committee of the Houſe of Lords or Commons can oblige the whole Houſe, or govern themſelves by any other rules than thoſe which are preſcrib'd by the Houſe.

From hence was argu'd the impoſſibility and contradiction, that any Kingdom or State ſhou'd have Authority over the Church within their dominions, in eccleſiaſtical matters: Becauſe, at that rate, the Church would be broke to pieces; one ſort of Church ſet up in one Kingdom, and another, in another; and Churches muſt go to war, as oft as Kingdoms: Nothing would remain uniform in the Church, either as to Church-Government, Doctrine, or Worſhip; and the Church of *Chriſt*, and all the holy inſtitutions of his Religion muſt become ſubſervient to worldly Politicks, and made to anſwer every turn of State.

And

And it was ſaid, that the plain conſequence of this muſt be to root up all Religion from off the face of the Earth: For that no King or State can believe any Religion that depends upon their authority; becauſe then they muſt know that the original of it is not divine, at leaſt they can never believe Chriſtianity, which only is a reveal'd Religion, and therefore muſt come directly from Heaven.

And that if they believe *Chriſt* did inſtitute a Church upon Earth and gave her any commiſſion, they muſt believe ſuch commiſſion to be divine: Which they cannot believe, if they think it in their power to limit it at their pleaſure and to make it dependent upon them: They cannot think that *Chriſt* gave any ſuch ſpiritual commiſſion, unleſs they believe it to be ſuperior to them in ſpirituals; more than any Subject could believe, that God had given to Kings a temporal commiſſion, and yet not think the King to be ſuperior to him in temporals.

Here an obſervation was made to explain what ſeems a myſtery to many People in *England*, that notwithſtanding the depoſing doctrine is taught at *Rome*, and has been practis'd by their Popes even in *England*, as well before as ſince the *Reformation*; and none of them could ever yet be brought to diſown it; yet it ſhould prove ſo hard a task as we have found it, to keep our Kings from running over to Popery.

And the reaſon was given, becauſe they could not believe that Church to have any divine commiſſion, and conſequently to be a Church which had laid her ſelf ſo low under their feet, with reſpect to her ſpiritual commiſſion. That therefore they had rather ſubmit themſelves, tho' with the hazard of their Crowns, to a foreign Biſhop, who had aſſerted a ſuperiority over them both in ſpirituals and temporals, than to have no Biſhop at all to be ſubject unto, even in ſpirituals, which is indeed to be quite out of the Church.

That ſurely they would not have choſen this deſperate remedy if they could have found Biſhops in their own dominions; who, tho' ſubject to them in temporals even to death, yet would not have ſubmitted their ſpiritual commiſſion, derived from *Chriſt* alone.

That Kings would have believ'd ſuch Biſhops to be what they call them their Fathers in God. And K. *Charles* II. would not have had reaſon for that ſharp Sarcaſm, when, upon diſcourſe of the compariſon betwixt the Church of *Rome* and the Church of *England*, he ſaid, *the one ſeem'd to be in earneſt, the other in jeſt.*

And it is not one of the leaſt evil conſequences of this principle of the *Regale*, that it does beget a ſecular Spirit in the Clergy: Thoſe of them who are poſſeſs'd with it look no farther than to the place whence their preferments come; and to which they are accountable, even for the adminiſtration of their ſpiritual office: And that whereon they ſo abſolutely depend, they come in time to think the original and fountain of their power; and that they are oblig'd to defend it as ſuch. This makes them turn Courtiers, thoſe at leaſt who have a mind to riſe; and to acquaint themſelves with all the pretty arts there, of inſinuation, flattery, and addreſs. This ſoon eats out the evangelical Spirit of chriſtian Simplicity, the παῤῥησία the open and fearleſs, but modeſt zeal and courage in aſſerting the Truths of the Goſpel againſt all oppoſition; which firſt planted the Church of *Chriſt*, and muſt always ſupport her. This, and the Court Air, are two elements: And tho' ſome are ſo happy as to live well in both, that is not common: And the evangelical Spirit muſt be very deeply rooted, if the ſecular do not get the aſcendant over it, where the chief Adminiſtration and *Dernier Reſort* of all eccleſiaſtical affairs is in the hands of the ſecular Magiſtrate.

From the King's Supremacy, our diſcourſe turn'd naturally to the Pope's Supremacy. And it was ſaid, that the Pope's ſtretching his Supremacy ſo univerſally and abſolutely as he had done, was the great cauſe of Schiſm in the Weſtern Church.

For that he, not being content with that primacy, which by the Conſtitution of the Weſtern Church had been affixed to his See for the better and more eaſy regulation and carrying on the commerce and correſpondence and managing the juriſdiction of the epiſcopal College, and which was granted to him only *jure eccleſiaſtico*; did ſet up for an univerſal and unlimited Supremacy, and that *jure divino*, over all his Collegues, the Biſhops of the whole catholick Church; making all their authority depend upon him alone, and thereby reſolving the power of the whole epiſcopal College into the ſingle See of *Rome*. That this is one of the new doctrines of *Rome*. It was not known there in the days of *Gregory* the *Great* Biſhop of *Rome*, who died in the ſeventh century. Then it firſt began to be ſet up by *John* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, after the ſeat of the Empire was tranſlated thither. And *Gregory* the *Great* wrote ſeverely againſt it; he calls it a *novel doctrine*, which had never been known at *Rome*, or pretended to by any of her Biſhops. That it was againſt the doctrine of the Goſpel, againſt the decrees of the Canons, againſt the rights of all other Biſhops and of all Churches; a horrible injury and ſcandal to the whole univerſal Church. That the Biſhops were the Stars of God, and whoever ſought to advance his Throne above them, did in that imitate the Pride of *Lucifer* and was the fore-runner of *Antichriſt:* Whoſe times he ſaid he then ſaw approaching, by this moſt wicked and tyrannical uſurpation of one Biſhop above all the reſt of his Collegues, and to ſtyle himſelf Patriarch of almoſt the whole œcumenical Church. *Se penè per Orbem univerſum* οἰκουμενικὸν *Patriarcham nominaret.* But if *Gregory* had return'd to Earth ſome years after his death, he had ſeen that arrogant ſtyle taken up by his own ſucceſſors the Biſhops of *Rome*, without a *penè* or *almoſt*, and to have made themſelves Patriarchs of the whole œcumenical Church without exception. And *Gregory* does not only thus ſeverely inveigh againſt this uſurpation, but gives excellent reaſons againſt it: He ſays, *Si unus Epiſcopus vocatur univerſalis, univerſa Eccleſia corruit, ſi unus univerſus cadit.* i. e. that *if one Biſhop be call'd univerſal, the univerſal Church falls, if that univerſal Biſhop falls.* But ſays he, *Abſit à Cordibus Chriſtianorum nomen iſtud blaſphemiæ, in quo omnium Sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum ab uno ſibi dementer arrogatur.* i. e. *But let that blaſphemous name be abhorrent to the Hearts of all Chriſtians, by which the honour of all Biſhops is taken away, while it is madly arrogated by one to himſelf.* Here that is call'd blaſphemy and madneſs, which is now made the plenitude of the apoſtolical authority! This, and much more to the ſame purpoſe, is to be ſeen in *Gregory*'s Book of *Epiſtles*, Lib. iv. *Ep.* 32, 33, 34, 36, 38. Lib. vi. *Ep.* 24, 28, 30, 39. Lib. viii. *Ep.* 30. Lib. xi. *Ep.* 45. and ſeveral others.

Let me here, as a farther ſtrengthening of this authority of St. *Gregory*, give you the only ſalvo which the Church of *Rome* can find againſt it, which is this ſuppoſition, that the claim which *John* of *Conſtantinople* did ſet up, and conſequently which was all that St. *Gregory* did oppoſe, was, not to be chief or univerſal Biſhop, but to be the only Biſhop in the whole world and that there ſhould be no other Biſhop but himſelf.

This we are told in the lateſt apology upon this head that I know of, which has come from that ſide, entituled *The Prodigal returned home*, printed *An.* 1684. for our inſtruction. There, p. 289. is ſet down a quotation out of St. *Gregory*, as an objection of the Proteſtants, where he ſays, *That tho' St.* Peter *was the Prince of the Apoſtles, yet he was not*

called univerſal Apoſtle. To which the anſwer is, *As if there were no other Apoſtle but he.* And the application is, that the Pope of *Rome* did not ſo pretend to be univerſal Biſhop, as if there were no other Biſhop but himſelf: Which they ſuppoſe *John* of *Conſtantinople* did; and fortify it with theſe words of St. *Gregory*, in the ſame Book, Epiſt. 34. *Triſte tamen valde eſt ut patienter feratur, quatenus deſpectis omnibus prædictus frater & Co-Epiſcopus meus, ſolus conetur appellari Epiſcopus.* i. e. *It is too grievous to be born, that our foreſaid Brother and Fellow-Biſhop deſpiſing all others, ſhould attempt that he alone ſhould be called Biſhop.*

Here is playing upon an expreſſion againſt plain matter of fact: For, as before quoted, St. *Gregory* did accuſe him only for making himſelf Patriarch of almoſt the whole œcumenical Church. So that

1. In this *almoſt* there are other Biſhops excepted, over whom he did not extend his Supremacy, as the after-Biſhops of *Rome* have done.

2. The notion of a Patriarch, is, to preſide over the other Biſhops within his Patriarchat, ſo that this ſuppoſes other Biſhops beſides the Patriarch.

3. *John* did never deny *Gregory* to be Biſhop of *Rome*, but contended with him for the Supremacy.

4. *Gregory*, in ſeveral places of his Epiſtles, gives *John* the character of a learned and pious Man, bating his ambition in this point. Does he then charge him with ſuch groſs ignorance as not to know there were twelve Apoſtles! To think that there was ne'er another Apoſtle but only St. *Peter!* Was that all the meaning of his argument, that *Peter* was not called univerſal Apoſtle!

Or was it not plainly, that tho' *Peter* was the firſt or chief Apoſtle, and ſo the Prime or Prince of them; yet this gave him not a juriſdiction over them all, ſo as to be call'd the univerſal Apoſtle, and all the others entirely ſubject to him? And this was a ſtrong argument againſt the pretenſions of *John*, who ſought to be eſteemed the univerſal Biſhop over all the other Biſhops in the world, *almoſt.*

5. St. *Gregory* calls the Biſhops the Stars of God, and accuſes *John* for ſeeking, like *Lucifer*, to exalt his Throne above them all. But how above them, if he would have none but himſelf! When things are taken quite away, they are neither above nor below.

And now as to the expreſſion, upon which this poor cavil is founded, that he only ſhould be eſteemed Biſhop. How common is it in ordinary converſation? If a Man ſet himſelf up for Dictator in a Company and to rule the whole diſcourſe, it is ſaid, that he would make himſelf the only Man in the Company: So in a Committee, if one ſhould take upon him to over-rule all the reſt: In Juſtices upon the Bench, *&c.* where tho' one be Chief-Juſtice, he is not the only Juſtice. When the Prophet ſaid, *Wo to them that join houſe to houſe, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midſt of the Earth,* Iſa. v. 8. Did he mean that ſuch a covetous Man, who could put no bounds to his avarice or ambition, deſign'd there ſhould be ne'er a Man left in the world but himſelf; and in that ſenſe to be left alone in the Earth? Or was it, that he deſir'd to bring all others under him and to depend upon him?

When the Duke of *York* was call'd *The Duke*, was the meaning, that there was not another Duke in the Kingdom? Or was it only by way of eminence, that there was not another of like quality as he? Is not that the meaning of the Pope now writing himſelf *Epiſcopus*, without any limitation? Does he mean, that there is no other Biſhop in the world but himſelf? How comes he to appropriate the ſtyle of apoſtolical to the See of *Rome?* Did they make no other Biſhop? Behold then, even literally, the ambition of *John* of *Conſtantinople!* This is what he would have been at!

at! That he alone might have the ſtyle of *Epiſcopus*, and his See of Apoſtolick; that is, by way only of eminence, as if there were no ſuch Biſhop as he the univerſal one.

There is nothing now left to the Church of *Rome*, but to give us up St. *Gregory* too among the Proteſtant Popes, before there was any Popery in the World!

And we may lay good claim to others of them, after that time, before Popes had arriv'd at their full height. I will inſtance at this time but in one, tho' he names ſeveral others, that is *Æneas Sylvius*. It is indeed in what he wrote before he was Pope. And tho' afterwards he aſſum'd the Grandure of the then papal ſtrain, as Men that take great places, muſt accept of the ſtyle with them; yet he then only aſſerted, whereas before he prov'd. And he neither recanted or took upon him to anſwer his own arguments, and the authorities which he had brought againſt the then exorbitant pretenſions of the Papacy.

He aſcended the Pontifical Throne, by the name of *Pius* the ſecond, in the year 1458. And in his *De Geſt. Concil. Baſil.* l. 1. Edit. Baſil. 1551. p. 11, 12. he ſays, *Opinio omnium mortuorum eſt, ſi opinio vocari debet quæ idoneis confirmatur autoribus, quia Ro. Pontifex univerſali Eccleſiæ ſubjectus exiſtit: Neque hoc viventes negare audent: Audent illud autem, apud aliquos revocatur in dubium, an id quoque de generali Concilio credi oporteat. Sunt enim aliqui, ſive avidi gloriæ ſive quòd adulando præmia expectant, qui peregrinas quaſdam & omnino novas prædicare Doctrinas cœperunt, ipſumque ſummum Pontificem ex Juriſdictione ſacri Concilii demere non verentur. Excæcavit namque illos ambitio, à quâ non ſolùm hoc modernum, ſed omnia uſque ad hanc diem Schiſmata, ſuborta reperiuntur——Hodiernam Hæreſim illi præcipuè nutriunt, quos jam mendicare ſuppudet, quorum alius clamat, ſubditorum facta judicari à Papâ, Romanum verò Pontificem ſolius Dei reſervari arbitrio. Alius dicit, quia primam ſedem nemo judicabit, quòd neque ab Auguſto, neque ad omni Clero, neque à Regibus, neque à Populo valeat judicari—— Nec conſiderant miſeri, quia quæ prædicant tantopere verba, aut ſummorum Pontificum ſunt ſuas fimbrias extendentium, aut illorum qui eis adulabantur. Et quia hujuſmodi dicta ſolutionem habent, recurrunt ſtatim ad Evangelium, & verba Chriſti non prout Spiritûs Sancti ſenſus expoſcit, ſed ſuopte ingenio interpretantur. Plurimumque illud extollunt, quia Petro ſit dictum, Tu vocaberis Cephas, per quod illum Caput Eccleſiæ faciunt: Tibi dabo Claves Regni Cœlorum: Et, quodcunque ligaveris ſuper terram: Et, Rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua: Et, paſce oves meas: Et, duc in altum rete: Et, noli timere, jam ex hoc eris homines capiens: Quodque ſoli Petro, tanquam Apoſtolorum Principi, Chriſtus mandaverit, pro ſe & pro illo ſtaterem dare: Et, quia Petrus traxit ad terram rete plenum piſcibus magnis: Et, quòd ſolus Petrus ad Chriſti defenſionem gladium evaginavit. Quæ omnia hi homines miro modo ſublimant, expoſitionibus ſanctorum Doctorum omnino poſthabitis.* Which, for the ſake of the common Reader is thus in *Engliſh*. "It is the opini-
" on of all that are dead, if that can be call'd an opinion which is forti-
" fy'd with ſufficient authorities, that the Pope of *Rome* is ſubject to the
" univerſal Church; neither dare thoſe living deny it. But it is made a
" doubt among ſome, whether he be ſubject alſo to a general Council: For
" there are ſome, whether out of ſingularity or that they expect the re-
" wards of their flattery, have begun to ſpread new and ſtrange Doctrines,
" and are not afraid to exempt the Pope from the Juriſdiction of the holy
" Council; for ambition has blinded them, from whence not only this mo-
" dern, but all ſchiſms to this day have ariſen——This modern Hereſy is
" chiefly

" chiefly ſupported by a company of beggarly Expectants, of whom one " crys, that the actions of ſubjects are to be judg'd by the Pope, but he, by " God alone. Another ſays, That the chief Seat is to be judg'd by none, " neither by all the Clergy, nor Kings, nor People—— Theſe wretched " Men do not conſider, That theſe things they ſay, are but the words ei- " ther of Popes, who wou'd extend their power, or of their flatterers: And " becauſe ſuch ſayings are eaſily anſwered, they ſtraight run to the Goſpel, " and interpret the words of *Chriſt*, not according to the meaning of the " Holy Ghoſt, but of their own Brains. And they make much of that " which was ſaid to *Peter*, *Thou ſhalt be call'd* Cephas, by which they " make him Head of the Church: *To thee I will give the Keys of the* " *Kingdom of Heaven:* And, *Whatſoever thou bindeſt upon Earth:* And, " *I have pray'd for thee*, Peter, *That thy Faith fail not:* And, *Fear not,* " *thou ſhalt henceforth catch Men:* And that *Chriſt* commanded *Peter* a- " lone, as Prince of the Apoſtles, to pay Tribute for himſelf and for him: " And becauſe *Peter drew the Net to ſhore full of great fiſhes:* And that " *Peter* alone drew his Sword in defence of *Chriſt*. All which things " theſe Men after a ſtrange manner do refine upon, wholly neglecting " the expoſitions of the holy Doctors." And he ſolves theſe texts in the ſame manner as the Proteſtants have done; ſhewing that, tho' ſpoke to *Peter*, they were meant, not to him perſonally, but to the Church; and that by that text, *Dic Eccleſiæ*, *Peter* himſelf was made ſubject to the cenſures of the Church, and all his Succeſſors, to which if they refus'd to ſubmit, they were to be reputed as Heathens and Publicans. And he quotes *Gregory* the Great and Pope *Nicolas*, &c. for the ſame. And ſays of thoſe who wou'd ſet up the Pope's authority above all, p. 14. *Qui dum unius hominis libidinem ſuſtinere conantur, dumque privatum bonum communi antevertunt, incredibile eſt, quantas errorum nebulas excitent.* i. e. *Who, while they endeavour to ſupport the ambition of one Man, while they prefer the private to the publick good, it is incredible what clouds of errors they have rais'd.* And quotes Pope *Zoſimus*, ſaying, *Contra ſtatuta patrum condere aliquid vel mutare, nec hujus quidem Sedis poteſt autoritas.* i. e. *The authority even of this See* (of Rome) *cannot eſtabliſh or change any thing againſt the decrees of the Fathers:* And Pope *Damaſus* making it *Blaſphemare Spiritum Sanctum*, to *Blaſpheme the Holy Ghoſt*. And ſupports this by the authority of St. *Ambroſe* manifeſtly reproving thoſe, *Qui ſummum Pontificem Concilii Principem dicunt*; *who call the Pope the Prince or Head of the Council.*

And of St. *Auguſtine*, who ſays, That appeals may be made from the Popes to the Church, and their Decrees revers'd. And after ſeveral other authorities, and inſtancing the Church contending with *Peter*, *Acts* XI. and *Paul* reſiſting him to the face, *Gal.* II. he concludes with theſe words of *Marcian* the Emperor, *Verè impius atque Sacrilegus eſt, qui poſt Sacerdotum Sententiam, opinioni ſuæ aliquid retractandum relinquit; extremæ quippe dementiæ eſt, in meridie & perſpicuo die commentitium lumen quærere: Quiſquis enim poſt veritatem repertam aliquid ulterius diſcutit, mendacium quærit.* i. e, *He is impious and ſacrilegious, who will oppoſe his Judgment to the determination of the Prieſts. For it is extreme madneſs, in the clear noon day, to ſeek for a falſe feigned light: For he who after the truth found out, will yet ſtill ſearch farther, ſeeketh a lye.*

Then he goes on, p. 15, 16. to ſhew that the Pope may be depos'd: And having anſwer'd thoſe texts, *Tibi dabo claves*, *Paſce oves*, &c. according to the Doctrine of the primitive Fathers, particularly St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Auguſtine*, whoſe words he quotes, that they did belong to the

other Apoſtles, and the ſucceeding Biſhops of the Church, as well as to St. *Peter:* And then coming to anſwer the objection, That the Pope was Head of the Church; and that the Head muſt not be cut off for whatever diſeaſe, becauſe it inferr'd the death of the Body; he denies the Pope to be Head of the Church, unleſs you will ſay miniſterially, that is, to ſerve and aſſiſt the Body, under the Head, which is *Chriſt* alone. And he aſſerts it as without all doubt, that the Pope is more truly the Vicar of the Church, than of *Chriſt:* And therefore, that as a Lord may at his pleaſure depoſe his Vicar, ſo the Church may the Pope. *Quia cùm ſit Papa vicarius Eccleſiæ, nemo dubitat quin dominus vicarios ſuos poſſit ad nutum ſuum deſtituere: Nec dubium eſt, veriùs dici Papam, Eccleſiæ vicarium, quàm Chriſti.* And before he ſays, *Quicquid tamen dicant aliqui, ego cum illis non ſentio, qui Romanum Pontificem Caput Eccleſiæ dicunt, niſi forſitan miniſteriale; legimus enim, quia Chriſtus eſt Eccleſiæ Caput non Papa——Eccleſia verò ipſius Chriſti corpus, cujus etiam ipſe Papa eſt Membrum.* Therefore that he may be cut off, and depos'd if inutile or ſcandalous, *nec, ut aliqui delirant, propter ſolam Hæreſim.*

i. e. "For ſeeing the Pope is Vicar of the Church, none doubts but a "Lord may, at his pleaſure, turn off his Vicars: Nor is it a doubt to ſay, "that the Pope is more truly the Vicar of the Church than of *Chriſt*. And "whatever ſome Men do ſay, I cannot agree with thoſe who call the Pope "the Head of the Church; unleſs, perhaps a miniſterial Head; for we read "that *Chriſt* is Head of the Church, and not the Pope——For the Church "is the Body of *Chriſt* himſelf, of which the Pope himſelf is but a "Member.

Then he tells p. 17, 18. what is meant by the Church, *viz.* The whole Body of believers, both Paſtors and People. But that the authority and governing part lay only in the Paſtors, who therefore are call'd the Church virtually, as including the whole. Let me make a compariſon familiar to us: It is as the Houſe of Commons are called the Commons of *England*, and their Acts, the Acts of all the Commons of *England*. This he ſhews firſt, as it was under the Law, where *Deut.* XVII. the Prieſts were to be the Judges of the People. And that the ſame was the ſtate under the Goſpel, as ſhewn *Mat.* XXIII. 1, 2. the *Jewiſh* Church being a type of the Chriſtian. And that *Chriſt* compares the Apoſtles, and in them the Clergy, to Fiſhers, and the People to the Fiſh. He calls the Clergy likewiſe the Husband-Men and Labourers in the Vineyard, which was the Church, and ſays, *He that heareth you, heareth me,* &c. And, *Go and teach all Nations.* And, *Whatſoever ye bind on Earth,* &c. And, *To thee I will give the Keys,* &c. which, as St. *Auguſtine* ſays, upon the place; *Per illa verba datam eſſe judiciariam poteſtatem, non ſolùm Petro, ſed toti Eccleſiæ in Epiſcopis & Presbyteris*; i. e. *By theſe words there is judicial power given, not only to* Peter, *but to the whole Church, in the Biſhops and the Presbyters.* And, as *Æneas Sylvius* goes on; *Sciendum eſt enim (ut Clemens aſſerit in Epiſtolâ ſupradictâ) Epiſcopos vicem Apoſtolorum gerere, & reliquorum Diſcipulorum vicem tenere Presbyteros, ſic enim prædicâſſe Petrum, qui à Domino didiciſſe, ait: Unde apparet Eccleſiæ poteſtatem omnimodam in Sacerdotibus conſiſtere.* i. e. *For we muſt know* (as *Clemens* ſays in his Epiſtle before quoted) *That the Biſhops are in the place of the Apoſtles, and the Presbyters of the other Diſciples: For ſo he ſays* Peter *did teach, who learn'd it from the Lord. Whence it appears that all the power of the Church is lodg'd in the Prieſts.* And having thus reſolv'd the power of the Church Univerſal into the Biſhops and Clergy, he makes the concluſion, *Dicimus ergo Univerſali Eccleſiæ, quæ omnes Chriſti fideles amplectitur, Poteſtatem omnimodam fore conceſ-*

ſam, Romanumque Pontificem illi ſubjectum, poſſe per ipſam, non bene regentem, deponi, abjici, excommunicari. Rurſus adjicimus, quia quæcunque illa Univerſalis Eccleſia poteſt, hæc etiam Clericorum poteſt & in hâc poteſtatis ſupremæ exercitium invenire. i. e. *Therefore we ſay, that all power is given to the Univerſal Church, which contains all the faithful of* Chriſt; *and that the Pope of* Rome *is ſubject to her, and if he govern not well, may be depos'd by her, thrown off, and excommunicated. And we farther ſay, That whatever that Univerſal Church can do, the Clergy may do, and that in them the exerciſe of the ſupreme power is to be found.* Here the Pope is entirely ſubmitted to the College of Biſhops. And tho' he may be preſident for order ſake, when they are aſſembled in Council, yet he is deny'd to be Prince of the Council, to have power to diſſolve or prorogue them without their own conſent: And that they may call themſelves without him, if he conſent not, as is aſſerted in the ſame place, p. 19, 20. And *if he ſeparate himſelf from them, he thereby ſeparates himſelf from the Unity of the Church, and makes himſelf a Schiſmatick.* He is here deny'd to be Head of the Church, or Vicar of *Chriſt*, but rather Vicar and Servant to the Church, that is, to the epiſcopal College. And to ſet him above them, is call'd wickedneſs and ſacrilege, and blaſphemy, againſt the Holy Ghoſt: And the root borh of ancient and modern Schiſms: And this from the mouths of ſeveral Popes themſelves, as well as in other ancient and godly Fathers: And this not only aſſerted, but put in practice by the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, who depos'd ſeveral Popes, as other Councils had done: And theſe Councils are vindicated, and re-aſſerted in the Decrees of the *Gallican* Clergy, *An.* 1682. then he ſhews that the Popes of *Rome* were prohibited by the Councils of *Africa* from receiving any Appeals from their Synods; which totally overthrows the pretence of the Pope's univerſal Supremacy. As he ſays p. 15. *Ex Conciliis etiam Africanis prohibiti ſunt Romani Pontifices, ne appellationes illorum audirent, qui à Synodo appellabant.* i. e. *The Popes of* Rome *were prohibited by the* African *Councils from hearing the Appeals of thoſe who appeal'd to them from the Synod.* That is, from the *African* Synod; which made the Church of *Africa*, as free and independent as that of *Rome*; and conſequently, every other national Church: Tho' *Rome* was then more eminent, as one Nation is more than another; yet independent.

From this Super-eminence or Supremacy of *Rome* it was that thoſe great appellations were given to her of plenitude of power, and being chief of Biſhops, *&c.* of which this ſame Pope gives this account, p. 19. *Quoniam Sacerdotes per Orbem diſperſi nec ſtatuunt Canones, nec judicant, niſi quilibet Plebem ſuam; tuncque Papa omnibus major eſt—— in eoque plenitudo poteſtatis exiſtit.* i. e. *Becauſe the Biſhops diſperſed over the World, do not make Canons, nor judge, except every one his own Flock; in this ſenſe, the Pope is greater than they all——And in this the plenitude of his power does conſiſt.* That is, he was greater than any ſingle Biſhop, but not than the College of Biſhops, when they were met together: As it may be ſaid at this day of the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with reſpect to *England*.

And when *Æneas Sylvius* came to be Pope, and took theſe high Titles upon him, we ought to underſtand them in that ſenſe which he himſelf has thus explain'd: Nor has the Church of *Rome* any other way to ſave him from contradicting himſelf, in thoſe expreſſions they produce of him after he came to the Pontificate, of his greatneſs and Power, which they wou'd have overthrow his authority, in what he had ſo ſtrenuouſly argu'd before.

And as this Pope thus zealously asserted the rights of the Episcopate against the then growing encroachments of the Pontificate; he likewise saw, on the other hand, and for the same reasons, what humble Servants Men wou'd prove to those who could give them rewards, even to set up the *Regale* of temporal Princes above the authority of the Church. Thus he propheſies, p. 42. *Episcopos verò aliquos, ne quid temporalitatis amitterent, libertatem Ecclesiæ Principibus vendituros, eosque Judices & Dominos supra Concilium erecturos.* i. e. *That some Bishops, lest they should lose any thing of their temporalities, would sell the liberties of the Church to Princes, and set them up as Judges and Governors of Councils.*

But we need not the testimony of Popes against the *Regale*; they are produc'd on the other side, as of most force against the Pontificate, that being their own concern; and Men are not apt to be partial against themselves.

More of this sort might be produc'd: I am afraid some Readers may think this too much. Therefore to return to more ancient authorities, which will bear the weight we lay upon them, this notion which *Gregory* the *Great*, *Pius* II. and other Popes quoted by him, had of the Church, opposite to that of an universal Head upon Earth, but govern'd by the episcopal College, is what in the earliest time had prevail'd in the catholick Church.

This is the language of the great St. *Cyprian*, Ep. 68. p. 178. That *therefore the episcopal College is large, and there are many Bishops, join'd together in the bond of Unity: That if any Bishop of the College should propagate Heresy, and so seek to tear and waste the Flock of* Christ, *the rest might mercifully interpose for the saving of the Flock, and gather again the Sheep of the Lord into the Fold. For tho' we are many Pastors,* (says he) *yet we all feed the same Flock.* And Ep. 55. p. 112. he says, *That as there is but one Church thro' the whole world, divided into many members; so there is but one Episcopate, diffus'd in the numerous agreement of many Bishops.*

Among these the Bishop of *Rome* held the first place, as being Bishop of the most eminent City in the World, it being then the seat of the Empire: And therefore applications were made principally to him in affairs of the Church.

But for any such universal Supremacy as is now pretended, on account of his being the ultimate and infallible judge of controversy, it was totally unknown to these early ages: In which, tho' there were many and great controversies, yet no such appeal to the Bishop of *Rome* does appear from any body: And it could not have been miss'd if that had been the principle of those times; for it had been a summary way, and the only true way of ending all their controversies.

But on the contrary we find, that St. *Cyprian* and others did oppose the Bishop of *Rome*, argue against him, and reprove him sharply where they thought he deserv'd it.

And St. *Cyprian* and other Bishops give him no other title than that of Fellow-Bishop and Joint-Brother: And take leave to differ as freely from him as from other Bishops.

St. *Cyprian*, when Archbishop of *Carthage*, would not take upon him to be Bishop of Bishops, even over those Bishops of his own Province whom he call'd together in Council, and wherein he presided; nor requir'd that any of them should be determin'd by his authority, upon any point: But allow'd that they might differ from his judgment, seeing they were not accountable to him or any other, but to *Christ* the chief Shepherd, who had entrusted them with his Flock under their charge. *Cyp.* in *Concil. Carth.* p. 129,

p. 129, *&c.* And as he aſſum'd no ſuch Supremacy to himſelf, as little did he allow it to any other.

The notion of an univerſal Vicar was not then invented. St. *Cyprian* ſays of every Biſhop, that he does *Vice Paſtoris cuſtodire Gregem*, Ep. 8. p. 16. *Keep the Flock in the place of* Chriſt *the chief Shepherd.*

And the Canons after made to regulate the precedence and juriſdiction of the Patriarchs, of whom *Rome* was one.

And the Council of *Carthage*, *A. D.* 419. *Can.* 126. forbidding appeals to any *Trans-Marine* juriſdiction, under pain of excommunication, are abſolutely inconſiſtent with ſuch an univerſal Supremacy as *Rome* did afterwards claim, and that *jure divino.*

That this uſurpation of the Biſhops of *Rome* upon the Epiſcopate, made the famous Archbiſhop of *Spalato M. Anton. de Dom.* quit their Communion, and come over into *England*, in the Reign of K. *James* I. to ſeek for a more pure and primitive Epiſcopacy here, as himſelf gives the reaſon, in his *Conſilium Profectionis.*

But finding here a more heterogeneous *Eraſtianiſm* in the *Regale*, he return'd: But whether into their Communion again or not, is not certain.

1. But the Biſhop of *Rome* having thus graſp'd the power of the whole epiſcopal College into his own hand, took upon him not only to tyrannize himſelf, but, out of the plenitude of his power, he ſold the right and authority of other Biſhops to Kings and ſecular Princes, on condition that they would aggrandize his See, and maintain him in his uſurpation over the reſt of his Collegues the Biſhops. Thus ſharing the ſpoils of the Church with thoſe who were able by their power to keep his robbery from being queſtioned: As Biſhop *Burnet* ſays in his *Hiſtory of the Regale*, p. 241. *The King and the Pope agreed to divide the promotions to all Prelacies between them.*

It was the Pope who firſt thoroughly ſettled the *Regale* into an eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment, as *Grotius* tells (*de Imper. Summar. Poteſt. circa Sacra.* c. 10. §. 24.) from *Onuphrius* and others, that the cuſtom of the Emperors chuſing Biſhops prevailed from the time of *Charles* the *Great:* And that it was eſtabliſhed by the authority of Pope *Adrian* I. Who ordain'd that the Ring and Paſtoral-Staff of a deceas'd Biſhop or Abbot ſhould be carry'd to the Emperor; and that he might inveſt whom he pleas'd therewith, and command them to be conſecrated accordingly. And from hence this cuſtom prevail'd thro' *France*, *Germany* and *Italy*, which was then call'd the *Latin* World: And other Kings, as *Spain*, *Hungary*, &c. imitated their example. So that, ſays *Onuphrius*, this became the cuſtom of the *Latin* World: And Kings did, at laſt, extend it even over *Rome* itſelf. (It is no new thing to ſee partners fall out in dividing the ſpoil, and to rob one another) ſeveral of whoſe Biſhops he there inſtances were choſen by the *Roman* Emperors, who, he ſays, did not only chuſe all Biſhops, Abbots, Deans, and Prebends, and all inferior orders of the Church, but the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf.

This continu'd in the Church of *Rome* 300 years, during the Reigns of ſixty Popes, till Pope *Hildebrand* ſet himſelf againſt it, and others after him; and have brought it to what we now ſee: They have bent the bow as much the contrary way, and aſſum'd the power of depoſing Kings to beat down their pretence to the inveſtiture of Biſhops, when they found that it ſtretch'd itſelf even to the Biſhops of *Rome* themſelves. But when they had got free themſelves, they were content that the other Biſhops ſhould be kept ſtill under the yoke; and made a new dividend of the ſpoil, allowing to Kings by Concordates the preſentation of ſome Biſhopricks and other Church preferments, that they might ſecurely enjoy all the reſt. This was

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the effect of reſolving the whole power of the epiſcopal College into one, as *Gregory* the *Great* foretold.

This bargain the Pope has made for them as ſupreme Head and Governor of the Church.

2. But not content with this, and to humble the Epiſcopate more effectually, he, as the ſovereign diſpoſer of all other Biſhops and their authority, has ſet up vaſt ſwarms of regulars in all countries ſubject to his Supremacy; and has exempted them (contrary to the ancient Canons) from the juriſdiction of their reſpective Biſhops, and made them accountable only to the ſuperiors of their reſpective orders, and ultimately to himſelf: Therefore they are juſtly call'd the Pope's Life-Guard, as depending wholly and ſolely upon him: And ſerve him to purpoſe in battelling, upon all occaſions, his great foe Epiſcopacy, as *Lainez* the General of the Jeſuits did at the Council of *Trent*, by the ſame arguments which the Proteſtant Presbyterians have ſince borrowed againſt the epiſcopal authority.

But the ſtout oppoſition then given by the Biſhops of *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, and all the Popiſh dominions except ſome of *Italy* who were the Pope's creatures, to this pretended Supremacy of the Pope over all other Biſhops, and in defence of the primitive divine right of the Epiſcopate, inſomuch, that they forced the Pope to uſe all his arts to have that queſtion dropt which he had brought into the Council againſt the divine right of Epiſcopacy, (excepting only that of the See of *Rome*) and to keep the unanimous opinion of the Biſhops, for the divine right of every Biſhop, as well as of the Biſhop of *Rome* from being paſt into a decree of that Council: I ſay, this ſhews us plainly, that the Biſhops of the *Roman* Communion are kept under the uſurpations of the papal Supremacy by art and power: And in all probability would have deliver'd themſelves before this time but for fear of falling more abſolutely under the power of the *Regale*; which, by the artifice of the Popes, is kept over their heads, that they may not think of ſteering off from *Scylla* for fear of falling into *Charybdis*. But the chanel lies betwixt theſe two: Which is the primitive Epiſcopate, free from the encroachments of the *Pontificate* and the *Regale*, that have agreed to ſupport and maintain each other.

3. Another artifice to break the epiſcopal authority, is the many peculiarities which the Pope has made, exempt from the juriſdiction of the Biſhops: And the *Regale* thinks fit, for the ſame reaſon, to keep them up: The *Pontificate* and the *Regale* quarrel ſometimes about them, to get them from one another; but both agree to keep them from the Biſhops.

4. Again the Pope as ſupreme Treaſurer of the Church, has ſweetly diſpos'd of her patrimony: He has appropriated to the regulars, and ſold and infeodated to other Lay-Men (for all the regulars are not Clergy) all the tithes in *Italy* and moſt in other Popiſh Countries: And the *Regale*, where pretending to reform, has ſeiz'd upon all theſe, but return'd nothing to the Church, from which they were taken.

This ſtill the effect of letting the whole depend upon one, whether King or Biſhop; but with this difference, that there is none who pretends to be univerſal King: And therefore what every King may do in his own dominions, the univerſal Biſhop may do all the chriſtian World over.

Then the grand pretence of the Pope's univerſal Supremacy was diſcourſed, *viz.* to preſerve Unity in the Church, as being one Society, which could not be without a viſible Head. To this it was ſaid,

1. That there is one World. That this whole World is one Kingdom to God. As it is written, *His Kingdom ruleth over all*, Pſal. CIII. 19. *They ſhall ſpeak of the Glory of thy Kingdom*, Pſal. CXLV. 11.

That God has appointed no univerſal Deputy or Monarch under him, over the whole World; and that the Peace and Unity of the World is beſt ſo conſulted by his all wiſe providence: For that no mortal Man's abilities are ſufficient to govern the whole Earth. It wou'd occaſion infinity of Defections and Rebellions, and bring the World to greater Wars and Confuſions, than as it is now canton'd into many independent Kingdoms and States.

That Appeals cou'd not be made from all parts of the Earth to a King in any one place: Beſides many other inſuperable difficulties, which are obvious to any who will conſider of ſuch a ſcheme,

2. That the ſame do occur in the notion of an univerſal Biſhop, to whom Appeals from all parts of the Earth muſt come.

That therefore many and independent Churches are no more an objection againſt the Unity of the Church, than many Kingdoms againſt the Unity of God's univerſal Kingdom.

That there is a general Law, call'd the Law of Nations, by which all Kingdoms and States think themſelves oblig'd; and by which the peace and commerce of the World is maintain'd.

That there is a yet ſtricter and more firm bond of Unity betwixt the ſeveral Churches of *Chriſt*: For whereas any civil ſentence, as of death, confiſcation, *&c.* paſs'd by any King has no effect out of his own Dominions: The ſentence of excommunication, or other ſpiritual cenſures, when paſs'd juſtly by any Biſhop of the catholick Church, have, by the rules of the catholick Communion, their effect in all other Churches through the World. And when thoſe cenſures are releas'd by the proper Biſhop, the Criminal is abſolv'd, and reſtor'd to Communion not only of his own Biſhop, but of all the Biſhops of the catholick Church.

So that the power of every Biſhop extends all over the whole chriſtian Church; whereas the power of any King is limited within his own dominions. And the Church is cemented in a ſtricter bond of Unity than the ſecular World; the Communion of Saints being a more ſacred and ſtricter tye than the commerce of Nations; and extends it ſelf to the other World, takes in the Saints and Angels of Heaven, as making one Family, one Body with the Church upon Earth, all united under one Head, *Chriſt*, the Lord and Father of all.

3. That God has made *Chriſt* his only univerſal Deputy over the World and of the Church; he is the only univerſal King and Biſhop; and it is as great blaſphemy for any one to arrogate to himſelf the one as the other.

Pſal. xxii. 28. *For the Kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the Governor among the Nations:* And the Churches of thoſe Nations who turn to the Lord ℣. 27. Hence the Goſpel is call'd, *The Kingdom, in all the World:* And no particular Mat. xxiv. 14. Kingdom is *The Kingdom*, more than it is *The World:* And the Kingdom of the Goſpel means nothing other than the Church: But *Rome* wou'd be not only the chief or principal of the Churches or Kingdoms; but it wou'd be *The Church, The Kingdom*, that is, *The World*; and her Biſhop will be content with nothing leſs than an univerſal Kingſhip.

4. That the whole catholick Church muſt depend abſolutely upon the univerſal Biſhop, in matters of Faith as well as Diſcipline; and therefore as his power is infinite, ſo muſt he be infallible, elſe as *Gregory* ſaid, *The Church muſt ſuddenly fall, if it come to depend upon one.* Hence the Popes when they had ſet up for univerſal Supremacy, aſſum'd likewiſe infallibility to themſeleves.

But then the confuſion they are in to find where this infallibility lies, has render'd their pretence to it contradictory to itſelf; the neceſſity they

pretend for it, being to reduce things to a certainty and infallible judgment, they are in nothing more uncertain than in this.

Bellarmin and the *Italian* Fryars, who writ at the Pope's feet, place this infallibility in the Perſon of the Pope, as Succeſſor to *Peter*, and conſequently Heir of all the Promiſes made to *Peter*: And extend it not only to matters of Faith, but of practice; for they rightly ſay, That this argument, the neceſſity of an infallible guide from the goodneſs of God not to ſuffer Mankind to be at a loſs for want of means to know his duty, will reach to matters of Practice as well as Faith; ſince Men will be judg'd at the laſt day for the one as well as the other.

And then how ſhall we believe ſuch to be our infallible guides, even in Practice, whoſe lives, as wrote by their own Hiſtorians, are full of enormities, neither few nor little?

Nay more, who are erroneous in their Principles, as well as Practice: Who have eſtabliſhed the depoſing Doctrine by authority of what they call a general Council, * and ſanctify'd it by indulgences to thoſe Subjects, who ſhall take Arms againſt their King, and depoſe him upon account of Religion. And the Popes have often put this in Practice, † in ſeveral Kingdoms.

There were ſix Popes who ſucceeded one another, during what was call'd the Holy League in *France*, of whom every one join'd with the League againſt the King; and this was made an invincible argument by the Pope's Legate, to juſtify that Rebellion, *Anno Dom.* 1593.

Some Writers of late years, have made diſtinctions to mollify this Principle and Practice of the Popes: But however the Popes will not give it up nor can they be brought to diſclaim it.

This was no objection to *Bellarmine*, who wrote in defence of the depoſing Doctrine, and of the Council of *Lateran* which enacted it: He thought the Pope was an infallible guide, in this, as in all other things.

And purſuing the conſequence of this *Hypotheſis* to the utmoſt, cou'd not ſtop ſhort of this monſtrous poſition, that if the Pope ſhou'd command the practice of vice and forbid virtue, the Church were bound to believe vice to be good, and virtue to be wicked, *de Rom. Pont.* l. 4. c. 5.

We muſt ſuppoſe that he thought it impoſſible the Pope ſhou'd do ſo (tho' there are too many inſtances of it) and that the univerſal Biſhop muſt alſo be univerſal Guide, and conſequently arbitrary and infallible, ſince the whole catholick Church muſt depend upon him.

The ſame reaſoning makes theſe Men place the Pope far ſuperior and paramount to all Councils, even general, compos'd of all the Biſhops in the Earth. They may adviſe, but the deciſion lies in him alone.

Others whoſe ſenſe or courage fail them to run to this exceſs of madneſs, place the infallibility indeed in the Pope: But then they ſay it is only when he is in *Cathedrâ*.

Here again they break into different Parties, ſome ſay he is in *Cathedrâ* in the *Conclave*; others deny that, and ſay that he is only ſo in a general Council.

Some ſay, That the infallibility is not in the Pope, but in the Council: That therefore the Council is above the Pope, and may depoſe him as the Council of *Conſtance* depos'd three contending Popes, who were all then in the World; which Council the general Aſſembly of the *Gallican* Clergy, *A. D.* 1682. do quote, in the ſecond of their Decrees then publiſh'd; and ſtand upon the authority of a Council as ſuperior to that of the Pope.

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* Great Counc. of *Later.* c. 3. Anno Dom. 1215. † *D'Avila's* Hiſt. Civ. Wars in *France*, *Lond.* 1678. l. 13. p. 598.

Others

Others like none of these ways; and place the infallibility neither in Pope nor Council separately; but only in both together.

Lastly, Because even so they cannot hold up their infallibility: For there are several instances given, where Pope and Council have oppos'd former Popes and Councils, and rescinded their Acts as erroneous: Therefore there are some who place the infallibility in the Church diffusive; which if they had not limited to those only of the *Roman* Communion, they had come nearer to the truth; if they wou'd consider themselves only as a part of the catholick Church, and see what it is which they hold in common with all the other christian Churches; they might in such a Faith find an infallible assurance, tho' not from any or all of the Persons who hold it: Yet from the nature of such an universal Testimony; and in such publick and notorious matters of fact, as it is impossible for Mankind to be impos'd upon; which is demonstrated, even to our senses, in the *Method with the Deists*, &c. lately published.

But the Church of *Rome* grounding all those things wherein she differs from other Churches, upon her own infallibility; and not knowing where to find it, being divided into so many different and opposite *Hypotheses* concerning it, whereof if any one be true, all the rest must be false; will be forc'd at least to suspend whatever she builds upon her own authority, different from the common sentiments of other Churches and of Mankind, till she can reconcile her self with her self; and agree, where her infallibility lies; and to what things it extends, whether only to matters of Faith, as some; or also to matters of Practice, as others of as great name as any in her Communion have contended, and have the better of the argument upon their Principles.

But till these things can be adjusted, her Bishop must lay aside his pretences to universal Supremacy, which includes omnipotency and infallibility—And their vain boast of Unity must cease, till they can agree among themselves upon this foundation Principle of the Pope's Supremacy, whereon all the rest of their new Doctrines do depend.

5. And besides all this it was farther urg'd, that a local Infallibility or Supremacy fixt to any one place, wou'd render the christian Religion as narrow and precarious as the *Jewish*, which was confin'd to the Temple in *Jerusalem*; and therefore was never design'd for the universal Religion; and it becomes impracticable, whenever that place is in the hands of enemies, as *Jerusalem* now for many hundred years has been; and therefore the *Jews* can have no Sacrifices, nor have had these almost one thousand seven hundred years, in any part of the World.

Now suppose that *Rome* were conquer'd by Infidels, as *Constantinople* has been; or that a christian Prince should seize *Rome*, as has been done; then cou'd not Appeals be brought to the Bishop of *Rome*, without the King of *Rome*'s leave; who it is not like wou'd permit so vast a concourse, from all parts of the World to a power more universal than his own.

Nor wou'd christian Princes, especially if in War, think him an equal Judge amongst them all, who were in the power of any one of them.

The Church of *Russia* did submit to the Patriarchat of *Constantinople*, while it was in the hands of christian Emperors who were at peace with them: But have, with good reason, and even of necessity, broke off from it, since it has been conquer'd by the *Turk*.

When the Pontifical Chair was translated from *Rome* to *Avignon* in *France*, where it remain'd about seventy years, what disputes did it create? Popes and Anti-Popes set up against one another; and that Church torn to pieces with many and long Schisms, which all the wit of Man can never reconcile with her pretended Supremacy and Infallibility.

Then

XVIII. A Remedy propos'd.

Then a remedy was thought on for all theſe things. And it was ſaid, that the weſtern Church was (like her Maſter) crucify'd betwixt the uſurpations of the Pontificate on one ſide, and the *Regale* on the other.

That if the King's Supremacy, and power of the State over the Church were reduc'd to what our Laws before-mention'd have limited and explain'd *viz.* To extend only to a civil power, tho' in eccleſiaſtical Cauſes and over eccleſiaſtical Perſons:

And if the Pope's Supremacy were brought back to the limits of his firſt Patriarchat, *Jure* only *Eccleſiaſtico*, for the better regulation of the epiſcopal College, and exerting of its authority:

Then the primitive Epiſcopacy wou'd again flouriſh and ſhine forth in full vigor.

Then the correſpondence of Biſhops by communicatory Letters wou'd be reviv'd; and when they cou'd freely ſpeak their minds, without dread of the inquiſition on the one hand, or the *præmunire* on the other, there is no doubt but our differences wou'd leſſen as to other particulars, which are now heightened, on purpoſe to ſerve Parties and ſupport Supremacies.

Then thoſe many and pious Men in the Church of *Rome*, who do wiſh and have labour'd for a Reformation there, but dare not puſh it on, for fear of falling in with the *Regale* Eraſtianiſm; they ſeeing no other ſhore to row to, wou'd gladly avow, what they now ſecretly approve in our Reformation.

And we ſhou'd find no ſcruple to own and amend what we found amiſs on our ſide.

And on all ſides ſuch a temper wou'd be put on, as to give us a proſpect of a more glorious Reformation than ever the Church ſaw, ſince *Conſtantine* firſt turn'd Chriſtian.

Then Kings and chriſtian States being freed from the juſt fears which the depoſing Doctrine (taught rather by the Court than Church of *Rome*, merely to ſupport the papal uſurpation) had given them, wou'd not think it their intereſt to encroach upon the ſacred office; but leave it in its full vigour and authority, as being the greateſt ſupport and aſſurance upon Earth to their Government, as well as towards the Salvation of their Souls.

They would not then ſeek to bring any *Quo Warranto* againſt the divine Charter of the Church, granted to her by *Chriſt* our Lord; but they would highly honour it, and rejoice in it, that it was independent and ſuperior to all the powers upon Earth: Without which it could not be divine; nor could we have any aſſurance in the celebration of the ſacred offices, or any thing of Religion:

Which cannot ſtand upon a leſs foundation than *Chriſt* has laid for it: And he gave to his Church no more authority than was neceſſary to the carrying on of thoſe ends for which he did inſtitute it: And therefore to leſſen that, muſt certainly ſo far deprive us of thoſe benefits which *Chriſt* deſign'd to the world in the erecting of his Church among Men.

That therefore the reſtoring of her authority is neceſſary towards our obtaining of theſe benefits, which is the Salvation of our Souls, as well as temporal bleſſings.

That then, and not till then, Religion will be reſtor'd to its ancient luſtre, will be venerable and glorious: Which can never be while thoſe who adminiſter it are render'd precarious, which is contemptible.

Then Religion with its beauty will recover its force and influence upon the minds of Men, and be able to look vice out of countenance, and reſtore a laſting peace and ſecurity to Kings and States: *For Godlineſs is profitable unto all things, having promiſe of the Life that now is, and of that which is to come.* 1 Tim. iv. 8.

Then will not our Kings be tempted to look abroad for an independent Biſhop, ſince they cannot believe any other to have divine commiſſion. For it is a contradiction to call ſuch an one my Biſhop, and not to think him my ſuperior, and that I am oblig'd to obey him in all things relating to his office: As much as to call a Man my King, and yet pay him no duty in temporals.

Then Biſhops will tranſact with one another as Collegues; as temporal Princes do, each independent and ſupreme within his own dominions; yet digeſted into ſuperior and inferior claſſes of Emperors, Kings, ſovereign Princes, and States.

Thus ſome Biſhops might be Metropolitans, ſome Primates, and ſome Patriarchs, for the better regulation of the epiſcopal College, without any infraction upon the Epiſcopate and the Supremacy of every Biſhop over his own Subjects. For example,

The Princes Electors of the Empire pay a duty to the Emperor, and do him perſonal ſervices; yet are they ſovereign and independent Princes; and the Emperor has no authority, without their leave, in their dominions: And he treats with them, and they with him, by their Miniſters and Ambaſſadors, as other ſovereign Princes do.

Then would every Biſhop have full authority within himſelf to regulate and direct his Clergy; to correct vice, and reform error; and all Biſhops would ſtand by and aſſert the Diſcipline of each Biſhop duly exercis'd within his own diſtrict: And the example would encourage others: And the Reformation would become univerſal: Then Biſhops would be juſtly chargeable with any ſcandals in the Clergy, or what was notorious in any other of their ſubjects; and with the growth of hereſies and errors. And mere ſhame would bring matters to a decency, tho' every one had not the pure zeal of Chriſtianity: For which they have now too apparent an excuſe, *viz.* that Diſcipline is loſt, and will not be permitted by the State: Which, by virtue of *Conge d' Eſliers*, *Quare Impedits*, Prohibitions, *&c.* have made themſelves the ſole and ultimate judges not only of all Biſhops and Churches, but of their excommunications, and every exerciſe of their ſpiritual juriſdiction. Here any Biſhop who is negligent or fearful, and wants an excuſe for letting Religion go to wrack, has one ready to his hand; and his Fellow Biſhops cannot convene themſelves in Synod to judge of him, or to conſult of any other affairs of the Church without the King's Licence: And therefore they eaſily put it off themſelves, and lay all the miſcarriages at his door. On the other hand, the State are as willing to clear themſelves, and ſay, that the Biſhops and Clergy might do more than they do: That they are idle, they are idle, and complain for want of ſtraw, of more power and authority, without which they pretend that they cannot make bricks: And deſire eaſe from their burdens, that they may ſacrifice to the Lord.

Thus while each put it upon the other, it is neglected on both ſides: As the ſaying is, *What is every body's buſineſs is no body's buſineſs.*

XIX. The proper office of the Prieſthood.

In order to apprehend theſe things the better, the Company were deſirous to conſider what was the proper office of the Prieſthood, and for what it was ordained; that we might thereby know how far it was to be diſpens'd with, and when encroachments were made upon it.

The office of a Prieſt is deſcrib'd, *Heb.* v. 1. viz. *He is ordain'd for Men in things pertaining to God.* As to offer up the prayers of the People to God, and make interceſſion for them; ſo on God's part, to ſign and ſeal the pardon of their ſins to them, and in his name to bleſs them.

That Prieſts in this do repreſent the Perſon of *Chriſt*, who is the ſupreme High-prieſt, Mediator, and Interceſſor with God for Men.

That

That therefore as no Man can be a lawful Attorney for another, to ſign and ſeal covenants in his name, which ſhall oblige him to the performance, without a letter of Attorney expreſſly impowering him ſo to do, and whereby that Perſon does oblige himſelf to ſtand by and perform ſuch covenants, as if he himſelf had ſign'd them:

Much leſs can any Man take upon him to be God's Attorney or Repreſentative; and, as ſuch, to ſign and ſeal covenants in his name, without his expreſs commiſſion for that purpoſe.

No, *Chriſt* himſelf could not do it, as it is inferred from the office of a Prieſt before deſcrib'd, *No Man taketh this honour unto himſelf, but he that is called of God, as was* Aaron. *So alſo* Chriſt *glorified not himſelf to be an High-prieſt: But he that ſaid unto him, thou art my Son—— Thou art a Prieſt for ever after the order of* Melchiſedec.

And as this was an honour too great even for *Chriſt* to take upon himſelf without an expreſs commiſſion from God, it muſt needs follow, that no other Man whatſoever can take this honour to himſelf, without the like commiſſion.

We find the ſame commiſſion given to the Apoſtles, and with the greateſt ſolemnity that *Chriſt* did any thing while he was upon the Earth. The ſame day on which he roſe from the Dead, having open'd the Priſon-doors, to ſhew that he had pay'd the full debt, as our ſurety, and made ſatisfaction for all our ſins, for which he was caſt into the Priſon of Death and had for ever been there detain'd if he had not pay'd the *uttermoſt farthing:* On the ſame day, having now triumphed over the powers of Sin and Hell, he, as the firſt act of his mediatorial Kingdom, whereby *all power in Heaven and Earth was given unto him,* did inveſt his Apoſtles with the ſame commiſſion which his Father had given unto him; and with circumſtances greatly to be notic'd, and which ſhewed ſomething extraordinary then to be done. *The ſame day at evening, being the firſt day of the week, when the doors were ſhut, where the Diſciples were aſſembled for fear of the* Jews, *came* Jeſus *and ſtood in the midſt, and ſaith unto them, Peace be unto you. And when he had ſo ſaid, he ſhewed unto them his hands and his ſide. Then were the Diſciples glad when they ſaw the Lord. Then ſaid* Jeſus *to them again, Peace be unto you, As my Father hath ſent me, even ſo ſend I you. And when he had ſaid this, he breathed on them, and ſaith unto them, receive ye the Holy Ghoſt. Whoſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted unto them: And whoſoever ſins ye retain, they are retained.*

And as he gave this commiſſion unto them, ſo he gave them power to transfer it upon others; and thoſe upon others to the end of the world: To which time he promiſed to be with them, and theſe their ſucceſſors, in the execution of this commiſſion, *Mat.* XXVIII. 20.

That in all ages ſince the beginning of the world, God had ſuch repreſentatives impower'd by him to bleſs or curſe in his name.

Before the Law in the patriarchal diſpenſation, as we find in the inſtance of *Abraham* and *Abimelech*, where tho' *Abimelech* King of *Gerar* is recorded for ſo good a Man, that God vouchſafed to appear to him and ſpoke with him and withheld him from ſinning becauſe of the integrity of his heart, yet commanded him for the ſaving of his life, to procure *Abraham* to pray for him: *For* (ſaid God) *he is a Prophet, and he ſhall pray for thee, and thou ſhalt live——So* Abraham *prayed unto God, and God healed* Abimelech. Gen. vii. 19.

And thus ſaid God to the three friends of *Job, Take unto you now ſeven bullocks, and ſeven rams, and go to my Servant* Job, *and offer up for your ſelves,* Job xlii. 8.

ſelves a burnt-offering; and my Servant Job *ſhall pray for you, for him will I accept.*

Thus *Noah* bleſſed *Shem*, and curſed *Canaan*, *Gen.* IX.

Iſaac bleſſed *Jacob*, and rejected *Eſau*, *Gen.* XXVII.

And *Jacob* bleſſed *Pharaoh*; but more particularly the twelve Patriarchs, *Gen.* XLIX. as *Moſes* afterwards did to the twelve Tribes, *Deut.* XXXIII.

Thus God diſpenſed his bleſſings and his curſes by the miniſtry of Men, whom he had thereunto impower'd.

As he did by *David* and the Prophets, whoſe example if we ſhould imitate herein without the like commiſſion, we ſhould greatly ſin.

That God impower'd the *Levitical* Prieſthood under the Law to bleſs and curſe in his name: The *Levites* were to pronounce the curſes and bleſſings, *Deut.* XXVII. 28. as it is order'd chap. XXVII. 14.

For them the Lord thy God hath choſen to miniſter unto him, and to bleſs in the name of the Lord, Deut. XXI. 5.

Every Man may bleſs another, in one ſenſe, that is, to pray for the bleſſing of God upon him; but to pronounce a bleſſing in the name of the Lord is an act of authority, and cannot be done without a commiſſion from God. Hence the Apoſtle argues the greatneſs of *Melchiſedec* above *Abraham*, becauſe *Melchiſedec* bleſſed him: *And without all contradiction* (ſays he) *the leſs is bleſſed of the better.*

The ſeals which the *Levitical* Prieſthood were impower'd to put to the covenant which they adminiſter'd to the People in the name of God, were Circumciſion and the Sacrifices, which were appointed as types of *Chriſt*, for the remiſſion of their ſins.

The ſeals of the new Covenant are Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, as commemorations and exhibitions of the Sacrifice of *Chriſt* already paſt, and a true real conveyance of all the benefits of it to the worthy receivers, for the remiſſion of their ſins and a pledge to aſſure them of Heaven.

Now ſurely theſe are greater and more glorious, and at leaſt as efficacious as the ſeals of the Law: And therefore the Prieſts of the Goſpel, to whom *Chriſt* has committed the adminiſtration of theſe, are as truly and properly Prieſts, empower'd by *Chriſt* to ſeal Covenants in his name with the People, as the Prieſts under the Law.

Here it was diſcours'd, how the notion of Prieſthood has been dwindled, and indeed quite taken away, in our late times of Schiſm and Rebellion; to make way for thoſe who had no commiſſion to ſhew for their uſurping that ſacred office. Therefore they reduc'd it all to Preaching, and lov'd the name of Preachers better than that of Prieſts, which they would have rejected under the Goſpel diſpenſation: And then whoever thought himſelf a gifted-Man, that is, able to ſpeak with aſſurance, apply'd himſelf to the good liking of the People; and if he got a call from them, they thought this ſufficient to qualify him for their Teacher: And the poor People were very fond of having this authority put into their hands; as if they could chuſe commiſſioners to ſign and ſeal the Covenants of the Goſpel to them, on the part of *Chriſt*; and oblige him, by virtue of his promiſe to the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors, to ratify and confirm in Heaven whatever had been tranſacted with them, in his name, by whomſoever they pleas'd to chuſe into that office, without deriving any ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles or thinking that there was any need of it.

They ſaid, That other Men cou'd read the Goſpel and the abſolution or retaining of ſins therein contain'd, as well as any Biſhop or Prieſt ordain'd by him.

So they might a Patent, a Pardon, or Declaration of War, as well as any Judge, or Herald. But with this difference, that their doing of it who are not legally impower'd, ſignifies juſt nothing: And no Act done in any Man's name has any force, or does oblige him, unleſs it be done by thoſe who are thereunto commiſſionated by him.

And as it is High-Treaſon to do ſuch Acts in the King's name, without his Commiſſion; or to grant ſuch a Commiſſion in his name, without his authority:

It is no leſs blaſphemy againſt God, to act in his name; or give Commiſſion to others ſo to do, without his expreſs Warrant.

And they who knowingly do abet ſuch, and follow them as commiſſionated by God, render themſelves guilty of their ſin and partakers of their blaſphemy and treaſon againſt God.

And ſuch Commiſſion from God muſt be outwardly given: For that only is viſible to us; and God never made a Prieſt, but by an outward Commiſſion; *Chriſt* took not upon him the office of a Preacher till he was outwardly commiſſionated by the voice from Heaven at his Baptiſm. For it is ſaid, *From that time* Jeſus *began to preach*, Mat. IV. 17. and he was then *about thirty years of age*, Luke III. 23. and none can doubt of his inward call or qualifications before.

And as *Chriſt* did not take this honour unto himſelf till he was outwardly call'd, as was *Aaron*; ſo did he not leave it to the inward call of any of his Diſciples, to make themſelves Apoſtles; but he choſe twelve by name, whom he ordain'd into that office; and after choſe ſeventy others into an inferior degree of Preachers; and from that time to this, the ſame Commiſſion has deſcended by outward Ordination, given by thoſe to whom *Chriſt* left that authority.

Then it was ſaid, that the honour of the Prieſthood muſt needs be very high when it is reckon'd a glory even to *Chriſt*: And that he cou'd not glorify himſelf to be a Prieſt without an expreſs Commiſſion from his Father: And the reaſon is plain, becauſe none can make an Attorney, a Repreſentative, or Commiſſioner, that is, a Prieſt of God, to tranſact or ſeal Covenants with Mankind in his name, but he himſelf.

How dreadful then did it appear to all the Company, to conſider the lamentable ſtate of thoſe Communities amongſt us, who think that any three or four of them can ſet up a Church by their own authority! And where every Mechanick, Boy, or Girl, may take this honour to themſelves, of ſtanding in God's ſtead to the People, and tranſacting with them in his tremendous name, and by his authority!

The Apoſtle ſays, *How ſhall they preach, except they be ſent?* But theſe think they can ſend themſelves. And the People like theſe beſt, who come in their own name, that is, by their own impulſes, without Commiſſion deriv'd from any body. They think theſe to be enlighten'd and gifted-men: But that thoſe cannot have the Spirit, who deduce their authority by any Commiſſion granted to them from others; they look upon that to be a formal and low diſpenſation; and it is no wonder that they take theſe meaſures with the Miniſters of *Chriſt*, when they made the ſame objection againſt himſelf, as he ſaid, *I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: If another ſhall come in his own name, him ye will receive.* This has been the humour of giddy and unſtable People from the beginning, not to be wiſe unto Sobriety, but *to think of themſelves more highly than they ought to think*: And *to heap to themſelves teachers, having itching ears. And they ſhall turn away their ears from the truth, and ſhall be turned unto fables.*

Rom. x. 15.

Joh. v. 43.

Rom. xii. 3.

2 Tim. iv. 3, 4.

Of toleration.

Then a diſcourſe aroſe concerning toleration, how far theſe were to be ſuffer'd: And it was ſaid, that there was a great difference betwixt bare ſufferance, and a toleration by Law. The *Jews* are now with us upon ſufferance, and they have free liberty of their Religion: But they have no toleration or authority of the Government for their Synagogues, *&c.*

That *Chriſt* did ſuffer the Buyers and Sellers in the Temple, for a time. But he gave them no Licenſe (nor wou'd, if they had ask'd him before he drove them out) to prophane the Houſe of God.

That God ſuffers all the ſins in the World, and bears long with them to give Men ſpace of repentance: But he gives no Man licenſe to ſin nor promiſe of impunity, no not for an hour.

That when diſeaſes have taken deep root, and the infection become univerſal, ſo that many ſimple and well-meaning Perſons are drawn in; and others have ſuck'd it in with their Milk and are carry'd away by their education, there may be prudential reaſons for a ſufferance of ſuch errors, for a time, till all the milder methods of perſuaſion and conviction ſhall be us'd, which are the beſt and moſt agreeable to the ſpirit of chriſtianity.

But that in no caſe can any licenſe or authority be given for error to propagate it ſelf: Becauſe that makes thoſe who grant it partakers with it, and anſwerable for it. It becomes their act and deed.

That the Kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* were blam'd and ſeverely puniſhed by God for ſuffering, much more for encouraging of idolatry and other prophanations in their Kingdoms; which they ought to have reſtrain'd with the civil Sword.

Rev. ii. 14, 15, 20.

That the Churches of *Pergamos* and *Thyatira* were cenſur'd and terribly threaten'd for ſuffering falſe Prophets to teach and ſeduce the Servants of *Chriſt*; and for having thoſe among them *who held the Doctrines of* Balaam, *and of the* Nicolaitans. *Which thing* (ſaid God) *I hate.*

Here the univerſal toleration in *Holland* came under conſideration: And it was thought a ſacrificing of God to *Mammon.*

And yet ſuch a toleration as the *Dutch* do allow, wou'd cure non-conformity in other places, that is, not where Men ſhall be brib'd to prophane the holy Sacrament for an office; and an Action lie againſt the Miniſter who ſhall refuſe it to them, tho' he knows, ſees, and hears them, in their converſations and principles to be never ſo much unqualify'd: But where all that go to Meetings are render'd uncapable of any place of truſt or profit in the Government; which cannot be call'd any ſort of perſecution, unleſs to thoſe whoſe conſcience will not reſt ſatisfy'd till they are in power; rather than miſs of which they can diſpenſe with kneeling at the Sacrament (tho' they made it no leſs than idolatry) and conforming, as oft as the Law makes it neceſſary for an employment, to the whole Common-Prayer, againſt which they rail, as being the Maſs in *Engliſh*, and give it as a reaſon of their non-conformity; and all their objections againſt the whole office of Matrimony; the ſuperſtition of the Ring, *&c.* give way to a good ſettlement upon Marriage, leſt it might be liable to a diſpute in Law.

Which makes it plain, that they can accept of an equivalent for their conſcience; or otherwiſe, that it is not conſcience of which they are ſick.

And the ſame reaſon that makes them ſubmit to the ſacramental teſt, wou'd keep them out of meetings, if that were required as a condition of preferment: But this was a digreſſion.

Contempt of the Clergy.

It was ſaid, that the indulging the liberty of preaching and other offices of the Prieſthood to all, whether in Orders or out of Orders, had render'd it ſo contemptible, as that this office, which was counted a glory to *Chriſt*, was now fallen ſo low with us, as to be thought beneath a Gentleman!

And whereas in the primitive Church to reduce a Prieſt to Lay-Communion was thought a degrading him from the honour of the Prieſthood, and a puniſhment equal to the excommunication of a Lay-Man, both being inflicted for the ſame crimes; now it is ſo far from that, that the Lay-Communion, as of Princes and other great Men, is counted more honourable than the ſacerdotal: And if any Man of eſtate or quality takes upon him the Prieſthood, it is thought a mighty condeſcenſion, and an adorning of the Prieſthood, rather than any addition of honour to the Lay-Man.

And no wonder, when inſtead of the Prieſts of God, they are now call'd the Lay-Men's Prieſt, ſuch a Man's Prieſt or Chaplain, and reckon'd as his menial Servant belonging to his Family, and part of his equipage: Otherwiſe the expreſſion is proper enough, to ſay my *Chaplain*, as I ſay my Pariſh-Prieſt, my Biſhop, my King, or my God; which argues my being under their care and direction; and that I belong to them, not they to me.

The Prieſts under the Law had their habitation in and about the Temple, and in their Cities and Suburbs, which by God's expreſs order, were aſſign'd them in the Countrey; and tho' they went Circuits and taught the People, yet they liv'd in no Family, no not in the King's, as Chaplains, that is, as Chaplains are now reckon'd, under the notion of Servants. To be *à Sacris* in any Lay-Family, is to preſide over and adminiſter the offices of Religion, as to his cure and flock under him: They are his cure; and he, not their Servant, but their Paſtor; and ought to be plac'd over them by the Biſhop, and not left to every one's fancy (and ſome very unable to judge) to take in, and turn out, at their pleaſure, as they do to their Foot-Men; that they may be wholly ſubſervient to their humour and their frolicks, ſometimes to their vices; and to play upon the Chaplain is often the beſt part of the entertainment; and Religion ſuffers with it. There is none who conſider the office, and upon that account deſires a Chaplain, but wou'd be content to receive him from the Biſhop, as he does (or ought to do) the Miniſter of his Pariſh. If any will not have Chaplains, upon theſe terms, let them want them; ſo much the better; and let them frequent the Pariſh Communion; from which private Chapels, as they are too frequently us'd, are a ſort of exemption and breach of the parochial Communion: They are, when ſo us'd, a relict of Popery, and infraction upon the diſcipline of the Church, which ought to admit of none into her Communion that are not under the viſitation and direction of the Biſhop, who is the Principle of Unity in his Church: Otherwiſe they are Separatiſts, and if ſet up in oppoſition to the Biſhop are formal Schiſmaticks; like the Regulars in the Church of *Rome*, who are exempted from the juriſdiction of their reſpective Biſhops: But they have the plenitude of the Pope's power to plead; which will not ſerve in our caſe.

Let me here (ſaid one) give an inſtance I have heard of the late King of *Sweden*, (and I ſuppoſe it is the ſame with all their Kings) that when he travell'd, tho' he had his Chaplains with him, yet he always had the Miniſter of the Pariſh where he came to officiate to him, when he could be had; as being then, both himſelf and his Chaplains, under his Cure.

But let us go up as high as we can, and ſee what we can find like this office of an Houſhold Chaplain in very early times, and what it was.

The neareſt inſtance we find of it was in *Micah*, which was in the times of confuſion, when *there was no King in* Iſrael, and the ſtated worſhip of God was thrown looſe and neglected; the *Levites* left to wander, and *ſojourn where they could find a place:* And *every Man did that which was right in his own eyes:* Then *Micah* ſet up Idolatry, and made him *an houſe of Gods*: And tho' he agreed with a young Man a *Levite*, and allow'd Judges xvii.

low'd him *ten Shekels of Silver by the year*, beſides Meat, Drink, and Cloaths, or an *order of Garments*, as our Margin reads it; if this was to be his Chaplain, yet it was far from the notion of being his Servant, but as *Micah* expreſſes it, *Dwell with me* (ſaid he to the *Levite*, tho' a young Man) *and be unto me a Father and a Prieſt*. And, under the ſame notion he became afterwards a Father and a Prieſt to the Tribe of *Dan*, *Judg.* XVIII. 19. So that in thoſe days a Prieſt (if he was a Chaplain) was reckon'd as a Father, and not as a Servant, even tho' he was hired to live in the houſe, and be *à Sacris* or Chaplain to the Family; For in that caſe ſuch a Family was his Cure, and he was their Paſtor or Father; and they were all under his direction and government, and not he under theirs, as to what concern'd Religion.

And his receiving hire or reward for his office did not infer his ſubjection as to what related to his office, more than our paying tribute does infer that the King is inferior to us, and that we hire him or pay him wages to govern us. The Apoſtle argues the greatneſs of *Melchiſedec* above *Abraham*, from *Abraham*'s paying tithe to *Melchiſedec*, as unto a Prieſt of God. Who feedeth a Flock, and eateth not of the Milk of the Flock? Yet this argues not the ſuperiority of the Flock above the Paſtor.

Heb. vii. 4.

That there can be but one Paſtor (unleſs in ſubordination to ſuperior Paſtors) to one Flock; as no Man can ſerve two Maſters, yet one Maſter may have many Servants: And the reaſon is, becauſe he is not under their charge and government, but they are under his: So where one Man has many Prieſts or Chaplains, he is not their charge, but they are his.

That as we find nothing in the Law of Kings being allow'd Houſhold-Prieſts or Chaplains, Kings themſelves were not then thought too good to attend the publick Service of God in the Temple:

So among the Heathens, no mortal Man, none of their Emperors ever aſſum'd to himſelf to have Prieſts dedicated to his Service, till he arriv'd at the blaſphemous vanity of being made a God: For Prieſts belong to none but Gods: A Prieſt, as a Prieſt, cannot be a Servant to Men: God and Prieſt are relative terms, and therefore a Prieſt can belong to none but a God. Thus thought the Heathen: But ſo much is the chriſtian Prieſthood with us fallen below even theirs!

Now the office of the Prieſthood being thus totally inverted, the honour muſt fall with it, and of Religion too, with the uſe and benefit of it, being adminiſter'd by hands render'd ſo contemptible.

And it is thus, by a natural conſequence, in all ſorts of offices and employments whatſoever. The office of a King, a General, or a Judge, are no farther regarded by us than as we find them uſeful to us, and that we ſtand in need of them: And the reverence we have for theſe muſt bear proportion to the value we have for thoſe ends to which they are ordained. Therefore whoever bring theſe offices into contempt are juſtly reputed wicked Men and profligate, who love not the Peace of the World or Good of Mankind; but would introduce confuſion and deſtruction, to ſatisfy their own ambition, or other ſelf-ends.

And the argument will carry the ſame as to Religion: There needs no application: We cannot pretend any reverence for it while we hold the Prieſthood, by which it is adminiſter'd, in the laſt contempt: And the diſhonour redounds to God himſelf.

This was the reaſon it was reckon'd ſo grievous a ſin in *Jeroboam*, that he made Prieſts of the loweſt of the People; tho' it was to his Calves, to the Idols he had ſet up: For the Worſhip being referred to God, tho' in an idolatrous manner, which he had forbidden, the diſhonour referred likewiſe to him, in the contempt that was put upon thoſe Prieſts by whom they

1 Kin. xiii. 33, 34.

worſhipped

worſhipped what they call'd God, as being what they had ſet up and dedicated to repreſent him and bear his name.

This was the reaſon that God did beſtow ſuch a diſtinguiſhing dignity upon the Tribe of *Levi*, beyond all the reſt of the Tribes; and counted it no ſmall honour to them that he had *ſeparated them from the Congregation of* Iſrael, *and brought them near to himſelf, to do the Service of the Tabernacle of the Lord.* It was death for any other to approach to the Altar: For which preſumption a great and a good King was ſmitten with Leproſy to his death. And God put ſo much of his own Honour upon his Prieſts, that any diſhonour done to them was called a prophanation. The Daughter of a Prieſt that play'd the Whore was to be burnt with fire, becauſe ſhe prophan'd her Father. A Prieſt was not to marry a Widow, except the Widow of a Prieſt: To marry the Relict of any Lay-Man, was call'd a *prophaning of his Seed among his People.* And the reaſon is given, *For I the Lord do ſanctify him.* And they were not to communicate this ſanctification to the People: They were not to appear before the People in the holy Garments in which they miniſter'd, but to put on other Garments when they went out to the utter Court to the People; and it is ſaid, *They ſhall not ſanctify the People with their Garments.*

Num. xvi. 9. Num. i. 51. iii. 38. 2 Chr. xxvi. Lev. xxi. 9. Ezek.xliv.22. Lev. xxi. 15. Ezek.xliv.19.

A Prieſt was not to mourn for the Dead, as the Laity were; and the reaſon is given, *He ſhall not defile himſelf, being a chief Man among his People, to prophane himſelf. They ſhall not make baldneſs upon their Head,* &c. *They ſhall be holy unto their God, and not prophane the name of their God.* The prophanation of the Prieſts is call'd a prophaning of God. And ſo on the other hand, as we are commanded to ſanctify God, and to eſteem him holy, the ſame is communicated to the Prieſts, who repreſent him and officiate in his name. *v.* 8. *Thou ſhalt ſanctify him therefore, for he offereth the Bread of thy God, he ſhall be holy unto thee; for I the Lord who ſanctify you am holy.* The meaning of which is, that if God be holy, ſo muſt his Prieſts be eſteemed by us; not upon a perſonal account, as God is holy in himſelf and none but he; and ſome Prieſts, as *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, are Sons of *Belial* and know not the Lord, and there was a *Judas* among the Apoſtles; but upon account of their office, which is holy; and that they offer the Bread of our God, which is holy.

Lev. xxi. 4, 5, 6, 8.

Now can the Shew-Bread in the Temple be called the Bread of our God ſo properly, ſo ſtrictly, ſo eminently, as the Bread in the holy Sacrament, which is the Body of *Chriſt?* And *we being many are one Bread and one Body; for we are all partakers of that one Bread,* 1 Cor. x. 17. And does not then Holineſs and Honour belong as much, at leaſt, to the evangelical Prieſthood who offer this Bread of our God, as to the Prieſts under the Law, who ſet the Shew-Bread upon the holy Table in the Temple? And is not the one as properly the office of a Prieſt as the other?

Whence then came this direful contempt that is caſt upon the evangelical Prieſthood amongſt us; and is run down thro' all orders and degrees of Men, till it is denied by ſome who call themſelves Clergy-Men, to be any Prieſthood at all? And then what is it? Something without a name, without a meaning, fit to be trampled upon, and made a tool of State, to cajole the People! Only a privilege of haranguing, to be ſilenc'd by every nod of thoſe in power!

But if the People's diſhonouring the Prieſts of God be a prophaning of God himſelf; and the mark of ſo deſperate a ſtate as to be reckon'd paſt remedy, according to the Prophet, *Let no Man ſtrive or reprove another, for thy People are as they that ſtrive with the Prieſt:*

Hoſ. iv. 4.

What then muſt the condition of thoſe Prieſts be, who proſtitute and prophane their own character! If an Ambaſſador ſuffering any indignity, is

juſtly reputed his diſhonouring of the Prince whoſe Perſon he ſuſtains: How much more is it a diſhonour done to his Majeſty, if the Ambaſſador himſelf ſhall vilify and diſgrace his own character; and how much more ſeverely wou'd it be reſented by his Maſter?

Lev. x. 3,17. The Lord ſays of his Prieſts, *I will be ſanctify'd in them that come nigh me*: And gives that as a reaſon why he devoured *Nadab* and *Abihu* by fire. And ſays, that the Prieſts are *to bear the iniquity of the congregation*: And as others are forbidden to prophane the Prieſt, ſo is he commanded not to prophane himſelf. And it is called a *prophaning of the Sanctuary of his God; for the Crown of the anointing Oyl of his God is upon him*: And a prophaning of God himſelf, *That they prophane not my holy name: I am the Lord.* And the Prieſt was to *bear the iniquity of the holy things; and the iniquity of the Sanctuary; and the iniquity of your Prieſthood*, ſays God to them: And becauſe *Ye have corrupted the Covenant of* Levi, *ſaith the Lord of Hoſts: Therefore have I alſo made you contemptible and baſe before all the People: For the Prieſt is the Meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts.* And according to this high dignity of his office, St. *Paul* commanded the firſt Biſhop of *Crete* to ſupport it to the full, *Theſe things ſpeak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority: Let no Man deſpiſe thee.*

Lev. xxi. 4, 12, 15. xxii. 2.

Ex. xxiii. 38. Num. xviii. 1. Mal. ii. 7, 8, 9.

Tit. ii. 15.

Then it was ſaid, that all this is come to paſs, that the root and bottom of all this was the bringing the Prieſthood at firſt under the *Regale*, as to thoſe things that appertain to its office.

Whence it became ſubject to every body elſe, even to the Beaſts of the People: For there is nothing can ſet it out of the reach of the People, that will not likewiſe put it above the power of Kings; for if it be divine, it is independent of them all; and if not, it muſt be a cheat, and ought to be treated accordingly by every body.

But, on the contrary, it was inſiſted upon, that all the Kings and Powers upon the Earth, nay all the Angels of Heaven have not authority to conſtitute any to tranſact with Men in the ſtead of God and in his name; that is, have not power to make a Prieſt.

And that the Commiſſion before-mentioned which *Chriſt* gave to his Apoſtles, *Joh.* xx. to the Angels of the Churches, is more than he has granted to his Angels of Heaven; to whom *he hath not put in ſubjection the world to come*, (Heb. ii. 5.) the adminiſtration of the Kingdom of Heaven to Men, otherwiſe than as being all of them *miniſtring Spirits, ſent forth to miniſter unto them who ſhall be Heirs of Salvation*, (Heb. i. 14.) They have been ſent to the World with meſſages, and upon particular errands; and have a charge given them over us, to keep us in all our ways: But none of them, without a ſpecial Commiſſion, cou'd conſecrate or adminiſter the holy Sacrament, cou'd confer holy Orders, or other acts of the Prieſtly-office: And no ſuch Commiſſion was ever granted to any of them: Nay the Apoſtle argues (*Heb.* viii. 4.) That if *Chriſt* himſelf *were upon the Earth, he ſhou'd not be a Prieſt*, that is, *according to the Law*; becauſe he was not of the Tribe of *Levi* (Chap. vii. 14.) to which the Prieſthood under the Law was annex'd: So ſtrict and inviolable was the office of the Prieſthood then kept. Therefore that *Chriſt* might make no infraction upon the *Levitical* Prieſthood, he was called of a prior and ſuperior Order of Prieſthood, that of *Melchiſedec*: And the ſame he deduc'd to his Apoſtles and their Succeſſors to the end of the World; the ſame Commiſſion, the ſame Glory, which his Father gave unto him, *Joh.* xvi. 22. He *ſent them, as his Father had ſent him*, Chap. xx. 21.

Which is now ſo far forgot, that Men, Women, and Children, do preſs into the evangelical Prieſthood (far ſuperior to that of *Levi*) without any

ordination, or pretence of succession from the Apostles. And the reason is, because they mind not the Commission before-mention'd which *Christ* gave to his Apostles, *Joh.* xx. 23. but have reduc'd it all to preaching; of which whosoever thinks himself capable, imagines that by that alone he has obtain'd the Commission.

But it was observ'd that there is no word of preaching in that Commission, *Joh.* xx. 23. that preaching was not mention'd till forty days after, upon the Ascension of *Christ*, *Matth.* xxviii. 19. *Mar.* xvi. 15. but that after-Commission did not vacate this first Commission given by *Christ* on the day of his resurrection: It was only a farther explanation of it, with power and authority to preach it to all the World. So that preaching tho' a part of the apostolical Commission, and consequently of the Priesthood, is not the chief part, far less the only thing contain'd in that Commission.

And the notion, that there is nothing in it but the liberty of preaching or haranguing to the People, which every body may take up at their own hand, has render'd it so precarious and these common Preachers so contemptible, that not only Kings and States, but the meanest of the People think they have authority to command them silence, like any other Common-Cryers whom they hire to cry lost Goods or stray Sheep, or what else they please to impose upon them: At least, that none shall cry in their Streets or preach to them, without their leave and by their Commission: And Kings claim this by a power paramount.

As the Court-Bishops said to *Amos*, *O thou Seer, go, flee thee away into the land of* Judah, *and there eat bread, and prophesy there: But prophesy not again any more at* Bethel, *for it is the King's Chapel, and it is the King's Court.* Here is an early precedent for exemptions; and others besides Kings have taken this privilege to themselves; as many as have power to maintain it. Leaving a Staff and a pair of Shoes at any Minister's door in *Holland*, is a sufficient discharge from his office without any tryal; he is to ask no questions, the will and pleasure of the Magistrates is sufficient: How then can such be the Ministers of *Christ*, or have any Commission from him? Or what authority is given by his Commission, that can be thus blown away by Burghers? And why not by them, as well as Kings, since Kings are as much Subjects to *Christ* and to his Kingdom as they are? Amos vii. 12, 13.

It was said, that by these means the true notion of a Church and of Priesthood had been utterly lost amongst those where Erastianism has prevail'd: And consequently the reverence due to Religion, and to God had sunk with it; and also the benefits annex'd to the holy offices of the Church, as means of grace appointed by *Christ* our Lord, on which are grounded our hopes of glory.

That it is blasphemy as well as folly to think God did thus dignify his Priesthood on purpose to make the Priests proud; or for that reason to refuse them the honour which God has given them: We may, by the same rule, refuse honour to Kings or to any other to whom it is due: But God did put so much of his own honour upon his Priests, because without that, he knew that neither he himself nor his institutions wou'd be honoured and valued as they ought to be; and consequently Men wou'd thereby lose the benefit of them, and ruin their own Souls by despising the means he had ordained for their Salvation.

Here one interpos'd with a caution, that we should have a great care not to carry these matters too high; that to over-strain any thing is to ruin it, and lose all its just force; that it is easy and natural for a heated imagination to magnify any beloved object; and thereby to render that hated

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and deſpis'd, which otherwiſe in its due proportion wou'd be honour'd and eſteem'd; that therefore we ſhou'd contain our ſelves within the ſobriety of Religion, and not to exceed the plain rule of holy Scripture; that if the Prieſthood be of ſuch mighty dignity indeed, then it wou'd be expected, that the ſtyle of Scripture ſhou'd bear up to it, and ſpeak of the Prieſthood in an elevation proportionable.

To which it was anſwer'd, that the caution was juſt and neceſſary: But that as we are not to over-rate things, neither muſt we under-rate them: For that by ſo doing, we likewiſe loſe the benefit and advantage of them; eſpecially in matters of Religion, and which concern our Souls; that it is not eaſy to over-rate theſe; that the common diſeaſe of the World is to under-value and neglect theſe; that the rule propos'd is the beſt and ſafeſt, to govern our ſelves by the holy Scriptures, and turn neither to the right hand nor to the left; not to exceed what is there ſaid of the Prieſthood, out of any intemperate zeal; nor to abate any thing of it for fear of Man, or to court their favour.

Therefore we were deſir'd to turn our eyes to the holy Scriptures, and ſee there what ſort of titles and diſcriminations were given to thoſe who were dignify'd with the holy Prieſthood.

They are there call'd *Kings and Prieſts unto God*, Rev. v. 10.

The Stars in the right hand of Chriſt, Rev. i. 20.

The Angels of the Churches, Chap. ii. iii, *&c.*

And the Glory of Chriſt, 2 Cor. viii. 23.

Miniſters of Chriſt, *and Stewards of the Myſteries of God*, 1 Cor. iv. 1.

To whom he hath committed the word of reconciliation, 2 Cor. v. 19.

Ambaſſadours for Chriſt, *in* Chriſt's *ſtead, co-workers with him*, 2 Cor. v. 20. vi. 1.

Henceforth not Servants, but Friends of Chriſt, Joh. xv. 15.

Brethren of Chriſt, Joh. xx. 17.

As my Father hath ſent me, even ſo ſend I you. Whoſoever ſins ye remit they are remitted unto them; and whoſoever ſins ye retain they are retained, Joh. xx. 21, 23.

Whatſoever ye ſhall bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven: And whatſoever ye ſhall looſe on Earth, ſhall be looſed in Heaven, Mat. xviii. 18.

He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me, Luke x. 16.

It ſhall be more tolerable for Sodom *and* Gomorrah *in the day of Judgment, than for thoſe who will not receive you*, Mat. x. 15.

Obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves, for they watch for your Souls, Heb. xiii. 17.

Eſteem them very highly for their works ſake, 1 Theſſ. v. 13.

Hold ſuch in reputation, Phil. ii. 29.

Worthy of double honour, 1 Tim. v. 17.

He remembreth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling ye received him, 2 Cor. vii. 15.

Ye received me as an Angel of God, even as Chriſt Jeſus, Gal. iv. 14.

Ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jeſus.

He therefore that deſpiſeth, deſpiſeth not Man, but God, 1 Theſſ. iv. 2, 8.

Of the reſt durſt no Man join himſelf to them; but the People magnified them, Acts v. 13.

No Man taketh this honour unto himſelf, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron, *ſo alſo* Chriſt *glorified not himſelf to be made an High-prieſt, but he that ſaid unto him, Thou art my Son —— Thou art a Prieſt*, &c. Heb. v. 4.

They are not afraid to ſpeak evil of dignities, 2 Pet. II. 10. Jude 8.
They reſpected not the Perſons of the Prieſts, Lam. IV. 16.
Let no Man ſtrive or reprove another, for thy People are as they that ſtrive with the Prieſt, Hoſ. IV. 4.
Rebuke with all authority. Let no Man deſpiſe thee, Tit. II. 15. 1 Tim. IV. 11, 12.
For God hath not given us the Spirit of fear but of power, 2 Tim. I. 7.
I magnify mine office, Rom. XI. 13.
In the name, and with the power, in the Perſon of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt (2 *Cor.* II. 10.) *to deliver unto Satan*, 1 Cor. V. 4, 5.
We are the ſavour of Death unto Death, and of Life unto Life: And who is ſufficient for theſe things? 2 Cor. II. 16.

Many other texts were produced, which ſhew the office and dignity of the Prieſthood.

And then as a concluſion to the whole diſcourſe, it was thought proper to enquire into the original of theſe two Societies, the Church and the State: For that by this, the nature and tendency of each would better appear, and their dependence or independence upon one another.

XX. Original of the Church and State.

I. As to the original of the State, or of political Government amongſt Men.

The Government here call'd political is diſtinguiſh'd from the paternal or natural Government of Fathers over their Families, and means that of Nations, under Kings or States, as the word political is now underſtood.

1. And ſome, to ſupport their notion of the original of this ſort of Government in the world, would have it ſuppos'd, tho' without any ground, that there was no ſuch Government till after the Flood; and that it had its beginning by very wicked means, by the uſurpation and tyranny of *Nimrod*, the beginning of whoſe Kingdom was *Babylon*; who gave riſe to the firſt *Aſſyrian* Monarchy, ſo call'd from his Son *Aſhur*, who built *Nineveh*. Gen. X. 10, 11.

And they thought that this was ſo far from being an advantage or benefit to Mankind, that it was an encroachment upon their liberties and freedom; and was a pattern to all the after and ſucceeding deſpotical Governments which have prevail'd ever ſince.

They thought that the World was better before in the paternal Governments of Families only.

2. Others ſaid, that this was not the original of political Government: Which they ſuppos'd began by the common vote or election of the People: And tho' they cannot find the original contract, yet they take it for granted that there is no other juſt foundation of political Government amongſt Men, who they think were all born equal.

3. Others, thinking all this to be precarious, and plainly againſt matter of fact, took to Sir *Rob. Filmer*'s way of the Patriarchat; ſuppoſing that from the original right of *Adam* over his Children, (which was the whole World) that authority deſcended to the eldeſt, as his heir: And that thus it continu'd in the ten Patriarchs before the Flood: And that after the Flood, when the World was ſufficiently peopled, in order to their diſperſion over the Earth, then *Noah* the univerſal Father and Monarch ſent of his Sons and their iſſue into ſeveral Countries, and emancipated them, by which they became diſtinct and independent Kingdoms and Nations.

4. But becauſe this would have been a diſinheriting of his eldeſt Son and Heir, and ſo an alteration of the right of the Patriarchat; which it is ſuppos'd inſtituted at firſt by God, and to have obtain'd without interruption from the beginning of the world, when it was largely peopled before the Flood: And that it might be made a queſtion, whether *Noah* without a particular command from God (which does not appear) could have al-

ter'd the original inſtitution of Government; and whether that could have precluded his eldeſt Son of his right of ſucceſſion and his Heirs: Therefore others thought that the diviſion of the World into Nations, which is recorded in *Gen.* x. to be done at one time, whence *Peleg* had his name, muſt have been the immediate act of God himſelf, and was perform'd by a great and ſtupendious Miracle, the diviſion of Tongues; whereby it was determin'd who and who ſhould go to compoſe each Nation, all they of the ſame Language ſorting together, and God appointing the Governor over each of them: As it is written, *Eccluſ.* XVII. 17. *For in the diviſion of the Nations of the whole Earth, he ſet a Ruler over every People.* That the names of all theſe, and of their countries, are diſtinctly ſet down *Gen.* X. of the Sons of *Japhet*, fourteeen; of *Ham*, thirty; and of *Shem*, twenty ſix; in all ſeventy: Into ſo many Languages and Nations was the World then divided.

And as God does all things with reſpect to his Church, ſo in this moſt remarkable Revolution there was a particular regard had by God, as to this number of ſeventy, to the number of the Children of *Iſrael* that went down long after into *Ægypt*, which are all recorded *Gen.* XLVI. the Sons of *Leah*, thirty three; of *Zilpah*, ſixteen; of *Rachel*, fourteen; and of *Bilhah*, ſeven, in all ſeventy. And this is particularly inſiſted upon in the Song of *Moſes*, as a remarkable inſtance of God's having always an eye to his Church, his *Peculium*, in his ordering of the World: The whole Creation was made for her ſake, and partakes with her whether in her adverſity or glory, *Rom.* VIII. 19. to 24. *All things are hers*, 1 *Cor.* III. 22, 23. *Moſes* begins his Song with this reſpect God had to his Church (then the Nation of *Iſrael*) in that number of the ſeventy Nations, into which he divided the World after the Flood, *Remember the days of old*, (ſays he to them) *conſider the years of many generations, ask thy Father, and he will ſhew thee, thy elders, and they will tell thee: When the Moſt High divided to the Nations their inheritance, when he ſeparated the Sons of Adam, he ſet the bounds of the People, according to the number of the Children of* Iſrael. Theſe were the ſeventy Children of *Iſrael* that went down to *Ægypt*, anſwering to the ſeventy Nations after the Flood: And ſome of theſe Kingdoms and Cities retain the ſame name to this day, as *Babylon*, the beginning of *Nimrod*'s Kingdom, and *Aſſyria* from *Aſhur*, &c.

That from *Nimrod*, who in prophane Hiſtory is called *Belus*, every King's name and their ſucceſſion ſtand upon record thro' the *Aſſyrian*, *Perſian*, *Grecian*, and *Roman* Monarchies; and from the diviſion of the laſt into the Eaſt and Weſtern Empires, to the preſent Emperor of *Germany*, and *Sultan* at *Conſtantinople*.

That the ſame is to be ſaid of other Nations, tho' being leſs famous, the Records may not be kept, nor their Memory preſerv'd in Hiſtory.

That tho' there has been many convulſions and revolutions in theſe States, yet the power was always taken up by the ſtrongeſt of the contending Parties; and never let fall ſo low as the free and equal vote of all the People; no, nor of all the fathers of families; to which no conqueror ever did ſubmit his title.

But however, notwithſtanding theſe different opinions concerning the original of the political Government, yet all agreed in this, that the commiſſion and extent of it did reach only to this World: For that in the other, there are no diſtinctions or repreſentatives of Nations; and every Man's death diſſolves his relation to an earthly Kingdom; and therefore political Government is call'd earthly, ſecular, or temporal Government, becauſe it operates only in this World.

II. Of the Church.

Then the diſcourſe turn'd to conſider the original, end, and deſign of the other Society, call'd the Church.

And it was found, that this laſts for ever; that it is the ſame Church which is in Heaven, and upon Earth: They are not two Churches, only two parts of the ſame Church; the one militant, the other triumphant; for they have both the ſame Head and King: And thoſe upon Earth are call'd *Fellow Citizens, with the Saints, and of the houſhold of God*, Eph. II. 19. Of the ſame Family with thoſe in Heaven, chap. III. 15. And thus the Communion of Saints (which is one of the Articles of our Creed) extends not only to the Saints upon Earth, but to thoſe in Heaven, who have Communion with us, and we with them; we bleſs God for them, and pray, *that with them we may be partakers of the heavenly Kingdom.* And they pray for us, for our conſummation and bliſs, and rejoice with us at our converſion: There is the ſame ſympathy as betwixt members of the ſame Body, which have one Head, that is, *Chriſt.*

Hence the Church, even upon Earth is call'd the Kingdom of God: And her Government is dignify'd with the ſame name as that of the heavenly Hoſt, which is a Hierarchy, an holy or ſacred Government: It is part of the ſame Hierarchy which is in Heaven, as being all of the ſame Family or Society.

And to ſhew that it is the ſame, *Chriſt* has promis'd to ratify in Heaven the ſentence of the Church, when juſtly inflicted upon Earth: And the chief effect of the power of the Church extends to the other World; and will be there exercis'd even over the Angels, as well as over all this World, 1 *Cor.* VI. 2, 3.

The Saints ſhall ſit there as Judges; the Angels only as Miniſters of the Court, and Executioners.

So that the Church is more ſtrictly a part of the heavenly Hierarchy, than the different orders of Cherubin and Seraphin, Angels and Arch-Angels, *&c.*

And with great reaſon; becauſe her Head, her Fleſh and Blood is made Lord of all theſe. Theſe are not *Members of his Body, of his Fleſh, and of his Bone.* For *he took not on him the nature of Angels, but he took upon him the Seed of* Abraham.

Eph. v. 30.

Heb. ii. 16.

This is the Ladder which was ſhewn unto *Jacob*, whoſe foot ſtood upon the Earth; but the top reached up to Heaven.

Gen. xxviii. 12.

Thus the foot of the Hierarchy ſtands upon the Earth, exercis'd by Men who are Miniſters of *Chriſt*'s Kingdom here below; but the top reaches to *Chriſt* himſelf, who is the Head of it: And the Angels of God aſcend and deſcend upon it, to execute his ſupreme commands and to miniſter to the meaneſt Member of it.

So that who are not Subjects to this Hierarchy upon Earth, cannot be in Heaven: We muſt go up the Ladder by degrees, from the lower to the higher ſteps.

And the attempt of thoſe who go about to leſſen the authority and undermine the foundation of this Hierarchy is like his who cut the bough whereon himſelf was ſtanding: It is a pulling out the ſteps, and disjointing of that Ladder by which we muſt climb to Heaven: Unleſs we can find a new way of our own thither, which God has not appointed.

That God, by his infinite power, may not bring any to Heaven without going up this Ladder, we muſt not determine; nor tye God to thoſe rules to which he has ty'd us: *His Mercy is over all his works: And he will not judge thoſe by the Law, who have not the Law.*

Rom. ii. 12.

But this we muſt ſay, That he has ſhewn to us no other way; and has made no promiſe in the Goſpel to any who are not in that way: That therefore

therefore none other are within the Covenant of the Goſpel; nor have right to claim the privileges of thoſe who are within the Pale of the Church: That therefore we muſt leave theſe who are without, to the uncovenanted mercies of God. Which what they are, or how far they will extend, we know not; but this we are ſure of, that the privileges of being within the Covenant of Grace are ineſtimable; elſe *Chriſt* had not taken upon him our Fleſh, ſuffer'd, dy'd, and deſcended into Hell to purchaſe them for us.

And this we muſt ſay farther, that whatever the condition be of thoſe who know not the Goſpel, and ſo were never within the Pale of the Church; the caſe is not the ſame with thoſe who reject the Goſpel, when preach'd to them; who ſeem to be the only Perſons meant, *Mar.* XVI. 15, 16. The caſe is not the ſame with thoſe who are juſtly caſt out of the Church; or who wilfully caſt themſelves out, by departing from the Church.

Chriſt has given power to the terreſtrial Hierarchy to exclude from the celeſtial: For indeed they are the ſame, as has been ſaid, of which he himſelf, and none other, is the Head; and whoever is Head of the one, muſt alſo be ſo of the other, ſince both are the ſame.

Here was recollected what was before ſpoken of the Pope's aſſuming to be head of the whole terreſtrial Hierarchy: And *Gregory* the Great was vindicated, who compar'd this to the pride of *Lucifer*, and made it a mark of *Anti-Chriſt*.

But how much more abhorrent and heterogeneous did it look for thoſe who had no ſhare at all in the Hierarchy, for the political or civil Government to take upon them the Supremacy over the Hierarchy of the Church, in the exerciſe of her purely ſpiritual power and authority!

The civil Government, whoſe conſtitution and authority is temporary and tranſient; which muſt end and be extinguiſhed for ever, while the Church ſhall reign and be triumphant to all eternity.

And ſo long ſhall her cenſures, when juſtly paſs'd, have their effect: How then can they be alter'd or tranſvers'd, ſuſpended or ſuperſeded by a temporal Government that muſt vaniſh and come to nothing? By ſuch Governours, who are themſelves ſubject to her cenſures, as much as any other, (but without any infraction upon their civil authority) who are admitted Members of her Society, as others are, by Baptiſm, and no otherwiſe; and may fall from thence, by Apoſtaſy, Hereſy, and ſuch crimes as cut others off?

And it was ſaid, that as the Church was ordain'd to laſt for ever; ſo its foundations were laid from eternity. It is ſaid to have been given us, and *ordain'd before the World began*, 1 Cor. II. 7. 2 Tim. I. 9. Tit. I. 2. 1 Pet. I. 20. And that God hath *choſen us from the beginning*, 2 Theſſ. II. 13. And the Goſpel is call'd, *The everlaſting Covenant*, Heb. XIII. 20.

Therefore the Church is not only the chief part of the Creation; but all the whole Creation, as well in Heaven as on Earth ſeems to be particularly deſign'd with reſpect to the Church, and for her ſervice and advantage; and to ſympathize with her, as well in her ſtate of humiliation as exaltation: The Angels of Heaven were given unto her for miniſtring Spirits; and are ſaid to be our Fellow Servants, and Brethren that have the teſtimony of *Jeſus*, Rev. XIX. 10. And it is ſaid, *Rom.* VIII. 19, &c. *That the whole Creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together, waiting for the manifeſtation of the Sons of God. Becauſe* (then) *the Creature it ſelf alſo ſhall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the Children of God.* And this is call'd, *The earneſt expectation of the Creature:* That as the Earth was curſed for the ſin of Man; ſo in the redemption by *Chriſt*, it ſhould be deliver'd from that curſe. Therefore the Prophet *Iſaiah* deſcribing the reſtauration of the Church, ſpeaks of *New*

Heavens and a *New Earth*, Iſai. LXV. 17. And the Apoſtle ſays, That upon the final conſummation of the Church, there will be a reſtauration, or farther reconciliation of *things in Heaven*, as well as upon *Earth*, Eph. I. 10. Col. I. 20. And that in the mean time, even now, as the Angels do miniſter unto the Church, ſo they do learn many things of *the Wiſdom of God* from the Church, *Eph.* III. 10.

That God, from the beginning of the Creation, did erect his Church, and preſerv'd her, as a viſible diſtinct Society (tho' a ſmall one, in its infancy) from all the reſt of the World, in the patriarchal diſpenſation before the Flood, and to *Moſes*.

Afterwards in the Nation of the *Jews* under the Law.

Till the Heir did come, our bleſſed Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, who brought in the fulneſs of the *Gentiles*, opening the Pale of his Church to the believers of all Countreys, Nations, and People.

That God expreſs'd the great regard he had for his Church, and which we ought to have for her power and authority, by that wondrous name, which he himſelf did beſtow upon her, the name of *Iſrael*, that is, a Prince of God, or one that prevails over God; as God himſelf enlarges upon it, and gives the reaſon, *For as a Prince haſt thou power with God, and with Men, and haſt prevail'd.* *Chriſt* condeſcended to wreſtle, and ſuffer himſelf to be overcome by him after whom he named his Church. Gen.xxxii.28.

That to purchaſe this Church, and gather her as a diſtinct Society from amongſt all the other Societies and Nations of the Earth, *Chriſt* was content to take our nature upon him, and ſuffer death for her redemption: She is call'd, *His Body, the fullneſs of him, who filleth all in all: The pillar and ground of the truth.* All the worthy Members of this Society are *Heirs of God, and Joint-Heirs with* Chriſt. And *Chriſt* has promis'd to give them *power over the Nations, to rule them with a rod of Iron, even as I* (ſays he) *received of my Father.* And *to ſit with me in my Throne, even as I alſo overcame and am ſet down with my Father in his Throne.* Nay more, which none durſt expreſs, or ſo much as imagine, if he had not ſaid it, *That he will gird himſelf, and make them to ſit down to meat, and will come forth and ſerve them.* Eph. i. 23. 1 Tim. iii. 15. Rom. viii. 17. Rev. ii. 26, 27. Chap. iii. 21. Luk. xii. 37.

That *they are Members of his Body, of his Fleſh, and of his Bones.* Eph. v. 30.

That *they all* (ſaid he) *may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee; that they alſo may be one in us, that the World may believe that thou haſt ſent me. And the glory which thou gaveſt me, I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the World may know that thou haſt ſent me, and haſt loved them, as thou haſt loved me.* John xvii. 21, 22, 23.

That they are a *choſen Generation, a royal Prieſt-hood, an holy Nation, a peculiar People.* 1 Pet. ii. 9.

Whom God keepeth as the Apple of his Eye. And their death is precious in his ſight, Pſal. CXVI. 15. *Tho' they fall, they ſhall not be caſt away, for God upholdeth them with his hand*, Pſal. XXXVII. 24.

There ſhall not an Hair of their Heads periſh, Luk. XXI. 18.

They are God's Jewels, Mal. III. 17.

They ſhall judge the World. They ſhall judge Angels, 1 Cor. VI. 2, 3.

[Then as to the authority of the Church in this World.]

If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen-Man and a Publican, *Matth.* XVIII. 17.

[Of the Church with relation to the State.]

He reproved Kings for their ſakes, ſaying, touch not my anointed, and do my Prophets no harm, Pſal. CV. 14, 15.

For he that toucheth you, toucheth the Apple of his Eye, Zach. II. 8.

Kings ſhall be thy Nouriſhers, and Queens thy Nurſes: They ſhall bow down to thee with their face towards the Earth, and lick up the duſt off thy Feet, Iſai. XLIX. 23.

The Sons of Strangers ſhall build up thy Walls; and their Kings ſhall miniſter unto thee, Chap. LX. 10.

Thou ſhalt ſuck the Milk of the Gentiles, *and ſhalt ſuck the Breaſt of Kings,* ℣. 16.

The Sons alſo of them that afflicted thee, ſhall come bending unto thee; and all they that deſpiſed thee, ſhall bow themſelves down at the ſoles of thy feet, and they ſhall call thee, the City of the Lord, the Zion of the holy one of Iſrael, ℣. 14.

Therefore thy Gates ſhall be open continually, they ſhall not be ſhut day nor night, that Men may bring unto thee the forces of the Gentiles, *and that their Kings may be brought, for the Nation and Kingdom that will not ſerve thee ſhall periſh; yea thoſe Nations ſhall be utterly waſted,* ℣. 11, 12.

Glorious things are ſpoken of thee, O City of God, Pſal. LXXXVII. 3.

This is the Church which in all things, in its original, conſtitution, frame, and end for which it was deſign'd, does far excel that Society call'd the State.

And all States do in words give the pre-eminence to the Church. It is not ſaid State and Church, but always Church and State.

And the ſtyle (that is all) of ſpiritual and temporal remains ſtill, tho' I have ſeen it wrote Lords temporal and ſpiritual, particularly in the printed Liſts of the Convention, in the beginning of this revolution; and in all the Liſts ſince, the ſpiritual Eſtate, tho' it is the firſt of the three Eſtates in our as in every other conſtitution, yet is put behind all the Lay-Lords; And the Mitre comes after their Coronets: As if a Parchment from an earthly King, which he may beſtow upon his Foot-Man, may have been worſe beſtow'd upon more ignoble Creatures, Dukes and Dutcheſſes in abundance, who inſtead of Ermin, ſhou'd have been dreſs'd in Sack-cloth, had there been any Diſcipline in the Church; yet were receiv'd by their Fellow-Nobility, as their Peers; whereas they were unworthy of the converſation of the meaneſt Chriſtian, and ought not to be admitted to it, till they had begg'd for it, in the ſtool of repentance; I ſay, that ſuch patents of honour ſhou'd be thought more eſtimable, and of higher dignity, even when worn by thoſe who were worthy of it, than the Commiſſion which *Chriſt* purchaſed with his Blood, and gave to thoſe he ſent into all the World, as his Father had ſent him!

But this is one of our modern improvements! For in our Fore-Fathers time, and in all Countreys and Ages, the Mitre ſtood next to the Crown, even in the civil conſtitution; and that not only upon the Head of one Arch-biſhop, but of every Biſhop.

Now becauſe it wou'd look ſo prepoſterous, and againſt the common ſentiments of Mankind, eſpecially of Chriſtians, not to give the Church the preference to the State: Therefore Kings have taken upon them to be Heads of the Church within their own dominions: And becauſe this look'd heterogeneous in the hands of a mere Lay-Man who might not be a Member of that Church, therefore Kings were made of an amphibious nature, and complemented with the title of *Mixta Perſona* an *Hermaphrodite*, half Lay and half Clergy. And the Nobility got in too under the new invention of Lay-Elders, as now in *Scotland*, and govern all the affairs of the Church.

And conſidering how they have (by theſe means) reduc'd her commiſſion and authority, it can be attributed to nothing but the wonderful and over-

ruling Providence, that there is ſo much left, as that ſhadow of a Church that is left! Or any, tho' but outward and ſeeming reverence, paid to Sacraments or other inſtitutions of Religion, that are adminiſter'd by her hands! Or that the adminiſtration of them ſhould be ſtill left in her hands! Tho' that is not done by all. That our Churches ſhould be frequented or kept in repair, where the major and more prevailing number would wiſh them under ground! But in ſuch inſtances as theſe God is wont to ſhew his Power: As he placed the Sand for a bound to the Sea, that tho' it rage and ſwell, yet is limited by the decree, *Hitherto ſhalt thou come, and no farther, here ſhall thy proud waves be ſtaid.*

Nothing but this could have reſtrain'd that Spirit of Atheiſm, Deiſm, Fanaticiſm, and Prophaneneſs, that rages without human controul.

And the Church is laid as low and fenceleſs as the Sand under their ſtorms; which had long ſince overwhelm'd the City of God (after the change of her Governors) if the almighty promiſe, *Mat.* XVI. 18. XXVIII. 20. had not interpos'd to preſerve ſome embers alive in the midſt of theſe torrents: And they will be preſerv'd till the time appointed by God ſhall come, when his Breath ſhall put new Life in them, to lick up that Sea that now covers, but cannot drown them.

Tho' the waters thereof roar, and be troubled, and the mountains ſhake at the tempeſt of the ſame: The Rivers of the Flood thereof ſhall make glad the City of God. The perſecutors and oppreſſors of the Church ſhall be converted, and their rage, like that of the Sea, againſt her, ſhall turn into Humility and Love to her, like ſmooth gentle ſtreams to refreſh and nouriſh her: *For God is in the midſt of her; ſhe ſhall not be moved; God ſhall help her when the morning appeareth.* Pſal. xlvi. 3, 4, 5.

This is the City, the Society over which the temporal Governments of the Earth have aſſum'd the dominion! And have ſaid, *Let us break their bands aſunder, and caſt away their cords from us,* Pſal. II. 3.

Be wiſe now therefore O ye Kings, and conſider, leſt while nothing leſs will ſerve you than to be Heads of this Society, you ceaſe to be members: For what is that member that will be Head?

And let not ſo weak a thought ariſe in your minds, as if all this were only the ſelf-ſeeking of the Clergy, out of pride to advance themſelves. Alas! it muſt have the quite contrary effect with any of them who conſiders what an heavy charge they have undertaken, and what account will be exacted from them for their faithful diſcharge of it! That the Blood of all thoſe Souls who periſh thro' their negligence or default will be requir'd at their hands! That they have to *wreſtle not* only *againſt Fleſh and Blood, but againſt Principalities and Powers, againſt the Rulers of the darkneſs of this World, againſt* wicked Spirits that are ſet up *in high places:* And whoever oppoſes theſe with that truth and freedom that is neceſſary, inſtead of honour, muſt expect reproach and perſecution; of which it is not the leaſt, that they cannot vindicate the honour of *Chriſt*'s commiſſion without being thought to ſeek their own glory: Yet that muſt not hinder; the ſucceſſors of the holy Apoſtles muſt be content to paſs, as they did, thro' *evil report and good report, as deceivers, and yet true.* Eph. vi. 12.

They muſt not, to ſave themſelves from reproach, let Religion go to wreck, expoſe the commiſſion of *Chriſt* to be trampled upon, diveſt themſelves of the proper arms of their Miniſtry, and ſuffer the Devil, without oppoſition, to raviſh out of their hands thoſe Souls for which their Souls muſt anſwer. If they muſt reſiſt even unto Blood, they ought not to ſhrink for a little ſhame: Such a modeſty would be pride, a poor impotent pride; a more guilty and ſhameful pride than that (whereof they are very unjuſtly accuſed) of aſſerting their authority, and not laying it under the feet of great

great Men, for popularity ſake! No pride ſo dangerous, ſo hateful, as a proud Humility: Such a ſneaking, treacherous Humility does not become the Miniſters of the Goſpel; but ſuch a Humility, as with the greateſt Modeſty can ſet its face as a flint for the truth of the Goſpel, and ſhew the utmoſt courage without any degree of impudence; can keep up its zeal without rage, preſerve its ſweetneſs in the midſt of its reproofs, and either ſuffer or overcome with decency: That can ſupport the honour and authority which *Chriſt* has annexed to his Prieſthood, ſo as to make it evident that it is more for the good of others, and out of a true concern for their Souls, than any vain-glory to themſelves; that it is only to enable them to ſerve their Flocks the more effectually, towards their eternal Salvation; without which they will not be able to do it, but render Religion contemptible, and make you deſpiſe thoſe means of Grace, to which are annex'd the Promiſes of God and our hopes of Glory.

Chriſt left no more power with his Church than he knew was neceſſary: And for her or you to make it leſs, will be but to defraud your ſelves, and render it ineffectual to you: As St. *Cyprian* ſaid, Ep. 73. p. 209. *It is a moſt dangerous thing, in divine matters, for any to recede from his full power and authority.* Therefore be not afraid of this power, which is made ſo great by God that it may do you the more good: You ought rather to wiſh it greater: For if the Church have not this power, what good can you receive from her adminiſtrations? You ought to rejoice to ſerve the Church, the Spouſe of *Chriſt*, that ſhe may ſerve you in your eternal concerns: And the honour is done to *Chriſt*, and not to her; for whoſe ſake you your ſelves are honoured; who has given you all the power that you have: Therefore grudge not what he has given to others for your good.

When Angels are content, nay glory to be made miniſtring Spirits, to miniſter to the Church, do not you think it below your dignity!

Nor to learn of thoſe, *By whom the manifold Wiſdom of God is made known to the Principalities and Powers in heavenly places*, Eph. III. 10.

You your ſelves, and all things were ordain'd for the Church: For God has given *Chriſt to be the Head over all things, to the Church*, Eph. I. 22.

Chriſt himſelf, your King and God, will not think it below his infinite Majeſty to gird himſelf and come forth and ſerve them, upon whom you now trample, and count them as the dung of the Earth.

They are willing to be your Servants, that they may do you good: It is not their own honour, but that of *Chriſt* which they ſeek: As the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *For we preach not our ſelves, but* Chriſt Jeſus *the Lord: And our ſelves your Servants for* Jeſus *ſake.* 2 Cor. iv. 5.

XXI. Steps that have been made towards the Reformation propoſed.

Here one deſir'd that we would take notice what ſteps have already been made on both ſides by the ſecret and all-ruling Providence of God, leading and inclining Men by degrees inſenſibly nearer and nearer towards ſuch a glorious Reformation as has been before propos'd.

I. On our ſide.

Firſt, on our ſide. The *Regale* among us has much varied and leſſened from the height in which it was ſet up by *Hen.* VIII. In which very time, while they were ſtretching the *Regale* to the utmoſt, yet they could not refrain to confeſs to the truth, and aſſert the ſpiritual rights of the Church, as ſhewn *Sect.* ix. till at laſt they have come fully and truly to explain it in our 37th Article of Religion. But to name ſome particulars.

1. Regal commiſſions.

As to thoſe regal commiſſions before-mentioned, p. 623. whereby Biſhops then held their Biſhopricks and eccleſiaſtical authority, during the King's pleaſure only: Theſe are long ſince worn out of date, and are now deteſted by all the Clergy of *England*; and no more inſiſted upon by the State.

The office of the King's Vicegerent in eccleſiaſtical affairs ſurviv'd not the Perſon to whom it was firſt granted, but was beheaded with him. Such a novel monſtrous compoſition was not long-liv'd; once ſhewn, then hated and deſpis'd. 2. The King's Vicegerent in eccleſiaſticals.

Then again, the writ of *Conge d' Eſlier* was taken away by Act of Parliament, 1 *Edw.* VI. c. 2. as too great an encroachment upon the *Regale*. But our Kings are grown aſham'd of that, and ſtill continue the method of the *Conge d' Eſlier*, tho let looſe from it by the Law. 3. Conge d' Eſlier.

Then in the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* the title of Head of the Church was taken from the Crown, as is ſhewed before *Sect.* ix. 4. Title of Head of the Church taken away.

The eccleſiaſtical commiſſion which the King was impower'd to ſet up, 1 *Eliz.* was taken away by Act of Parliament, 17 *Car.* c. xi. and remains exploded to this day. 5. Eccleſiaſtical commiſſion.

King *James* I. (as Dr. *Guthry* Biſhop of *Dunkell* tells us in his MS. *Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Covenant*) us'd this method in *Scotland*, that when any Biſhop died, the Archbiſhop conven'd his fellow Biſhops, and they gave in to the King the Names of three Perſons whom they judged moſt fit, out of whom the King choſe one into the vacant See. But his Son K. *Charles* I. did not obſerve this, but reſum'd the *Regale* in its full extent, and kept the election ſolely in himſelf; which the Biſhop takes notice of as one great great cauſe that brought on his troubles, and the confuſion firſt begun in that Kingdom. He came young to the Crown, and was not proof againſt flatterers, who would aggrandize his prerogative; beſides that this point was not ſo fully conſider'd in thoſe times, *Eraſtianiſm* having run down like a torrent from the Reformation: And they were but few who could recover themſelves to reflect impartially againſt the prejudice of education and popularity: The *Regale* being then made (tho' very unjuſtly) the characteriſtick againſt Popery and Fanaticiſm; that being ſuppos'd the only barrier againſt both; not imagining, in their Honey-Moon, that ever they ſhould have a King in either of theſe intereſts; or that their Cannon could be turn'd upon themſelves. 6. K. *James* I. in *Scotland*.

Therefore it was no great wonder that a young and un-experienc'd Prince ſhould at the firſt be carry'd down a popular ſtream.

But he made great amends afterwards: He ſet himſelf for the reſcue of the Church from the encroachments of the ſecular Courts and *Eraſtian* Laws; which was made a handle by deſigning Men to ſtir up the Rebellion againſt him: And he is juſtly enrolled among the noble Army of Martyrs: His Mercy was his ruin, for which he was call'd a tyrant. All whom the People overcome are ſo, becauſe they never lay the fault upon themſelves. Thus they charg'd upon this pious Prince all the Blood that themſelves had ſhed, and the war which they began againſt him, and not he againſt them, which appears by the dates of their reſpective commiſſions for levying their armies. 7. K. *Charles* I.

The ſpirit of thoſe times, and the diſpoſition of that Prince ſeem fitted to ſhew the world how far a gracious King can condeſcend to a mutinous and rebellious party; and how impoſſible it is by ſuch lenity to overcome them: It is like giving paſſage to the water, which thereby increaſes to a deluge; the prevention is eaſy at the beginning, before a drop grow to be a River, and that River become a Sea.

But the methods by which this King's mildneſs ſuffer'd that Rebellion to grow upon him, was not the ſubject of our diſcourſe: It ſuffic'd us to know that God's time was not then come for the deliverance of his Church; but that glory is reſerv'd for another.

Tho' *David* design'd and made preparation for the building of the Temple, yet that was determin'd for another and more peaceable reign.

8. K. *Charles* II. Then it was obſerv'd by ſome in the company, that even in the reign of K. *Charles* II. a commiſſion was granted to ſome Biſhops and others to diſpoſe of ſuch Church-Livings as were in the King's gift, which were above the value of thoſe that are committed to the diſpoſal of whoever carries the *Great Seal:* There was ſomething of conſciouſneſs, at leaſt decency in the caſe.

But there was a much more remarkable inſtance in his reign, in *Scotland.* In the year 1669. an Act of Parliament was made there, call'd the *Aſſertory Act*, which aſſerted the *Regale* very high; and by virtue of which the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, Dr. *Burnet*, was depriv'd: But I am told no other put into his place, but the Biſhoprick kept in *commendam*, and Dr. *Leighton*, to whom the King gave it, only ſtyl'd Commendator of *Glaſgow*, till by ſome means or other a reſignation was procur'd from Archbiſhop *Burnet:* However, the then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Biſhops of *England*, conſidering how far ſuch precedents might extend, interpoſed with their full might, nor did they leave it till they had the Archbiſhop reſtored.

But that which I am coming to is this. After this *Aſſertory Act*, a Teſt was put to the *Scots* epiſcopal Clergy, which ty'd them to maintain all the King's privileges, *&c.* granted by Act of Parliament; by this means ſeeking to draw them in to the acknowledgment of this *Aſſertory Act*, which ſet up the King's Supremacy over the Church: But they were aware of the ſnare, and had the chriſtian courage to refuſe that Teſt, for which ſome of them were depriv'd.

But they perſiſted, and prepared themſelves to ſuffer the laſt extremities, rather than betray the rights of *Chriſt*'s Church: They rid out the ſtorm, and they prevail'd; as others would do if they try'd it. The inherent rights of the Church are ſo flagrant, that a chriſtian State will hardly invade them but where they are tamely given up. The King ſeeing the Clergy reſolute to ſuffer and to aſſert their rights, found he could not bear the odium, nor was able to maintain his claim; therefore a Declaration was publiſh'd by King and Council, (which in the intervals of Parliament has there the force of a Law) wherein they renounced all pretences to the intrinſick power of the Church; and left entirely to her *all the eccleſiaſtical power, authority, and juriſdiction exercis'd by the Church for the three firſt centuries.* Which being the whole that could be ask'd, the breach was made up, and the dpriv'd Clergy were reſtor'd: And by this, all the *Eraſtian* teeth of that *Aſſertory Act* were drawn out.

At preſent. But that it might never bite more, it was formally repeal'd by the preſent Parliament there, Seſſ. 2. Lord *Melvil* Commiſſioner. Which ſhews what others might do who have greater power and advantages than they: For it is not to be ſuppos'd but that the ſame juſtice and right to the Church would be done where the Biſhops and Clergy are more conſiderable, are nearer to the Court, and of more uſe to it; if that has not corrupted their principles, or abated their zeal; like St. *Peter*, whoſe courage left him when he had once warmed himſelf at the fire of the palace. There are ſome who will profeſs with as much aſſurance as he, that they are ready to go not only to priſon but to death for aſſerting the truth of the Goſpel and the divine rights of the pillar and ground of it, without which it cannot ſtand, that is, the Church: But if a Servant at Court ask them, are you for ſetting up that full authority which *Chriſt* left with his Church? will be ready to tremble, and cry, *I know not the Man. We have no King but* Cæſar. He that would ſet up divine rights is no friend to prerogative! But to proceed,

The Commiſſion before-mentioned of King *Charles* II. for the diſpoſal of Church Preferments is much improv'd ſince; particularly in this, that now, none but Biſhops are in that Commiſſion: None of the Lay-Lords or others mix'd with them, as it was in the time of King *Charles* II. and moreover, the recommendation even to Biſhopricks is likewiſe committed to theſe Biſhops: This indeed is a ſtep farther: Theſe are ſome of the advances as have been made on our ſide, towards the freedom of the Church; which plainly ſhew where the right does lie.

II. Advances made on the part of the Church of *Rome*.

Then the Company were deſirous to turn and ſee what advances had been made on the other ſide, on the part of the Church of *Rome*, for reducing the *Pontificate* as much as we have done the *Regale*: And it was found, that they have gone farther in this than we have done in the other.

I. As to the Biſhops and ſecular Clergy.

Here was call'd to mind what was ſaid before concerning the oppoſition given at the Council of *Trent* by the Biſhops and ſecular Clergy in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, as well as thoſe in *Spain*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, and all the Popiſh Countries, not excepting *Italy* it ſelf, as of thoſe in *France*, who have been moſt remarkably zealous in this matter.

And from hence we may ſuppoſe it was, that even in that Council there is a fair door open'd for reſtoring the ancient Rights of provincial Councils, where power is given to them, or rather recogniz'd to be in them and in every Biſhop in his own Dioceſs, to regulate *all matters that ſhall be neceſſary*, as well over *all Miniſters in the Church*, as to *preſcribe ſuch forms in Worſhip and Manners* as they ſhall judge *neceſſary for the benefit of each Province*. Take the words more at large, as you will find them in that Council. *Seſſ.* 23. c. 12. *Cætera quæ ad debitum in Divinis officiis Regimen ſpectant, deque congruâ in Canendi ſeu Modulandi ratione, de certâ lege in Choro Conveniendi, & Permanendi, ſimulque de omnibus Eccleſiæ Miniſtris, quæque neceſſaria erunt, & ſi qua hujuſmodi, Synodus Provincialis pro cujuſque Provinciæ Utilitate & Moribus certam cuique formulam præſcribet: Interea vero Epiſcopus non minus quam cum duobus Canonicis, quorum unus ab Epiſcopo, alter à Capitulo eligatur, in iis quæ expedire videbuntur, providere.*

2. Particularly in *France*.

Purſuant to this Right of provincial Councils here ſo far recogniz'd, the Church of *France* have all along acted more vigorouſly and independently upon *Rome*, than any other of the Churches in her Communion; and from the firſt encroachments of the Patriarchat of *Rome*, gave Battle to it, and and kept it within ſome moderate bounds; as appears by the ſeveral pragmatical Sanctions and Concordates made betwixt their Kings and the Popes.

But that which came moſt under our obſervation (as being the lateſt) was the Decrees of the *Gallican* Clergy met in a national Synod, *An.* 1682 which are hereunto annexed.

In the preamble they aſſert liberties of the *Gallican* Church; yet acknowledge a Primacy in the Pope: But how limited and circumſcrib'd, appears in the Decrees.

Of which the firſt quite takes away his power in temporals, eſpecially that which the Popes have ſo often practis'd, even in *France* (as beforemention'd in the Rebellion of the holy League) and by which chiefly they have ſecur'd their encroachments of ſeveral ſorts; and which they cannot be brought by any means to diſclaim, that is, the power to depoſe Kings, and abſolve their Subjects from their allegiance.

The ſecond ſubjects the Pope to a general Council, even to be depoſed by it: As in the 4th and 5th Seſſ. of the Council of *Conſtance* is enacted, which is quoted and confirm'd in the ſaid Decree.

In

In the third, the Pope's power is limited by the Canons of the Church, and even by the conſtitutions and rules of the *Gallican* Church.

In the fourth, his infallibility, even in matters of Faith, is totally taken away and diſown'd.

And in the fifth, the Biſhops aſſert the divine Right of their Epiſcopate, and derive their power from none but the Holy Ghoſt: By virtue of which they eſtabliſh theſe Decrees, and command them to be receiv'd in all the Churches of *France*.

II. Advances made on the part of the Church of Rome.

Then the diſcourſe turn'd to the fierce oppoſition made by the Pope to theſe Decrees, and how ill they were reſented at *Rome*: And it was ſaid, that a *French* Papiſt wou'd be burn'd at *Rome* for an Heretick: And were there but few of them, or inconſiderable, no doubt they wou'd be excommunicated with *Maranatha*: For all that properly can be call'd Popery in the Pope's Supremacy is hereby pluck'd up by the roots.

I. As to the Biſhops and Secular Clergy.

It was ſaid, That this was as far almoſt as our *Hen.* VIII. ever went: For he threw off nothing of Popery but only the Pope's Supremacy: In all other things, he liv'd and died a Papiſt; he burnt thoſe who deny'd Tranſubſtantiation, and left money in his Will for praying his Soul out of Purgatory.

3. The modern Popiſh Writers.

To this was added, how much the Doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility, and even the height and abſoluteneſs of his Supremacy had abated ſince *Bellarmin* and the Writers of thoſe times; that the modern Popiſh Authors, not only in *France*, but all other Popiſh Countries, even *Spain* and *Italy* it ſelf, have found out a lower ſenſe in which to take the high-flights of thoſe before them: And if they are coming down, we may meet in time.

XXII. A proſpect, how the Schiſm, tho' not all differences may be ended.

Oh, ſaid one, that this were the time! When that terrible Schiſm which has ſo long torn the weſtern Church might be healed! And tho' we cou'd not, in a ſhort time reconcile our differences upon particular points, as of Tranſubſtantiation, Invocation of Saints, Purgatory, *&c.* Yet that matters cou'd be ſo adjuſted, that theſe ſhou'd cauſe no Schiſm, that is, that we might join together in outward Communion.

And this (ſaid the Gentleman who propos'd it) wou'd not ſeem to me impracticable, if this one point were firſt gain'd, *viz.* That every Biſhop making himſelf free from the encroachments both of the *Pontificate* and the *Regale*, thought himſelf at liberty to act according to his own conſcience, and as he muſt give an account to *Chriſt* the chief Shepherd, in his own Church, of which he is Head next and immediately under *Chriſt*; tho in that ſubordination to Metropolitans, Primates, or Patriarchs, eſtabliſh'd by the epiſcopal College (in manner before diſcours'd) for the better regulation and commerce of the whole; yet without any infraction upon the plenitude of every Biſhop's power within his own Church.

Then continu'd the propoſer: Meaſuring others by my ſelf, if I were a Biſhop in *France*, and as zealous for the particular Doctrines of *Rome* as any; yet for ſo great a work as healing of this Schiſm, I wou'd open my Communion as wide as I cou'd without what I thought a ſin: For example, no Roman Catholick thinks it any ſin to worſhip God without an Image of him; or to pray in a Tongue I underſtand; or to forbear, at leaſt in publick, and in ſome places the Invocation of the Saints, and the adoration of the Hoſt; or to give the Cup to the Laity: I ſay, barring the order of the Church in ſuch matters, I am confident there is no underſtanding Roman Catholick in *France*, or any where elſe, that wou'd think any of theſe things to be a ſin; or who wou'd ſay, but that if the Church commanded ſuch things to be done, he wou'd obey.

Well then, ſuppoſing a particular Biſhop knowing his own authority, ſhou'd in his Church remove the Images, forbear the Elevation of the Hoſt, and Invocation of Saints, give the Cup to the Laity, and have the Service in the vulgar Tongue: The Propoſer ask'd, What ſhou'd hinder our Communion with ſuch a Biſhop? As to his belief of Tranſubſtantiation, or Purgatory, *&c.* So it be not impos'd upon me, neither as to the profeſſion or practice of it, ſhall the difference of opinion break Communion? And how ſhall I know his opinion? There are many in the Communion of *Rome*, who believe as little of theſe things as we do; and no Man is bound to tell, or I to ask his private opinion: Beſides if I knew it, how does it affect me? Shall I refuſe the Communion of a Church, becauſe there are wicked or erroneous Men in it? Then muſt we needs go out of the World.

And on the other hand (ſaid he) the Roman Catholicks will have far leſs ſcruple to communicate with us, becauſe there is nothing in our Liturgy in which they are to join, but what they approve of: They may think it deficient, but not in any neceſſary point; for ſuch they do not make the Invocation of Saints, the Elevation of the Hoſt, or the Latin of their Prayers, or Images to be: And ſure the Laity will not be diſpleas'd to be reſtor'd to the bleſſing of receiving the Cup in the holy Sacrament.

He fortify'd this, by ſhewing, that the Roman Catholicks in *England* came without ſcruple to our Churches in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, till they were afterwards forbid by a Bull from the Pope: Who by this means did open the breach to ſtrengthen his Party; for otherwiſe the diſtinction of Proteſtant and Papiſt had ſoon ceas'd, when they came to be of one Communion.

That in Queen *Mary*'s time, they did not re-ordain thoſe Biſhops who had been ordained by our Book of Ordination in the reign of *Ed.* VI.

And that the Pope offered to Queen *Elizabeth* Prayers in the vulgar Tongue, the Cup to the Laity, or any thing if ſhe wou'd but own his Supremacy.

So that the Supremacy is the only point at *Rome*: And were it not for that other matters wou'd be ſooner adjuſted, ſo far at leaſt, as not to hinder Communion.

That in this moſt tender point of the Supremacy, the *Gallican* Church are Hereticks as well as we, yet this breaks no Communion: And what is the reaſon? There is but one, that is, a Politick, becauſe the *Gallican* Church are too great a Body to diſoblige: And the fate of *England* has taught the Court of *Rome* more caution, and to conſider the power and quality of thoſe Hereticks, whom they adventure to excommunicate.

There is little doubt, but that if *England* wou'd return again to own the Supremacy of *Rome* to the height that the Popes do demand, they wou'd to regain ſuch a Limb to their Empire, diſpenſe with giving the Cup to the Laity, and Marriage to our Clergy, and our Prayers in the vulgar Tongue, as they offer'd to Queen *Elizabeth.* They wou'd excuſe the Elevation of the Hoſt, and Invocation of Saints, and Pictures of God in the Churches, and whatever elſe ſtands in the way to hinder our joining in Communion.

But while we ſtand out againſt that plenitude of the Papal Supremacy which they claim, it is not their worldly intereſt to heal the breach of Communion; becauſe that, and that only, keeps up the diſtinction of Parties amongſt us. Few wou'd trouble their heads with mere ſpeculations, when their differences were not brought into practice; and eſpecially conſidering that they are ſuch differences which the Church of *Rome* her ſelf cannot ſay, none that are moderate among them will ſay, that they are neceſſary to Salvation.

And therefore the whole and only difference betwixt us, I mean that hinders Communion, is that extent of the Pope's Supremacy, which the *Gallican* Church have thrown off as well as we: And if a Politick can keep this from making a breach of Communion with them, as much charity in the Court of *Rome* (if they had it) wou'd heal the ſeparation here; and bring the Roman Catholicks back again to our Churches, which they forſook, not for any fault they found in our Liturgy or Worſhip; but merely in obedience to a Bull from Pope *Pius* V. which had no other end than to keep up his Supremacy.

That therefore it is not to be expected we can perſuade the Pope to move towards a reconciliation which he alone obſtructs; and that wholly upon ſecular intereſts.

And this the *Engliſh* Roman Catholicks will grant, that if the Pope gave them commandment, they wou'd return to our Communion to morrow, notwithſtanding all other differences upon particular points; which they cou'd not in conſcience do, if they thought any part of our publick Worſhip was unlawful in it ſelf.

And none will ſay, that a ſeparation can be juſtify'd upon leſs grounds than to avoid joining in what is unlawful in it ſelf.

This makes it plain, that the only cauſe of their ſeparation from us, is that ſingle point of the Pope's Supremacy.

There are more cauſes of our ſeparation from their publick offices, as Images of the inviſible God in their Churches, adoration of the Hoſt, the Cup taken from the Laity, Prayers in an unknown Tongue, and invocation of Saints and Angels, which compoſe great part of their Liturgy; and we think to be contrary to the holy Scriptures, and the ſenſe and practice of the primitive Church; and therefore cannot join in what, if ſo, is unlawful in it ſelf.

But as ſaid before, the Roman Catholicks think it not unlawful to omit theſe things in the publick offices: And therefore it is not lawful for them to heal the ſeparation.

And if it be lawful, then it is neceſſary, and conſequently a ſin not to do it: For it wou'd be a great ſin not to do any thing that cou'd be done without ſin, to remove ſo horrid a ſcandal to the chriſtian Church; to ſave ſo many Souls, and Nations, with their poſterities from ſo great a ſin as Schiſm; which produces many more, not only un-chriſtian animoſities, but blood-ſhed and deſtruction, even of Kingdoms and whole Countries; to reſtore ſo much peace and welfare to the Nations of the Earth, and to the Churches of God, as the healing of this Schiſm 'twixt *Rome* and the reformed wou'd produce; who wou'd not only beſtow his pains, but ſacrifice his life to contribute towards it!

I. Concerning the Schiſm of the Diſſenters againſt Epiſcopacy among us.

Here one interpos'd and ask'd, whether all this Gentleman's kindneſs was reſerv'd for *Rome?* That he ſeem'd much more zealous for a reconciliation with her, than with our proteſtant Brethren the Diſſenters.

That we grant it lawful for the Church of *England* to diſpenſe with our rites and ceremonies: And if lawful, then neceſſary, by the argument above, to heal this Schiſm of the Diſſenters.

The Gentleman anſwer'd for himſelf thus;

Firſt, That the Schiſm 'twixt *Rome* and the reformed is of much greater conſequence to the chriſtian Church, and takes in even that of our Diſſenters, which is but one branch of it: And therefore, if heal'd, wou'd cure the whole; and conſequently, that this deſerves our chief care: But, ſaid he, I give not this for my anſwer; becauſe whatever lawfully may be done, ought to be done for the healing of any Schiſm.

Secondly, Therefore he objected, that the caſe was not right ſtated, as if our Rites, Ceremonies, and other indifferent things were the cauſe of this Schiſm:

Schism: No said he, these were only a pretence: But Episcopacy was the Heir which they said, *Come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours:* For we must know, that was an involv'd cause, like that, *Numb.* xvi. *Dathan* and *Abiram*, the Heads of the Lay-Rebels, they mutiny'd against *Moses* the civil Magistrate for their Fields and their Vineyards, and wou'd not have him to be Prince over them, ℣. 13, 14.

But *Korah* and the schismatical *Levites*, they rose up against *Aaron*, and wou'd have usurp'd the high Priesthood, ℣. 10, 11.

So was it in the latter Covenant and Conspiracy, *An.* 1638. The Laity fram'd a Rebellion against the King; and the *Levites* made a Schism against the Bishops: Both join'd in the same solemn League and Covenant.

Towards which all things being now ready, and the necessary orders given, it was resolv'd to pick a quarrel. And no pretence being to be found in the Doctrine of our Church, or in any substantial matter, that cou'd pass upon the common People, whom it was necessary to gain to their Party; they began to find fault with the colour of our Clothes, either white or black, and the length or shape of them. They inveigh'd against our Gowns as well as Surplices; then they quarrell'd with our singing: Why shou'd we sing better than they did, with Quiristers and Organs? And why shou'd we pray better too, with a Liturgy? Which every body that was acquainted with it, lik'd much better than their *extempore* effusions.

These and such like were their first quarrels with us.

And calling these indifferent things, and thence thinking to load our Church for not yielding to them in these, does in the first place lay the Schism wholly at their own door.

For how faulty soever the Church may be in not yielding in indifferent things; yet all agree that these cannot be a sufficient cause for separation, and making of a Schism in the Church of *Christ:* Because that being a most grievous sin, allow'd on all hands, nothing can be sufficient to justify a separation, or to save it from becoming a Schism, but the avoiding something that is put upon us, which is a sin: For no Man can be oblig'd to sin; and in that case, the Schism lies at their door who force others to separate from them: But this can never be in the case of indifferent things; because such are no sins, else they were not indifferent.

And here it is to be caution'd, that it is not enough for any Man to say, that his conscience tells him, this or the other is a sin; for so he may say of what he pleases, the colour of our Clothes, the length of our Beards, *&c.* Nay some Men's conscience (as our blessed Saviour has fore-told) may bid them cut our throats.

But that the rule to determine this, is the Word of God: And in case of doubtful or perverse interpretation, the doctrine and current practice of the primitive Church, who liv'd next to the age of the Apostles, is the best Expositor.

And according to this rule, if the Dissenters can shew any one thing of what they except against in our Liturgy, Rites, or Ceremonies, to have been forbidden, we are willing to submit and amend.

How far otherwise is it betwixt us and the Church of *Rome?* Whose Council of *Constance*, *A. D.* 1415. *Sess.* 13. does confess, that *Christ* did institute the holy Sacrament in both kinds; and likewise that it was practis'd in the primitive Church; and yet with a *non-obstante* to both, they out of the plenitude of their power, take away the Cup from the Laity; and excommunicate any Priest who shall give it to them.

Now as the Apostle says, *Gal.* iii. 15. *Tho' it be but a Man's testament, yet if it be confirmed, no Man disannulleth or addeth thereto:* Therefore we say, That much less has any Man power to disannul that part of *Christ*

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our bleſſed Lord his laſt Teſtament, the Cup, which as the laſt act of his life, immediately before his entring upon his holy paſſion, he bequeathed to all the faithful, till his coming again: And that this was the ſenſe and practice of the primitive Church, the Council of *Conſtance* does allow; and thereby yields both the holy Scriptures and Antiquity to be on our ſide.

I muſt not (ſaid the Gentleman) launch out into this, and the other points before-mention'd, for which we ſeparate from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; for that is not the buſineſs of our preſent meeting. I only name them now, to ſhew the difference of thoſe things, and their importance, upon which we ſeparate from the Church of *Rome*; and of thoſe things upon which our Diſſenters do ſeparate from us; which makes our ſeparation from *Rome* to be neceſſary, and therefore no Schiſm in us, but in them: But the ſeparation of the Diſſenters from us to be wholly for cauſes no ways ſufficient, even themſelves being Judges, that is, if their ſeparation be only upon account of our Rites and Ceremonies, as the caſe is put by the Objector.

Thirdly, Having thus therefore (continu'd the firſt propoſer) ſhewn, that if the caſe of the Diſſenters is truly ſtated in this popular objection, then, in the firſt place it lays the Schiſm unanſwerably upon them: I will, in the next place proceed to ſhew, that this was not the true cauſe of their ſeparation; and that the true cauſe makes the obſtruction which hinders our re-union to lie wholly on their ſide, and not at all on the part of the Church of *England*.

That this was not the true cauſe, I offer the following reaſons.

1. In *Scotland.*

1. That the Covenant lays the ſtreſs of their ſeparation upon Epiſcopacy, which it vows to extirpate root and branch; and never to ceaſe, till that be done.

2. When all the Rites and Ceremonies, and the Common-Prayer too was taken out of their way; and Epiſcopacy it ſelf modell'd as near the Presbyterian form as cou'd be; which was done in *Scotland*, ever ſince the reſtauration of Epiſcopacy there in the year 1661. Yet they were ſo far from being ſatisfy'd with all this, that they grew more outragious than ever before; they rais'd two open Rebellions, and fought it out at *Pentland-Hills* and *Bothwell-Bridge*; they aſſaſſinated the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews* in the high-way; ſhot another Biſhop in his Coach in the Streets of *Edinburgh*; and by publick Declaration fixt up upon the *Mercat* Croſſes, made it not only lawful, but an obligation upon every true Presbyterian to kill the Biſhops, and all that took their part; and upon this account declar'd that the King had forfeited his Crown, becauſe he ſet up Epiſcopacy; and therefore that it was lawful to kill not only his Majeſty, but all that ſerv'd him or own'd him as King; and merely for this reaſon, and no other, they have murthered the Soldiers, who were travelling the road, becauſe they ſaw the King's Livery upon their Backs.

2. In *England.*

They were not indeed ſo quite out of purpoſe in *England*. For they were govern'd with a ſtraiter rein; and it has been obſerv'd that as ſtones move ſwifter, the nearer they come to their center; ſo Men are generally more fierce, the nearer view they have of their game.

That even the *Engliſh* Diſſenters declare againſt Epiſcopacy, which we take not to be an indifferent thing, but inſtituted by *Chriſt*, and confirm'd by the conſtant practice of the univerſal Church of *Chriſt* in all ages.

That if the Diſſenters were gratify'd in all other things, yet wou'd they not comply in this.

That there are ſeveral ſorts and ſizes of Diſſenters amongſt us, of whom ſome like well what others will not allow in our Liturgy, Rites, and Ceremonies.

That

That therefore it is impoſſible to pleaſe them all.

That if they wou'd all agree which of our indifferent things wou'd purchaſe their reconciliation, the Church wou'd readily grant it, for ſo good an end.

Nay if any one ſort of them wou'd name for themſelves, without reſpect to the reſt, what wou'd gain them to our Communion, there are none of thoſe things we call indifferent ſhou'd hinder it.

That they have been invited to make the experiment, to my knowledge (ſaid he) but will not do it.

And while they cannot or will not ask, how knows the Church what to grant?

Nay it is plain, that the reaſon why they will not tell what wou'd be ſufficient to reconcile them, is becauſe their leaders have no mind to it; for then they wou'd loſe their ſubſiſtence: I ſpeak not (ſaid he) of all; for no doubt, there are conſcientious and well-meaning Men miſled amongſt them: But the governing part will not tell what wou'd pleaſe them, becauſe they dare not tell all; that is, that they will not be pleas'd till Epiſcopacy be given up, and themſelves made Biſhops under other names.

And hence (ſaid he) it is evident, that as our Rites and Ceremonies were not the true cauſe of the ſeparation which the Diſſenters made from our Church; ſo that the true cauſe which is Epiſcopacy, and their ambition, do ſtill keep up the ſeparation, and hinder our re-union: To which we invite them upon any terms that are in our power, or that we can in conſcience comply with.

And therefore (ſaid he) their caſe can be no parallel or objection to that reconciliation propoſed with thoſe Biſhops of any of thoſe Churches that are in Communion with *Rome*, who ſhall think it incumbent upon them to comply with us in ſuch particulars as are juſtly in their power, and which they can in conſcience allow.

For the Diſſenters who have other ends to ſerve, and therefore will neither take nor give quarter, will neither propoſe nor accept any terms of reconciliation, cannot for that (unleſs only for that) reaſon, be angry at our ſeeking or offering a reconciliation with others, who may be better diſpoſed.

II. Of the Roman Catholicks in *England*.

Therefore enough having been ſaid upon this point, leave was given to the Gentleman to proceed with his firſt propoſal; who ſaid, that by the beſt of his obſervation, the generality of the Roman Catholicks in *England* were of the ſame ſentiments with the *Gallican* Church concerning the Supremacy and Infallibility of the papal See: And thence inferr'd, how unreaſonable it was for them to keep off from our Communion, and continue the Schiſm, merely upon the account of that Supremacy which they pretend to diſown.

Eſpecially conſidering, that they have no Biſhops of their Communion in *England*, and therefore are left to the guidance of their own conſcience here.

At leaſt they have no Biſhops of particular Dioceſes; and Biſhops at large have none who are properly their Subjects.

Or that if they had, then the ſame conſiderations ought to weigh with them which are offer'd to the Biſhops of the ſame Communion in other Countries: And theſe ſeem to be more free and independent than the other.

And if theſe ſhou'd diſpenſe with the particulars before-mention'd to thoſe of their own Communion in *England*, it might be a great beginning, and example to others abroad.

I know (ſaid the Gentleman that was ſpeaking) an *Engliſh* Roman Catholick, a Man of very good ſenſe, and now in a conſiderable ſtation, who, before this Revolution, came over to the Communion of the Church of *England*, and told me, the thing which ſway'd him was, that it is allow'd among moſt learned Roman Catholicks that every national Church has power to reform within her ſelf in matters of Diſcipline and Order in the Church, or whatever hurts not the chriſtian Faith. And (ſaid he) the beſt and moſt underſtanding of the *Engliſh* Roman Catholicks that I could converſe with, would not ſay that any of the points in diſpute betwixt the Churches of *Rome* and *England* were matters of Faith: They would not ſay it of Purgatory, of the Invocation of Saints, of Half-Communion, of Prayers in an unknown Tongue, of Images, no, not of Tranſubſtantiation itſelf, at leaſt not of the Adoration of the Hoſt. And far leſs would they lay it of the Pope's Supremacy, eſpecially in that exaltation which he would be at.

Therefore (ſaid he) why ſhould I make a Schiſm from any national Church, for exerting thoſe powers which all agree ſhe has? Whether ſhe makes uſe of them for good or bad ends, for ſufficient cauſe, or not, is not the queſtion: She is judge of that, and muſt anſwer it to God: But I am not her Judge: And ſuch cauſes are not ſufficient (all do agree) to make a Schiſm; elſe they would never want cauſe; every Man's jealouſies, fears, or ſuſpicion, would be a ſufficient cauſe to make a Schiſm at any time.

And if this be true, even upon Roman Catholick principles, then we muſt lay it upon the Conſciences of our *Engliſh* Roman Catholicks, why they keep up a Schiſm from us contrary to their own principles?

III. Of the *Gallican* Church.

And theſe principles are yet more ſtrongly maintain'd in the *Gallican* Church: They have limited the Supremacy of the Pope in *France*, to the Conſtitutions of their own national Church, as before has been ſhewn: Otherwiſe they muſt give up whatever they call the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church: They cannot be both free from the Pope's Supremacy, and ſubject to it.

Therefore if the *Gallican* Church ſhould make the Reformation beforementioned, it could not be call'd any Schiſm in her by her own principles: And if no Schiſm, then ſure no crime; for what other crime can it be?

And if ſo great a good as the reſtoring Peace to the Weſtern now divided Church, by opening our Communions to one another, can be procur'd without any crime at all; will it not be a great crime not to lay hold of the opportunity?

IV. Of the *Eaſtern* Churches.

The ſame method and the ſame principles (continu'd he) would likewiſe open the Communion betwixt the *Weſtern* and *Eaſtern* Churches, betwixt all the Churches of the whole chriſtian World: Whoſe Liturgies and publick Worſhip might ſoon be ſo adjuſted as to give no cauſe for breach of Communion.

Then would the Church be truly catholick and one; tho' of different, yet not of oppoſite Communions.

Then would the communicatory Letters go abroad of one Biſhop to another, even to the ends of the Earth; and the ancient Diſcipline would revive of its ſelf.

Then would Biſhops (not only of one Church or Nation) ſalute one another, as in the primitive purer ages, by the name of Brethren and Collegues.

And tho' diſtributed among themſelves into different Claſſes of Metropolitans, Primates, or Patriarchs, for the better regulation and commerce of the epiſcopal College of the whole catholick Church: Yet without any infraction upon the rights and authority of each particular Biſhop within his own Church, or diveſting him of any part of the epiſcopal commiſſion granted by *Chriſt*; (as the papal Supremacy has done, and of which *Gre-*

gory the *Great* complain'd) for that would be to un-Biſhop him in effect: And conſequently all the Biſhops in the World except the one univerſal one, which the Church of *Rome* would have.

That it is this papal Supremacy alone which ſtands in the way to oppoſe ſuch a glorious re-union of all the chriſtian Churches: The Pope either excommunicating or denying Communion to, and refuſing Communion with all Churches whatſoever upon the face of the Earth, who will not own his univerſal Supremacy.

His Supremacy! Now worn out and exploded, limited and circumſcrib'd into a cypher, by the beſt and moſt learned of the Roman Catholicks themſelves: And not believ'd in that height it was ſet up and maintain'd in the laſt ages, perhaps by one Roman Catholick now in the world.

And that this Ghoſt of a Supremacy (ſaid the Gentleman, not with an unbecoming zeal) ſhould continue to diſturb the Earth, and hinder the happy union of all chriſtian Churches! Muſt all be ſacrific'd to an idol, which none remain to worſhip, which all do deſpiſe? Is it not time to bury it when it is dead?

I cannot but hope (ſaid he) the time is come: Then it will come, it is then come, when every Biſhop ſhall think it within his Commiſſion, and his duty to govern his own Church moſt to the benefit of the catholick Church that he can; to the reſtoring the Peace and Unity of all chriſtian Churches; and to exert the utmoſt of his authority to that end.

If but one Biſhop (ſaid he) would begin it, and open his Communion, as has been propos'd, others ſurely would do the like; and it would ſoon become univerſal.

And it is not to be deſpair'd that ſuch Biſhops will be found in all Communions: Many wiſh it: God will ſtir up ſome to act in it.

At leaſt that they would venture ſo far as to begin a correſpondence and underſtand one another's minds, and then they would ſee what could be done.

That to keep off Communion till all the particular points betwixt us are adjuſted, is beginning at the wrong end; for theſe are kept up, and heightened on purpoſe to hinder us from Communion together.

But if the terms of Communion were once ſo modell'd as to heal our ſeparation, the diſputes about the particular points would ſoon dwindle when there was no intereſt to be ſerv'd by them.

And tho' many particular points are put into the liſt of our differences on purpoſe to enflame the reckoning, yet, as ſaid before, there is really at the bottom but one which ſtops the way to heal the breach of our Communion, and that is, ſuch an excels of the Pope's Supremacy as is diſown'd and thrown off by the whole *Gallican* Church.

If they ask why we will not allow ſo much of the Pope's Supremacy as they have left to him:

We anſwer, becauſe he will not be content with it. Let them prevail with the Pope to confirm the Decrees of their national Council, *Anno* 1682. and I dare ſay we ſhall not long quarrel about his Supremacy: But till he does that I am ſure the *Engliſh* and *Gallican* Churches are nearer one another upon this point than the Churches of *France* and *Rome*. And why then ſhould we not rather take part with one another againſt *Rome*, than by our differences in other and ſmaller matters to let him triumph over us both in his Supremacy; and thro' our default, in not joining together over ſo great a part of Chriſtendom?

This and all other our differences are ſo far reconcileable as not to hinder Communion. Let us try: Enter upon a Treaty: Not only of particular Biſhops, that may be done now and at all times, but of our national Councils,

Councils, our Convocation, and the general Aſſembly of the *Gallican* Biſhops and Clergy: Which being to meet now again this * *May* MDCC. I cannot (ſaid the Gentleman) but hope that God has a bleſſing in ſtore, to open their eyes and let them ſee the way of Peace, which is fully purſuant to their own principles.

And it has been the principle of all ſober and judicious Chriſtians, that the publick offices of the Church ſhould be kept as free as poſſible from diſputes and controverted points, to hinder the breach of Communion, which turns mere opinions into principles, and adds Hereſy to Schiſm.

That if the *Gallican* Church would thus purge their publick offices of things which themſelves ſay are not neceſſary, they might find a more chriſtian way with their new converts than has hitherto been taken; at leaſt free themſelves much more from the blame.

And then ſince they and we are near at one upon the grand point of the Pope's Supremacy, and have jointly thrown off his Infallibility, if they would communicate with us when they come to *England* in what they approve of, and can heartily join with in our publick offices; and that their publick offices were ſo modell'd as that we might join with them when we went to *France:* They might then make this to be a grand Jubilee indeed! The moſt glorious that many centuries have ſeen!

Here the Gentleman ſtopt, and ſaid he knew propoſals of this nature would meet with miſ-conſtruction: That there is a party among us who would not wiſh our breaches were heal'd, becauſe they ſubſiſt by the diviſion; and ſometimes cry *Halloo* on the one ſide, and ſometimes on the other: Their word is, *No Peace with* Rome. But I hope (ſaid he) they are not againſt a Peace with *France*, or afraid that the *French* are too much Proteſtants againſt the Uſurpation of the *Pontificate*.

If they keep as clear of the *Regale*, their Reformation will exceed ours; which God grant: And let them not take it ill *(fas eſt ab hoſte doceri)* that we warn them of the rock upon which we have ſplit.

Our concern is for the holy catholick Church, which conſiſts in the rights of the members of it; and not in the encroachment of any one upon the reſt: That will prove (as we have ſadly ſeen) the corruption of the whole: And we envy not, but pray that others may go before us in the reſtitution of the rights of the catholick Church, and of every one in particular; and by that, of the true chriſtian Faith and Doctrine.

V. The glory of the firſt chriſtian King who ſhall reſtore the Church.

In this great work there is a moſt glorious ſtep to be made (ſaid one) by that King whom God ſhould ſo inſpire to take his *Regale* out of the way from obſtructing ſuch mighty ends as theſe propos'd: He would truly deſerve the titles of *Moſt Chriſtian*, *Moſt Catholick*, and would be in good earneſt *The Defender of the Faith.* The benefits that would thereby accrue to the Church would far ſurpaſs all the glories of *Conſtantine:* No age ſince Chriſtianity ever afforded ſuch an opportunity for any King to aggrandize his name and memory to poſterity, in the truly heroical and chriſtian ſenſe, as is to be had this day: After-ages would call him bleſſed: And his place would be high in Heaven, who by this ſhould bring a Heaven upon earth; reſtore the Goſpel and the Kingdom of *Chriſt*, far-ſhining in its native purity, from under the clouds of regal and pontifical uſurpations: For the *Pontificate* can laſt no longer than it is ſupported by the *Regale*; all the Biſhops in the world are in arms againſt it, and are reſtrained only by the ſecular power of Popes and Kings.

* The *Engliſh* Convocation not being ſuffered to ſit while that of *France* laſted, render'd any Treaty betwixt them impracticable. But the cenſure of the Jeſuits by that *Gallican* Aſſembly (reprinted here) is the ſoreſt blow ever thoſe top of the Regulars ſuſtain'd; and has ſhook the main pillar of the papal throne: So that the iſſue of that Aſſembly has exceeded expectation.

Here the whole Company wiſh'd and pray'd to God, that they might ſee the example of ſuch a religious chriſtian King in our days, who wou'd begin to ſet the Church free, and give up his *Regale* as former godly Kings and Emperors have done.

That they wou'd follow their examples, and of *Conſtantine*, and *Lewis* VII. of *France*, who refus'd to accept of it, when offer'd: But rejected it with horror and indignation; rather than the examples of *Jeroboam*, *Saul*, *Uzziah*, *Conſtantius*, and others who uſurp'd upon the ſacred office, and ſtand branded for it to all poſterities.

That Kings wou'd not deſire to encreaſe their account at the day of Judgment, wherein beſides the errors of their civil adminiſtration, they will ſtand chargeable with all the miſcarriages in the Church, occaſion'd by thoſe Biſhops and Clergy whom they advance: The cure of Souls will be requir'd at their hands, ſince they have taken it upon themſelves; and likewiſe the ſacrilege of taking it, when it was not committed to them by God.

They have taken upon themſelves the diſcharge of that Commiſſion given to *Timothy* to make choice of *Faithful Men, who ſhall be able to teach others alſo*, 2 Tim. II. 2. And to *Titus*, to *ſet in order the things that are wanting* (in the Church) *and to ordain Elders in every City*, Tit. I. 5. They now appoint the Biſhops for every City. And to them now belongs that ſevere charge of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, *I charge thee before God and the Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *and the elect Angels, that thou obſerve theſe things, without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality; lay hands ſuddenly on no Man, neither be partaker of other Mens ſins.* But now Kings command hands to be laid upon whom they think fit; and ſo have made themſelves partakers of their ſins.

Then it was obſerv'd, that Kings not only do the office, but exact the tribute due to the chief Paſtor: They take thoſe firſt-fruits and tenths from the Clergy, which they pay'd to the Pope, under the notion of univerſal Paſtor; as the *Levites* paid the tenth of their tenth to the High Prieſt under the Law.

Thus making themſelves the High Prieſts of the Church of *Chriſt*, each in their dominions: And if they who profeſs themſelves to be the Subjects and Servants of *Chriſt*, do thus uſurp upon him; ſhou'd they not reflect when he permits their Subjects or others to uſurp upon them? And how can they expect that *Chriſt* wou'd reſtore and protect them, while they refuſe to reſtore to him? If they will ſtill prefer human Politicks, or not judge this to be the trueſt Policy, to make God their friend, it is but juſt in him to infatuate their Councils and diſappoint their deſigns; for he will in the end prove ſtronger than Men, and his folly exceed their wiſdom.

He has promis'd a moſt glorious revolution, and deliverance of his Church, and ſetting her on high above all her Enemies; who ſhall bow down to her with their faces to the Earth, and lick up the duſt of her feet. The holy Scriptures are full of it. And glorious things are ſpoken of this City of God, by *Moſes*, the *Pſalms*, and all the Prophets who have been ſince the World began; by *Chriſt* alſo, and his Apoſtles: And it is eaſier for Heaven and Earth to fail than one *Iota* of it not to be fulfill'd.

But when God's time will be for theſe things, or whom he will bleſs as his inſtruments in it, are ſecrets of providence which we know not.

As for the particular propoſals before made, the Company paſs'd no Judgment upon them; and he that offer'd them ſaid, he did not take upon him ſo much as even propoſals in this caſe, he thought himſelf not ſo qualify'd. He rather call'd what he ſuggeſted a proſpect of ſuch a glorious reformation as he wiſh'd: But for the particulars, the ways and means by which it was

to be attempted, he did ſubmit them to his ſuperiors, and ask'd pardon from the Company if he had exceeded in any thing; who took time to the next opportunity to conſider of it; and ſo we parted;

After he had ſaid this one word,

Concors Romanæ & Reformatæ Eccleſiæ Fides,
Neutrius Opinio, mihi Religio eſt.

AN APPENDIX OF PAPERS

Referr'd to in the foregoing

DISCOURSE.

Numb. I.

The Declaration of the *Gallican* Clergy, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Power in the year 1682.

Cleri Gallicani *de Eccleſiaſticâ Poteſtate Declaratio.* A. D. 1682.

Whereas many do endeavour to overthrow the Decrees and Liberties of the Gallican *Church, which have been maintain'd with ſo great care by our Anceſtors, and are founded upon the authority of the holy Canons, and the tradition of the Fathers: And whereas, on the other hand, there are not wanting thoſe who under pretence of this, are not afraid to leſſen the Primacy of St.* Peter, *and*

Eccleſiæ *Gallicanæ* Decreta & Libertates à majoribus noſtris tanto ſtudio propugnatas, earumque fundamenta ſacris Canonibus & Patrum traditione nixa multi diruere moliuntur; nec deſunt qui earum obtentu Primatum B. *Petri*, ejuſque Succeſſorum Romanorum Pontificum à Chriſto Inſtitutum, iiſque debitam ab omnibus Chriſtianis obedientiam, ſediſque Apoſtolicæ, in quâ Fides prædicatur, & Unitas ſerva-

his Successors the Bishops of Rome, *instituted by* Christ; *and the obedience which is due to them from all Christians; and the Majesty of the Apostolical See, which is venerable to all Nations, in which the Faith is preached, and the Unity of the Church preserv'd: And whereas the Hereticks likewise omit nothing whereby they may render that power in which the peace of the Church is contain'd, to be hateful and grievous to Kings and People; and by these deceits do seduce the minds of the simple from the Communion of the Church their Mother, and so of* Christ: *To suppress which evils, we the Arch-Bishops and Bishops assembled together, by the King's command at* Paris, *together with others of the Clergy deputed with us, after diligent consideration had, have thought fit to decree and establish as follows.*

tur Ecclesiæ, Reverendam omnibus Gentibus Majestatem imminuere non vereantur. Hæretici quoque nihil prætermittunt, quo eam Potestatem, quâ Pax Ecclesiæ continetur, invidiosam & gravem Regibus, & Populis ostentent, iisque fraudibus simplices animas ab Ecclesiæ matris, Christique adeò Communione dissocient, quæ ut incommoda propulsemus, nos Archi-Episcopi & Episcopi Parisiis mandato Regio, congregati, Ecclesiam Gallicanam Repræsentantes, unà cum Ecclesiasticis viris nobiscum deputatis, diligenti tractatu habito, hæc tanda & declaranda esse duximus.

I. *That God gave to St.* Peter, *&c.* See before in the *Append. to the Case stated between the Churches of* Rome *and* England, Numb. III. p. 565.

Numb. II.

Inscription in the Parlour of the Hospital of Ledbury *in the County of* Hereford, *which is mention'd* p. 638.

HUGH *Foliot* was elected by the Presbytery of the Cathedral Church of *Hereford* in *October*, *An. Dom.* 1219. without Letters from the King, written to the prejudice of their free election (even as it is testified of *Rob. Foliot* to have been chosen before him in the year of our Lord 1173.) He lived Bishop in the reign of King *Henry* III. *Fredericus* II. being then Emperor, and *Honorius* III. Pope when he was elected, and *Gregorius* IX. when he died, *viz. July* 26. 1234. So he lived Bishop fourteen years eight months and odd days.

Tho' as well the Doctrine as the Government of the Church, were in the time of this Bishop greatly corrupted, and Bishops were called *Capita Diœceseôn suarum*, as the Pope wou'd be called *Caput universalis Ecclesiæ* even over Kings and Emperors, claiming power to excommunicate and depose them; yet Presbyteries were not (here in *England* especially) then called *capitula*; nor their Bishop and they divided into two Bodies: For *Gregorius* IX. had not yet published his decretal Epistles, wherein these two titles were first established; 1. *De iis, quæ fiunt à Prælato sine consensu capituli:* 2. *De iis quæ fiunt a majore Parte capituli:* From which decretals the Presbyteries began generally to be called *capitula*, and the Government

vernment eccleſiaſtical in every Province, and Dioceſe grew to be ſevered: The Biſhop as the Head, doing many things of himſelf without conſent of the Chapter and *Capitulum*; the little Head or Chapter doing many things by a greater part among themſelves without the Biſhop.

In the time of this Biſhop the Court of *Rome* was charged with much avarice and oppreſſion; for that cauſes were there delay'd, and cou'd not be ended without gifts and bribery: To take away this offence as it was pretended, *Honorius* III. ſent *Gwalo*; and *Gregorius* IX. ſent *Pandulphus* the Legates into *England*, requiring of every Cathedral Church two Prebends, for the better maintenance of their Pontifical Eſtate, thereby to remove the ſcandal of bribery, and extortion, ſaid there to be then uſed, in delay of juſtice; but the King with the general conſent of the Clergy, denied thoſe requeſts ſtrictly urged by both theſe Popes, in their ſeveral times: Whereupon theſe verſes were made; which howſoever they bewray much ignorance and decay of good literature in that time, yet do they ſufficiently declare a ſound Judgment againſt the covetouſneſs of both the Popes, which was indeed the only cauſe that moved them to ſend ſo far, and make ſuch unreaſonable and ungodly requeſts.

Quòd virtus reddit, non copia ſufficientem,
Et non paupertas, ſed mentis hiatus egentem.

Which may be Engliſhed thus,

It is not ſtore ſufficiency that brings,
But well contentedneſs with preſent things;
It is not ſlender wealth that makes one poor,
But greedineſs and ſtill deſire of more.

This Biſhop never ſhew'd himſelf to favour the exactions of theſe Popes in whoſe time he lived: Neither did he exact any thing of the Church wherein he was Biſhop. He did erect this Hoſpital for the relief of the aged and impotent People, dwelling chiefly in this Town or Borough which then was his mannor; he committed the over-ſight and care of the ſame to the truſt and charge of the Presbytery, as to a religious and judicious Senate, moſt likely to preſerve ſo godly a foundation: And thereunto, the rather to incite them, he endowed them with an annual Penſion of XL^{s}. to be paid out of the Revenues of this Hoſpital; he gave alſo to the Library many Books, the names whereof do not remain to be ſeen.

Laſt of all (that we may ſee how chriſtian and true devotion was then linked with human and fond ſuperſtition) he gave many Ornaments to the Church, to adorn the ſacrificing Prieſthood withal, *Innocentius* III. next Predeceſſor to *Honorius* III. having eſtabliſh'd Tranſubſtantiation, in the *Lateran* Council not long before; and he bequeathed two Marks yearly to the Presbyters Prebendaries that ſhou'd be preſent at his Exequies the 7th day of the *Ides* of *July*, yearly to be celebrated, and to the Choir half a Mark, then alſo to be given.

A

SUPPLEMENT.

In answer to a Book, entituled, *The Regal Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs aſſerted, in a Diſcourſe occaſion'd by the* Caſe of the Regale and Pontificate.

THIS Book was ſent to me the 15th of this Month: I have given it a haſty examination, not finding much trouble in it; and thought it beſt to let it go as a *Supplement* to this Edition of *The Caſe of the Regale*, &c. that the whole matter may lie together.

As to the Preface, it is angry and ſuperficial, therefore I let it paſs: It might have been ſpar'd, eſpecially conſidering how obvious it is to retort it.

Only I join with him, as a preliminary; which is obſerv'd all along in the *Caſe*, that by Kings and Princes, we mean the ſupreme civil Power in any Nation, be it in one or many: For I would not intermix the diſpute of Monarchy and Commonwealths, that is another ſubject.

Let it be alſo obſerv'd, that by the word *Regale* is not meant any part of the civil Power or Supremacy, let it be exercis'd how it will, either in eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, or over eccleſiaſtical Perſons; but only the eccleſiaſtical Power or Supremacy that is claim'd by chriſtian civil Governments over the Church in their dominions.

This is ſufficiently explain'd and caution'd in the *Caſe:* And if it had been attended to, might have prevented great part of this Anſwer to it, which does not at all diſtinguiſh betwixt the eccleſiaſtical and the civil *Regale*; and therefore forces me to repeat it oftner than needful.

He runs all along upon the King's Supremacy in the general: Which if it be underſtood of his civil *Regale* or Supremacy, is not deny'd, but aſſerted in the *Caſe*; and is allowed to extend to all whatſoever Cauſes, and over all Perſons, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal. But the firſt only is deny'd, that is, his eccleſiaſtical *Regale* or Supremacy. If this diſtinction ſeem obſcure to any, it is explain'd in what follows, particularly in *Sect.* II.

If proteſtations ſignified any thing in diſputes, I could truly ſay that I am wholly unprejudic'd, and an equal judge (if I were a judge) in the cauſe here controverted; except that the byaſs of worldly intereſt carries conſiderably for the Aſſertor againſt the *Caſe*. However I hope it ſhall not ſo blind my judgment as not to reaſon impartially and fairly: Of which the Reader will beſt judge by what follows.

I. To begin therefore, I agree with this Aſſertor of the regal Supremacy in all his *Theſes*, I, II, III. except his miſtaking the meaning of the Author of the *Caſe*, in his p. 218. (it is p. 670. of this Edition) where he gives the

reaſon of civil Governments being call'd earthly, ſecular, or temporal; becauſe *the end and deſign of them had reſpect only to this world: For that in the other there are no diſtinctions or repreſentatives of Nations: And every Man's death diſſolves his relation to an earthly Kingdom.* Hence the Aſſertor infers it as the meaning of that Author, that the *civil Government does regard the temporal welfare only of their People; and ſo long as that was ſecur'd, it did not concern them* (the temporal Governors) *whether God or* Baal *were worſhipped in their dominions*, p. 3. But it was far from that Author's meaning, that temporal Governments, tho' only for this world, even a Mayor or a Conſtable, tho' but for a year, ſhould not exerciſe the civil Sword for the good of Mens Souls as well as their Bodies, and reſtrain irreligion as well as immorality. This he inſiſted upon in ſeveral places, one taken notice of by the Aſſertor, p. 2. But this makes them not to be called ſpiritual Governments, or entitles them to any place in the Hierarchy: Which, tho' it reſpects this world as well as the other, having *promiſe of this life, and that which is to come*; yet it reſpects that to come chiefly; and from thence receives its denomination of a holy and ſpiritual Government, in contradiſtinction to that which is only ſecular and earthly, for the outward peace and temporal happineſs of Men: Which yet in its proper ſphere, that is, in the uſe of the civil Sword, is oblig'd to farther and promote, all that in it lies, the ſpiritual intendments and purpoſes; as all things whatſoever are: Thus it is written, *Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God.* But the extent of the civil Power is only as to this world; and the ſentence of any King or State has no effect out of their own dominions: Whereas the ſpiritual cenſures have their effect in the other world: And the cenſure of every Biſhop is valid not only in his own Dioceſe, but thro' the whole catholick Church. This is inſiſted upon in the *Caſe*, p. 164. and in ſeveral other places, ſo that it could hardly be miſtaken but thro' inadvertence. However, if the words *End and Deſign of temporal Government* have really led the Aſſertor into this miſtake, they are alter'd in this Edition to *Commiſſion and Extent:* And that Author ſhall ſhew how willing he is to ſtand corrected not only when he is in any error, but where words may be mended more clearly to expreſs his meaning: So there is an end as to that. And it will anſwer ſeveral other places in the Aſſertor, where he runs upon the ſame miſtake, even to the end of his Book, which concludes with the ſame. Therefore let me anſwer it in this place; and we ſhall have the leſs to do with all that is between.

II. He concludes from p. 89. with exceptions againſt the expoſition of the 37th Article in the *Caſe*, p. 624. and yet I cannot find one exception, having read it over and over; ſo that I am in a puzzle to know what he means. I deſire the Reader to compare the two together, and ſee if he be ſharper ſighted than I am. He asks, p. 90. why theſe words [*That they ſhould rule all eſtates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be eccleſiaſtical or temporal*] were left out? Whereas they are expreſſly quoted in the *Caſe*, with other words of the 37th Article, and ſo repeated in this ſame page of the Aſſertor. Ay, but, ſays he, *What was this part of the explanation left out for? Was our Memory ſo weak*—— And ſo he goes on for ſome lines rejoicing! Why, Sir, I will tell you, this was no part of the explanation; it had nothing to do with it; for how far the regal Supremacy extended, to what Perſons or Cauſes, was not the point, for that was freely granted to extend to all Perſons and Cauſes, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal; but the queſtion is only, of what nature the regal Supremacy is, and what its power is, whether only a civil power (tho' that may be exercis'd upon eccleſiaſtical Cauſes

and

and Perſons) or an eccleſiaſtical power? And thoſe words of the Article are repeated in the explanation, which do expreſſly limit this regal Supremacy to that of a civil power: And there was no more needful. All you ſay againſt this is in p. 89. *That all authority receives its denomination from the Perſons and Cauſes about which it is converſant; what then can any Man make of this Power, but an eccleſiaſtical Power?* Now, Sir, this is only aſſerting, not proving; and I think the aſſertion is totally wrong: For that from which any Power receives its denomination is not the Perſons and Cauſes about which it is converſant; but from the nature of the Power it ſelf. The ſubject upon which I exerciſe my Skill or Power, and the Skill it ſelf or the Power, are two things: And many and different Powers may be exercis'd upon the ſame thing. For example, a Divine, a Phyſician, a Lawyer, a King, a Judge, or General, and a Biſhop too, may all exerciſe their ſeveral Skills and Powers upon the ſame Perſon: Are their Powers therefore all the ſame? Or do they take their denomination from the Perſon about which they are converſant? In a chriſtian Country every Man is a Member both of the Church and of the State: Are Church and State therefore the ſame thing? Then indeed all our diſpute is at an end: For there can be no longer a compariſon or diſpute betwixt the ſame thing and it ſelf. And, as every Perſon, ſo every Cauſe is twofold, that is, both ſpiritual and temporal: Thus Murder or Adultery are civil Cauſes; and puniſhable by the temporal Laws; they are likewiſe eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and cenſurable by the Church. Again, Hereſy or Idolatry are call'd eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; they are likewiſe civil, and as *Job* ſays, Chap. xxxi. 28. *Puniſhable by the Judge.* Some have run themſelves into the miſtake of there being two ſets of Cauſes, one ſpiritual, the other temporal: And they have taken pains to diſtinguiſh theſe, and lay the one ſort to the Church, the other to the Power of the State; and by this means to rid the marches betwixt theſe two Powers. But they have involv'd themſelves inextricably, as it could not be otherwiſe: Inſtead of reconciling, they ſet the Church and State to diſpute every Cauſe, to which of their Powers it does belong: And neither ſide can want good arguments, becauſe indeed every Cauſe belongs to both. This comes from denominating and diſtinguiſhing of Powers, by the Perſons or Cauſes about which they are converſant; and not from the different nature of the Powers. If the Aſſertor underſtood all this before (it is ſo very plain) and only bantered upon this point; I ask his pardon for not underſtanding him: and I have taken needleſs pains, as to him; but it may ſerve others, who know not ſo much.

By the way I deſire the Reader to look into *The Caſe*, p. 624. the words juſt going before what is here quoted by the Aſſertor, and ſee whether this be not plainly expreſs'd there, *That the civil Power may be exercis'd over eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and in eccleſiaſtical Cauſes too, to puniſh with temporal pains, as well Blaſphemers, Idolaters, and Hereticks, as Thieves, Robbers,* &c. *as well the Tranſgreſſors againſt the firſt as ſecond Table. Thus the godly Kings in holy Scripture did: Thus they were impower'd by God,* &c. How then cou'd the Aſſertor ſo far miſtake the meaning of *The Caſe*, as to urge the *Jewiſh* Kings aboliſhing *Idolatry* and *ſetting up the Worſhip of the true God*, as an argument againſt it, or to think that the Author muſt have recourſe for this, to extraordinary Commiſſions given to thoſe Kings? As he does p. 3. and p. 91.

What has been ſaid will anſwer the queſtion, with which the Aſſertor concludes, p. 92. as the ſumming up of the whole cauſe. Thus he preſſes the Author of *The Caſe*, *He therefore wou'd do well to give us an account*

of ſuch acts as ordinarily lie within the Prince's Power. And the anſwer ſhall be as ſhort and full. All manner of Acts whatſoever, ſpiritual or temporal: But ſo far only as the exerciſe of civil Power reaches, in any of theſe Acts: If he exerciſe this Power unjuſtly, he muſt anſwer it to God; but that is another caſe: We are now only upon the enquiry, how far his power extends? And I think I have given it extent enough, without any ſort of exception: I put the limitation only as to the nature of his Power, the ſame as the 37th Article has put it, that is, to extend only to a civil Power, tho' over eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and in eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. And now have I ſpoke plain enough? Reader forgive me, for repeating this ſo often, over and over, as if I call'd either your memory or judgment in queſtion. It is much more often repeated in *The Caſe*, upon every occaſion that it cou'd come in, till the Author was afraid of offending the Reader: But he was reſolv'd this point ſhou'd not be forgot; becauſe the whole did indeed depend upon it; the whole of that invidious objection of ſeeking to pull down the prerogative, whether of Kings or States; and to ſet the Church above them, even in temporals, as the Church of *Rome* has done: And therefore the Principle of the independence of the Church upon the State in ſpirituals, ought to be well guarded, leſt ſome that deſire occaſion, might take occaſion, to repreſent this to be only *in ordine ad Temporalia*; and that the bottom of it was Popery! But it ſeems all the pains that has been taken, and repeating it over an hundred times will not do; is not ſufficient to open the eyes of thoſe who will not ſee. To all others it is done to an exceſs, for which I am oblig'd to ask pardon. They will give it me, upon account of the neceſſity lies upon me from theſe different ſorts of Men: I hope it is done ſufficiently now: Shall I be oblig'd to repeat it any more? I mean, after I have done with this anſwer: For that muſt be the reply to every *Theſis* in it; and if the Reader will have patience, I will ſhew it to him.

III. This muſt be the reply to *Theſis.* iv. *That Kings have ſupreme Authority in matters of Religion.* It is granted in all matters of Religion, as well the eſſentials as circumſtantials, in the difference betwixt which the Aſſertor ſpends ſeveral pages; leſt advantages might be taken, and he be miſ-underſtood to extend the *Regale* even to the eſſentials of Religion; which he carefully denies; but he needed not have done it for fear of me; for I go farther in his way, than he wou'd have me. I freely grant, that the *Regale* extends to every thing, without exception; even to all the very eſſentials of Religion, to the very being of a God; that is, it is in the Power of any State, King and Parliament, of every ſupreme civil Power, whether they will draw the civil Sword (which only is committed to them) againſt even thoſe who ſhall acknowledge a God. I ſpeak not of the ſin of this, and their anſwering it to God: That you know is not the point we are now upon; but of the extent of the civil Power, or of the Power of the Sword: And wou'd any have me carry it farther? Yes, even thoſe who are angry with me for carrying it ſo far! It is farther than all this, to give them any eccleſiaſtical Power, or let them into the Hierarchy, which is a a Government ordain'd by God for the conduct of Men's Souls, to whom he has committed the Keys of Heaven and Hell, to remit and retain ſin; whoſe cenſures (when juſtly inflicted) he has promis'd to ratify in Heaven, and by their miniſtrations to convey his holy Spirit. In their hands he has left the adminiſtration of the means of Grace, whereby we are entitul'd to the future glory: Theſe! Theſe! Are far greater things than the utmoſt extent of the civil Sword; which, when it has kill'd the Body, has no more than it can do. And ſo far Power was given to it, from above, over *Chriſt* himſelf: Who then, or what is excepted from it?

Nothing

Nothing can limit any Power, but a Power that is ſuperior to it in the ſame kind: Therefore whatever can limit any civil Power, has a ſuperior civil Power; and ſo of the eccleſiaſtical.

By limiting here is not meant encroaching upon one another; as one King or State may conquer or oppreſs another; and the Church may encroach upon the State, in its civil capacity; and ſo again may the State upon the Church in her ſpiritual.

But by limiting here is meant a regular and juſt Power to reſtrain, to command, and to enact.

And as to the diſtinction of eſſentials and circumſtantials, it is altogether vain in this caſe: For it is eſſential to every Government and Society, to have the ordering of their own circumſtantials; without which they cannot meet or do any Act of Government.

The Aſſertor tells, p. 19. what he means by the circumſtantials of Religion, *viz.* The determining of *the Perſons, Times, Places, and Ceremonies appointed for religious Worſhip.* Now no act of publick Worſhip can be perform'd, but by ſome Perſons, at ſome Time, in ſome Place, and with ſome Ceremonies: Therefore whoever has the command of theſe, has the whole publick Worſhip in his Power, and all that belongs to it; as the ſole and abſolute nomination of Biſhops and other Clergy-Men, the preſcribing the meaſures of their Duty, the nature of their Doctrine, the way of their Worſhip, and the manner of their Diſcipline: You ſee how one thing follows another! This is what they call Wire-drawing!

Put the caſe *è contra*, as *The Caſe* adviſes, p. 608. And is the trueſt way to judge. Suppoſe the Biſhops ſhou'd preſcribe thus to the State, and deſire for the ſecurity of the Church, to have the appointment of the circumſtantials of the State; but not to meddle with the eſſentials of the civil Government: O no, by no means; only as to the Perſons, Times, Places and Ceremonies of the meeting of Parliaments, Councils, Aſſizes, *&c.* I doubt the civil Government would think this a little touching their Eſſentials!

A little of this leven will ſoon go thro' the whole lump: Let in the State upon the circumſtantials of the Church, or the Church upon thoſe of the State; they will ſoon draw the eſſentials with them.

Therefore in order to their good agreement it is neceſſary, that they be kept wholly independent and unlimitable by one another in their ſeveral ſpheres: This is the argument carry'd on in *The Caſe*; to ſhew that the *Regale* which juſtly belongs to Kings is wholly a civil Power, tho' it may be exercis'd upon eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and in eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; and that this is equally the Right of all Kings and States, whether Infidel or other; becauſe it is of the nature of Government it ſelf: But that this is no eccleſiaſtical *Regale*, or infers any ſort of eccleſiaſtical Power or Authority; becauſe that is wholly of another and a different kind; and therefore muſt be as independent of the other in its kind, as the other is of that in its kind.

2. How widely then has the Aſſertor miſtaken the *Caſe*, when he thinks that the original of the *Regale* there given, p. 632. was this ſort of *Regale*, of the civil *Regale?* No, that was as ancient as Government in the World: But it was the eccleſiaſtical *Regale* of ſecular Princes which is there ſpoke of; and the original of it plac'd (not in *Eli*, as he afterwards miſtakes this Author, who ſpoke of that merely on a ſuppoſition, which he did not aver, and therefore built not on it; as not here for the original of this *Regale*, but in a later and plain inſtance) in *Jeroboam*'s depriving the Prieſts in his Kingdom; which the Aſſertor quotes p. 11, 12. and waves, but promiſes to anſwer it afterwards; which we find p.

67. where all he ſays, as to this of *Jeroboam*, is, *When we allow Princes to rake Dunghills to fill Epiſcopal Sees, it will be time enough to conſider of theſe inſtances, and not before.* This is ſpoke with relation to his making Prieſts of the loweſt of the People, of which *The Caſe* takes not the leaſt notice (tho' it might) but mentions only his depriving the Prieſts, and that upon a State-point, for not joining with him againſt their former King, who was yet alive; and this is all the anſwer it has receiv'd.

3. Having thus eaſily diſpatch'd that inſtance of *Jeroboam*, the firſt of the *Regale* in the *Jewiſh*, he comes next, p. 12. to that of *Conſtantius*, the firſt in the chriſtian Church; where he gives a long quotation out of Biſhop *Bilſon*, of *Conſtantine*'s concerning himſelf in the diſputed election of *Cecilianus* Biſhop of *Carthage*; firſt referring it to the Biſhops to decide; but when the Donatiſts wou'd not acquieſce in their deciſion once and again, the Emperor at laſt interpos'd his civil Power in juſtification of the ſentence of the Biſhops. Now what advantage can be made of this? All this is regular and well, and exactly purſuant to the Principles of *The Caſe*: O but the Emperor then at laſt heard their cauſe himſelf; *And exactly weighing what either Party cou'd ſay, gave ſentence with* Cecilianus *againſt* Donatus; *making withal a ſharp Law to puniſh the Donatiſts, if they perſiſted in their wilfulneſs, as diſſentious Schiſmaticks from the Church of* Chriſt; *which rigor the chriſtian Emperors that followed, did rather encreaſe than diminiſh.* And they did very well, and as they ought to do, to ſupport and defend the Church againſt violent and turbulent Schiſmaticks. And where they thought it neceſſary to interpoſe their *Brachium Seculare*, why ſhou'd they not, as in juſtice ought, to hear what both Parties cou'd ſay, to examine Witneſſes, and all other Acts of Judicature? For they are the only and the abſolute Judges, when to make uſe of their civil Power, and how far in all religious matters.

But what is all this to that which is urg'd in *The Caſe* of *Conſtantine*'s refuſing the Appeal of the Donatiſts from the Biſhops to him, as to a ſuperior Judge in eccleſiaſtical matters; and denying even to join himſelf with the Biſhops, as if he were a co-Judge with them, or had any thing to do in it; but aſſerting their Judgment to be, *As when the Lord himſelf, reſiding, judgeth*; and much more to the ſame purpoſe, which is there quoted? Why to all this ſays the Aſſertor, p. 15. *Certainly thoſe Men muſt be utterly blinded with prejudice, who againſt ſo notorious matter of fact, can believe that* Conſtantine *abſolutely refus'd to concern himſelf in this caſe, upon no better grounds than a few warm expreſſions he made uſe of, merely to divert an invidious buſineſs; and in which, being then but a young Chriſtian, he diſtruſted his own skill.* This is all the anſwer: To which I ſay, *Firſt*, That *Conſtantine* did concern himſelf; but it was only as a civil, not an eccleſiaſtical Judge. *Secondly*, That he himſelf muſt know beſt his own meaning, and he tells us that it was ſo, that he renounc'd all eccleſiaſtical Judicature. *Thirdly*, That to put off what he ſays ſo emphatically, and with ſo great ſenſe of Chriſtianity, in a deriding jeſt of warm expreſſions, and his being but a young Chriſtian, is a total yielding up of this inſtance which you contend about, and ſavours of a light ſpirit, and as one who is reſolv'd not to be convinc'd. And *Fourthly*, To uſher in ſuch a guilty plea, with all that aſſurance of *Certainly thoſe Men muſt be utterly blinded with prejudice* —— looks like hectoring inſtead of arguing. And another name I will forbear: But it ſhews where the prejudice lies, and who are blinded with it.

4. Not being able to deny that the Donatiſts were the firſt who appeal'd to the *Regale*, as to an eccleſiaſtical Judge; he ſays, p. 16. That they too oppoſed it afterwards. Let him make his advantage of that.

But he ſays, *That by this oppoſition to the* Regale, *they diſtinguiſh'd themſelves from the Catholicks, as much as by any other of their Tenets.* But this he was not at leiſure to prove; till when we muſt let it reſt.

5. He throws away what is quoted in *The Caſe*, p. 628. of St. *Athanaſius* and *Hoſius*, as he did that of *Conſtantine*, with an impoſſibility to believe them: And when they ſpeak in words moſt expreſs againſt the *Regale* and argue againſt the thing, he would have us believe that they ſpoke for it: That is, that they ſpoke only againſt the male-adminiſtration of it; which ſuppoſes the thing, and does eſtabliſh it. Let the Reader look upon their words in *The Caſe*, and there needs no more to be ſaid.

He ſays, p. 17. That *of all Men living* Athanaſius *could not do what he did do*; that is, upbraid *Conſtantius* for acting without a Precedent, in *making himſelf a Prince of Biſhops, and to preſide in eccleſiaſtical Judicatures*; which St. *Athanaſius* likewiſe calls making of him *Anti-Chriſt*, that is, ſetting himſelf up in the place of *Chriſt*. Did St. *Athanaſius* ſay ſo? Yes. The Aſſertor does not deny it; but ſays, That *of all Men living he could not do it.* I ſuppoſe he means, ought not to have done it. But why ſo? Becauſe *he himſelf appealed to the Emperor* Conſtantine *from the Synod of* Tyre, *and caus'd them all to be conven'd before him; and afterwards reſum'd his epiſcopal Chair by virtue of an imperial reſcript, tho' he had been depriv'd by a Synod.* Here I muſt repeat ſome words of this Aſſertor, with which he begins his anſwer to what was objected from *Conſtantine*, and this of St. *Athanaſius*, p. 12. *It is a pity the ſtory was not told quite out, that we might have underſtood the whole proceeding from the beginning to the end; for then we might have formed a better Judgment of it. But thus to take and tell things by halfs, is a certain way to be deceiv'd ones ſelf, and to deceive others.* We cannot therefore ſuppoſe, but that the Aſſertor knew very well the inceſſant malice and perſecutions with which the *Arians*, *Meletians* and *Euſebians* purſu'd this great Champion of the chriſtian Faith, the holy *Athanaſius*, even to take away his life; for nothing but his death they thought could ſecure them or their Cauſe: Therefore having got a pack Synod of their own Party at *Tyre*, and the Emperor's Authority to force *Athanaſius* thither, they allow'd him not to ſit as a Biſhop in the Council, but put him as a Criminal to the Bar, and preferr'd monſtrous accuſations againſt him, as of Rape, and Murder, whereof the Emperor had taken cognizance. The civil Officers of the Emperor took part with the *Euſebians* againſt *Athanaſius:* And tho' he had fully and evidently acquitted himſelf of theſe falſe accuſations laid to his charge, yet he could have no Juſtice; but on the contrary he was forc'd to flie out of *Tyre* to ſave his life from mobb and aſſaſſination; and went to the Emperor, deſiring to be heard before himſelf, or a lawful and fair Synod; for he had not gone to that of *Tyre*, if not forc'd by the Emperor's command: And leſt theſe accuſations might take place againſt him, he deſir'd that his accuſers at *Tyre* might be brought face to face with him before the Emperor; whereupon he ſent not for the whole Synod, for all of them, as the Aſſertor words it, but for thoſe of them that had acted againſt *Athanaſius*. And they did not all come, but *Euſebius*'s chief Proſecutor, and five more with him; who going off from what *Athanaſius* was accuſed of at the Synod, which they could not prove, laid a freſh charge againſt him of treaſonable practices againſt the Emperor: And their cry, as of the High-prieſt, *&c.* againſt his Maſter, prevail'd ſo far, that he was baniſh'd to *Triers:* Which had not been the ſentence if the Emperor had fully believed them: But, as his Son *Conſtantine* the younger tells in his Letter to the Church

at

at *Alexandria*, it was done in kindneſs to *Athanaſius*, and to ſecure his Life againſt theſe his implacable enemies, who thirſted after it: For he liv'd there under the protection of this *Conſtantine* during his Father's Life, and in high eſteem and veneration with him, as his ſaid Letter does at large expreſs: And moreover, that his Father was fully reſolv'd to have recalled him from his baniſhment, but was prevented by death; which he makes the ground of his doing it afterwards. And his Letter to *Alexandria* is no ways impoſing or commanding, but a recommending of *Athanaſius* in the kindeſt manner: And they receiv'd him moſt gladly: And a Synod of near an hundred Biſhops at *Alexandria* did vindicate him againſt what had been done in the Synod at *Tyre*; as did moſt other Biſhops of the catholick Church, to whom they ſent circular Letters to acquaint them with it, they being upon the place where the accuſations were laid againſt him; and his oppoſers not being catholick Biſhops, but *Meletian* Schiſmaticks.

Now to ſum up the evidence. Here is a Biſhop forc'd to a pact Synod, accus'd there of civil crimes, particularly of murder, and over-rul'd. He appeals to the King, who had before taken cognizance of this ſame fact, and examined into it. Afterwards upon accuſations of Treaſon he is baniſhed; then recalled and ſent back to his Church, from which he had been unjuſtly depoſed by a Synod pack'd up of Schiſmaticks: Not impoſed upon his Church by the King, but barely recommended. His Church receive him, and a Synod of his own Countrey vindicates him againſt that of a foreign Nation, which had condemned him. I think there will need little pleading: The true ſtating of the caſe does it: The Emperor went no farther than the power of the civil Sword; and St. *Athanaſius* hurt no right of the Church in appealing to him ſo far: Tho' if one or t'other, or both of them had gone too far; what then? All Men have failings. Does this determine the right or the wrong of the cauſe? Did this make it impoſſible for *Conſtantine* or St. *Athanaſius* to ſay thoſe words which they did ſay? And it is not denied but that they did ſay them, and that the quotations are true: Only it is impoſſible!

6. I ſhall not be ſo long upon the quotation brought out of *Hoſius*, which not only aſſerts againſt the *Regale*, but argues againſt it; againſt the thing, and not the Male-Adminiſtration: I refer the Reader to it: All the reaſon the Aſſertor gives why this could not be, is, becauſe *Hoſius*, he ſays, *ſate as Preſident in two ſeveral Councils, called by the Emperor's authority.* And what then? Who denies Emperor's power to call a Council? Or that his Subjects, as well Clergy as the Laity, are oblig'd to obey him in all lawful things?

But the queſtion is, whether the Church have not a right, nay a divine and inherent right to meet in Council, when they think it neceſſary, either without or againſt the King's command; and run the hazard of his diſpleaſure, or the penalties of the Laws, if they judge the caſe ſo extreme as to require it? And this not only in the caſe of an heathen, but of a chriſtian King or State.

The affirmative is now the current doctrine of the Church of *England*, as ſhewn in the Preface.

7. He makes much (p. 18.) of St. *David*'s tranſlating the archi-epiſcopal See from *Caerleon* to his own *Menew*, (now St. *Davids*) and that he did it with the aſſiſtance and leave of the renowned King *Arthur*.

To be ſure he had his leave if he had his aſſiſtance: And that might be requiſite upon many accounts: And the concordate or good agreement that ought to be kept up betwixt the Church and the State, ſhould make all things be done by mutual conſent where it can be had.

This is brought at an inſtance that the *Regale* obtain'd before the times of Popery: But it is not altogether ſo ſtrong an inſtance as that produc'd againſt it in the *Caſe*, *Sect.* XV. of another Saint, St. *Oudoceus*'s excommunicating his own Kings, and bringing them under penance. To which the Aſſertor anſwers, *Theſis* vi. and makes ſhort work with it, he calls it in ridicule, p. 69. *A worthy precedent to be recommended to the imitation of poſterity; which* (ſays he) *as Princes have more wit, ſo I hope Biſhops have more grace than to allow of.* But we were not asking his Opinion, we would have ſome of his Reaſons. However, the buſineſs here was matter of fact, not whether ſuch things were well or ill done; but what was done; whether the *Regale* did obtain in *England* before the times of Popery.

This Author hath, I perceive, a peculiar happineſs in writing beyond that of other Men: If he produce any precedents, they muſt needs be of weight; but let others produce never ſo many, they muſt be all ſo light, as to be blown away with a puff of breath. The Regal Supremacy, p. 34.

8. He ſpends from p. 19. to p. 24. in diſtinguiſhing betwixt the eſſentials and circumſtantials of Religion, excluding the *Regale* from the firſt, and circumſcribing it to the laſt: Of which before. But he keeps not conſtant to his theme, for he aſſerts p. 20. the right of Princes to judge in matters of Faith: That is ſure in eſſentials. But he ſays, *It is no more than what every Man doth, and what every Man muſt do.* Then indeed it is unreaſonable to deny it to Princes! Every private Man has a judgment of diſcretion, to judge of all things as to himſelf, even of the being of a God, that is, whether he will believe or profeſs it. But is that the judgment here ſpoke of, here contended for as a prerogative of the *Regale?* Was that the judgment mention'd in the *Caſe*, p. 124. [in this Edit. 642.] put here upon the margin, to ſhew that it is anſwer'd in this place? There an authoritative power of judging, ſo as to oblige the Subjects, was the point in hand, and particular inſtances condeſcended upon, as to confirm or reſcind the deciſions of a Synod, even in matters of Faith; to *regulate the doctrines of Faith, and that in the moſt neceſſary points of it.* And has every Man a power to judge in this manner? The former, that of private judgment or opinion, is all the judgment here attributed to Kings. Is this then an anſwer to that part of the *Caſe* which it quotes? I will not ſay this miſtake of the Aſſertor was willful, becauſe I would rather the fault ſhould be laid upon his haſte or inadvertence, than upon his integrity.

But to give a poſitive anſwer to what I ſuppoſe the Aſſertor would be at, I will repeat it here again, that Kings or States having the whole power of the civil Sword committed unto them, they are the ſole and abſolute judges when and how to make uſe of it: They may ſet up and eſtabliſh by their Laws what Religion they pleaſe; and root out or perſecute the true Religion if they think it otherwiſe: And the Church cannot defend her ſelf nor her Religion in ſuch caſe by arms againſt a lawful civil authority.

But this is no obligation upon the Conſcience of the Subjects; they are to follow and obey the Church in perſecution, and ſubmit themſelves to her authority in eccleſiaſtical matters, and the Regiment of the Church, and of Religion: For which they muſt not rebel againſt the civil power, tho' their Religion had been formerly eſtabliſhed by Law, and ſo made part of their property. Will the Aſſertor go ſo far with me? If not, then he, and not I, oppoſe the regal Supremacy in eccleſiaſtical affairs.

9. I come next to conſider of his anſwer to p. 132. [here p. 644.] of *The Caſe* which he puts upon the Margin of his refutation of it, p. 24. and the Aſſertor has vary'd *The Caſe* as much here as in the laſt inſtance:

There the King having a ſuperior or eccleſiaſtical Power in the Church is given as a tentation to him to think her original not to be divine, when he finds her Diſcipline at his diſpoſal.

The Aſſertor turns it, that his having *Authority and Charge to ſee that the true Religion be eſtabliſh'd in his dominions*, is no ſuch tentation: No, far from it; but quite the contrary; as contrary as this is to the argument it pretends to anſwer.

10. All that is ſaid to *Sect.* vii. of *The Caſe* concerning *David's ordering the courſes of the Prieſts*, &c. is in part of p. 26. of *Reg. Suprem.* which is, That tho' *David*, *Solomon*, *Hezekiah*, &c. *were inſpired, and had particular inſtructions from God, about thoſe matters*, yet, *how does it follow thence that they acted herein merely by virtue of their inſpiration?* Becauſe ſuch inſtructions were given them merely for that purpoſe: What is the end of giving inſtructions to any body? Is it not that they ſhou'd be obſerv'd? Beſides that theſe inſtructions were of things which they cou'd not know otherwiſe; they were arbitrary, and depended not upon any rules of Morality or Juſtice, as the utenſils of the Temple, their exact weight and meaſure, *&c.* and alſo concerning the *courſes of the Prieſts*, &c.

Again conſider, this was only anſwering an objection: Theſe texts of *David*'s ordering the courſes of the Prieſts; and *Hezekiah*'s ſetting the *Levites* in the *Houſe of the Lord*, &c. were brought as proofs, and the chief proofs of the *Regale*; the chriſtian Princes having no other Precedent for their *Regale*, but that of the *Jewiſh* Kings: So that if theſe texts are but render'd uncertain, as to this purpoſe, the foundation of the *Regale* is ſhaken: And as this Aſſertor ſays, *How do we know that they acted upon inſpiration or theſe particular inſtructions which they had given to them?* It may be retorted, *How do we know they did not?* That ſure is impoſſible: Therefore by the Aſſertor's own confeſſion, the *Regale* is diſ-arm'd of the force of theſe texts.

But beſides what is before ſaid, there are other reaſons given in that *Sect.* vii. of *The Caſe*, why theſe Kings did act purely upon theſe inſtructions given to them, and not by virtue of their ordinary regal Power. As firſt, That other Kings were blam'd, and ſeverely puniſh'd by God, for attempting the like, as *Jeroboam* for depriving the Prieſts in his Kingdom, who wou'd not own him as King: To which you have heard all the anſwer that has been made. Secondly, It is ſaid, that if theſe examples be ſufficient to eſtabliſh the *Regale*, then Kings may take upon them to preach, to conſecrate Biſhops and Churches, and to dictate Scriptures for us; they having examples for all theſe things; to this nothing is reply'd: So it is to be ſuppos'd theſe Men think, whatever noiſe they make with examples, that there muſt be ſomething elſe neceſſary to make a good foundation for the *Regale*.

But the Aſſertor adds, *That* Gad *and* Nathan *and other Prophets were inſpired likewiſe and inſtructed immediately by God concerning the ſame things, and yet we do not find that the doing of them is any where attributed to them, but only to the Kings. A ſtrong argument that they were regal Acts, and done by the Kings in that capacity.*

The anſwer to this is very eaſy, that theſe commandments were given to Kings by the Prophets, as it is quoted in *The Caſe* from 2 *Chr.* xxix. 25. *For ſo was the commandment of the Lord by his Prophets.* And it was the ordinary office of the Prophets, to be ſent with commandments to the Kings, as well as to others.

IV. In the fifth *Theſis* he comes cloſe to the point, and deſcends to the particulars, as the King's Power in the nomination and deprivation of Biſhops.

1. He

1. He ſays, p. 30. That Kings cannot otherwiſe take care of Religion. *Anſ.* They may do it by the exerciſe of the civil Sword: That is their Province; and there is a great deal in it; it is a mighty Power; we all feel the influence and effects of it. But cou'd the Aſſertor paſs this over, without thinking of the other ſide of the caſe: How the Biſhops to whom *Chriſt* has committed the care of his Flock, and from whom he will require an account of their Souls; how they ſhall effectually diſcharge this great truſt; if they have not the choice of thoſe whom they employ, eſpecially of their fellow Biſhops, the Governors of the Church; if the Diſcipline intruſted with them, for the neceſſary Government of their Body, muſt be wholly dependent upon another Power, who may not be always their Friends? If theſe two Powers were kept independent of each other, they might each exert their full Power; and the one aſſiſt the other: But when they are made dependent upon one another, the one muſt get the aſcendent over the other; there muſt be conteſts till the one is dead, that is, quite ſubdu'd under the other, ſo as to make no more oppoſition; as the Church in *Holland*, and the State in *Rome*: And till it is come to that paſs, the one muſt hinder and retard the other, and encroach upon one another; inſtead of joining and encouraging each other in the common good for which they were both ordain'd.

2. He ſays, That *in the primitive Church the choice of Biſhops was by the whole Body of the Church both Clergy and Laity.* But from the beginning it was not ſo, not in the firſt ages of the Church: And afterwards the teſtimony and conſent of the People is by many miſtaken for their election. But there was a time when popular elections did too much prevail; and occaſion'd great tumults and Blood-ſhed; and might give occaſion for the Emperors to take the elections into their own hands; they were better there than in the Mobb; but this matter is not taken to conſideration in *The Caſe*; it is another ſubject; and I will not digreſs here.

3. The Aſſertor works himſelf up to a paſſion, p. 31, 33. againſt p. 143. (it is wrong printed in *Reg. Supremacy*, p. 31. and call'd 123.) of *The Caſe*, [here p. 652.] and gives the worſt words to the Author that he does in all his Book, he ſays, *Whether out of his own ignorance, or what is worſe, preſumption upon that of his Reader, I know not.* What was the fault? He tells p. 33. *With what face then can any Man aſſert, that the Emperor's Authority in the election of Biſhops, began in* Charles *the great.* To this I have two things to ſay in behalf of that Author. Firſt, That he did not ſay ſo: He did not ſay it began then; but that it prevail'd from that time: There might have been ſome inſtances of it before: But from that time it came to be a general cuſtom in the *Latin* World, as is there ſaid, that is, the *Roman* Empire. And it is not ſaid, that Pope *Adrian* I. did firſt give way to this: But that he *ſettled it by an eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment*; and that *it was the Pope who firſt thorowly ſettled the* Regale. Now the Aſſertor knows (at leaſt if I know him) that there is a difference betwixt a ſettlement, and a thorow ſettlement.

But the ſecond thing I have to ſay for the Author of *The Caſe*, is, That it is very lucky theſe hard words fell upon him in this place: For, as it happened, he was there only quoting of *Grotius*; who therefore is anſwerable for the ignorance or preſumption here charg'd upon an innocent Man; and ſo we paſs on to the next, which is;

4. His anſwer to the ſeveral inſtances of Princes, who, out of conſcience, have renounced their *Regale.* To this he gives two *Queries*, p. 34, 35. 1. How do we know it was out of Conſcience they did it? 2. If their Conſcience was rightly inform'd? For the laſt, it was not the buſineſs of bringing theſe inſtances to ſhew any thing of that. That depends upon the

arguments and reaſons brought for it in the *Caſe*: Theſe inſtances are only for confirmation, to ſhew that Princes themſelves, who were chiefly concern'd, who had all the baits of worldly ambition and temporal ſecurity (as it is thought by ſome) to perſuade them on the ſide of the *Regale*; yet out of Conſcience, as being a moſt wicked thing, did renounce it, and give it up. And for the firſt Query, we know they did it out of Conſcience, becauſe they ſaid ſo, and called it moſt wicked, and thought that the accepting it, (even when offer'd, and by thoſe who had in their eſtimation power to grant it, if any ſuch power was upon earth, as of the Pope to K. *Lewis* VII. of *France)* would endanger their Souls burning in Hell-fire.

5. But leaving that of precedents, he comes now to the reaſon of the thing, p. 37. and ſays, *It is certain that the nomination and inveſtiture of Biſhops was their* (Kings) *right*. And gives no other reaſon, only refers to *Maſon de Miniſt. Angl.* l. 4. c. 13. of which he gives this account, *viz.* that it belongs to Kings upon a double account. 1. Of their Supremacy. 2. Their right of Patronage. For the firſt, he brings *Solomon* and *Abiathar*, as a ſtanding rule for Princes to act by. And from *Iſa.* XLIX. 23. of Kings being *nurſing Fathers*, he, ſays the Aſſertor, proves it to be the duty of Princes to furniſh the Church with Biſhops and Paſtors: But how he proves it, the Aſſertor does not tell us. Then for the ſecond, the King's right of Patronage, he ſays, p. 38. it comes from their founding and endowing of Biſhopricks; from whence a right of preſentation muſt accrue by the imperial Laws and Canons of the Church: And this, ſays he, *I think may be ſufficient to prove the right of Princes to the nomination of Biſhops*: And this is all he ſays to it.

But he could not be ignorant that *The Caſe of the Regale* did not proceed upon the imperial Laws or Canons, eſpecially thoſe of later date, ſince the *Regale* has obtain'd; and therefore that this was no anſwer at all to the arguments there brought of original right: And from hence ſuppoſe (tho' no ways granting it) that a King's founding a Biſhoprick gave him the preſentation to it; yet what ſhall we ſay to all thoſe Biſhopricks which were not founded by Kings? Not one in the world for the firſt three hundred years: And the greateſt part of thoſe continue to this day; nor were all ſince founded by Kings: So that the *Regale* by this will be ſomewhat curtail'd.

6. He comes next to the deprivation of Biſhops, p. 39. and gives the ſame reaſon as before for the nomination of them, how ſhall the King otherwiſe take care of Religion? To which the anſwer before given may ſerve. But he adds an objection, How otherwiſe had the Reformation gone on in the time of the Popiſh Biſhops? To which I ſay, *Firſt*, That objections are no anſwers. And I might reply, How might the Reformation have gone out again, fourteen years ago, by the ſame rule? But, *Secondly*, Will he allow me that there is any Hereſy in Popery? If ſo, then, by the 15th Canon of the Synod of *Conſtantinople*, (which Dr. *Hody* has omitted in his Edition of the *Baroccian* manuſcript, but is added at the end of the *Vindication of the depriv'd Biſhops*,) not only the King, but every Man in *England*, might have left thoſe Popiſh Biſhops, even before ſynodical condemnation: Becauſe they not only held ſuch Hereſies, but did publickly preach and teach the ſame, bare-fac'd in the Church: In which caſe the Council ſays, *That whoever ſeparate from them, even before ſynodical condemnation, are not guilty of Schiſm; but have endeavoured to preſerve the Unity of the Church from Schiſms and Diviſions, by condemning not a Biſhop, but a falſe Biſhop, and a falſe Teacher.*

If you ſay, that a Popiſh King may think the doctrines which we publickly preach and teach to be Hereſy, I anſwer, 1. That the Church of *Rome* does charge us with not holding ſo much as they do, as Purgatory, Invo-

Invocation of Saints, *&c.* But they hold all to be of Faith that we do. So that they think us to be defective Chriſtians. I know no ſober Roman Catholick in *England* will call us Hereticks for denying the Pope's Infallibility, or for not worſhipping of God by Images of him, or not praying to Saints, tho' we charge them with Idolatry for ſome of theſe things. Therefore there is a great difference betwixt the negatives with which they charge us, and the affirmative Hereſies we charge upon them: There is nothing in our Liturgy with which they cannot join; but there is a great deal in their Maſs in which we cannot join.

However I anſwer, 2. That ſuppoſe a Popiſh King do think us Hereticks; and make uſe of the civil Sword againſt us; this is only the old caſe of Perſecution, of which St. *John* ſaith unto the Churches, *Here is the Faith and Patience of the Saints.* But this does not determine Conſcience: And of that only is our diſpute. And tho' I think even upon the argument of convenſence the balance lies againſt the *Regale*; yet the only thing that can determine us in this point is the right, and where *Chriſt* has plac'd the nomination or deprivation of Biſhops whether in the Church or the State.

7. We come now to the great refuge of the *Regale*, the caſe of *Solomon* and *Abiathar:* Wherein the Aſſertor has taken much pains, from p. 39. to p. 49. and all the way has miſs'd the mark, one would think, ſtudiouſly; for he inſiſts upon paſſages that were not brought as any proofs, but only as digreſſions of curioſity which that ſubject afforded; as that of *Eli*'s uſurping the High-Prieſthood when he was chief Governor; where ſuppoſitions are given on both ſides: That of *Abiathar* being no more than the ſecond High-Prieſt, which I think much more evident. But it is all one to our caſe, becauſe *Solomon* had no more power to deprive the ſecond than the firſt High-prieſt or any Prieſt at all: There are ſeveral things in the Aſſertor's deſcants upon theſe and other out-lying paſſages, (he loves coaſting) with which I could entertain the Reader; but I cannot ſtay now: I will only preſs the point in hand.

It is ſaid in the *Caſe*, beginning of *Sect.* viii. that the ſentence of *Solomon* againſt *Abiathar* was purely a civil ſentence, and for a civil crime. The ſentence is there ſet down *verbatim*, and no Man can find any thing elſe in it. But then it is ſaid, as a conſequence of this ſentence, that *Abiaehar* was thruſt out from being Prieſt, that is, from executing the Prieſt's office at *Jeruſalem*, which was a neceſſary conſequent of his baniſhment; and the Aſſertor does urge it no farther, not to imply a degrading him from his office. Well, when he was gone, who ſhould ſupply his place? For ſome place he had in the Temple-Service, in the courſes of the Prieſts, 1 *Chr.* XXIV. 3, 6. no matter now whether firſt, ſecond, or third. That was put upon *Zadok*, who if not always ſuperior to *Abiathar*, (as I ſtill believe he was) yet ſurely was the next to him; and ſo had right of courſe to ſupply his place during his abſence. It is ask'd therefore, whether *Solomon* could have put any other than *Zadok* in the room of *Abiathar?* Could he make any whom he had pleas'd High-Prieſt? To this the Aſſertor gives no anſwer. Then again, it is ſaid, that *Abiathar* was not ſo much as deprived, becauſe, 1 *Kings* IV. 4. he is, in *Solomon*'s reign, and after the ſentence of baniſhment paſt upon him, ſtill reckon'd Prieſt jointly with *Zadok*, in the ſame manner as always before, even in the reign of *David*; and to this nothing is anſwer'd, ſo that there appears no more in his mighty caſe, but a civil ſentence paſs'd upon *Abiathar*; and during his neceſſary abſence from the Temple, his place or courſe ſupply'd by *Zadok*, who had the right ſo to do: Other conjectures may be diſcours'd of, and other circumſtances which are not told in the text: But this was the anſwer given; and to this the Aſſertor has made no reply. One would have thought that this had been

plain enough expreſs'd: But when Men are loth to underſtand, it is very hard to perſuade them. Therefore let me treſpaſs upon the more judicious Readers, to make this yet plainer by a late and familiar example. After Dr. *Sancroft* was depriv'd, and Dr. *Tillotſon* put into his place, would the *Preſent State of* England, giving an account of the great Officers in Church and State, in the reign of King *William*, name Dr. *Sancroft* as ſtill Archbiſhop of *Canterbury?* Therefore ſince *Abiathar*, after his being thruſt out, and *Zadok* put in his room, was ſtill reckon'd Prieſt or High Prieſt, in the reign of *Solomon*, as formerly in the reign of *David*, it muſt follow that he was not depriv'd; which farther appears by what we have from the *Jewiſh* Rabbies, that *Abiathar* had the revenues and poſſeſſions belonging to his Prieſthood ſtill continu'd to him after his baniſhment and during his life; and was ſtill own'd High-Prieſt as before. This appears agreeable to the ſentence paſs'd upon him, 1 *Kin.* II. 26. *Get thee to* Anathoth *unto thy own fields*; which we find *Joſh.* XXI. 18. was part of the poſſeſſions given to the Sons of *Aaron* the Prieſts; and to his ſtill being reckon'd High-Prieſt in the reign of *Solomon*, 1 *Kin.* IV. 4. here is both his dignity and poſſeſſions continued to him. This will not anſwer our notion of deprivation!

The difference betwixt the way of argumentation uſed in *The Caſe*, and by this Aſſertor, is, that *The Caſe* goes upon plain matter of fact, which is undeniable, and the ſureſt method of coming at the truth, eſpecially when the diſpute is only about matter of fact, as in this caſe: But the whole ſtreſs of the Aſſertor is in criticiſing upon an expreſſion, and the wording of an hiſtorical relation, which may be capable of different meanings; and he would ſet up this to overthrow the plain matter of fact deliver'd in the Hiſtory; whereas the matter of fact is the only ſure way to determine the the meaning of the expreſſions.

And it is ſo ſure a way, that tho' the very word *deprived* had been in the text, that *Solomon* had *deprived Abiathar*, yet it muſt have been underſtood according to the current of the Hiſtory, and no otherwiſe: It is ſaid, *Judg.* XVII. 12. That *Micah conſecrated the* Levite: And 1 *Kin.* XIII. 33. That *Jeroboam made and conſecrated the Prieſts*. Here are texts not only for Kings but every Maſter of a Family to conſecrate Prieſts: More poſitive than *Solomon*'s depriving *Abiathar*, becauſe it is not ſo expreſſly ſaid, only that he *thruſt him out*, which the Aſſertor will have to mean deprived, and that in the eccleſiaſtical ſenſe; whereas it is only an expreſſion to ſhew the conſequence of that ſentence paſs'd upon *Abiathar*; and therefore can never be extended farther than the ſentence it ſelf, and muſt be conſtrued in a ſenſe agreeable to the ſentence: But that would not ſerve the Aſſertor's purpoſe; therefore tho' nothing eccleſiaſtical, but purely civil can be found in the ſentence paſs'd upon *Abiathar:* And that he was ſtill reckon'd High-Prieſt as much as before; yet all this notwithſtanding it muſt not be ſo! Why? Becauſe of the manner in which it was expreſs'd, that he was *thruſt out from being Prieſt*. Yet the Aſſertor allows that he was Prieſt ſtill, and was not degraded by this, tho' the word is, *from being Prieſt:* But that it muſt infer he was depriv'd, that is, from the exerciſe of his office, and the word *being* muſt there mean not *being* a Prieſt, but only *exerciſing*——But his baniſhment did *thruſt him out* from *exerciſing* his office: So that even upon the nicety of the word, as expounded by the Aſſertor, there is no neceſſity of ſuppoſing this to be ſo much as a deprivation; and if the word muſt ſtand literally, without any expoſition, then it muſt infer a degradation, which the Aſſertor will not allow. So that the Aſſertor will not have the word taken literally and ſtrictly, that *Abiathar* was *thruſt out from being a Prieſt*, as if he were no more a Prieſt; and the expoſition

poſition he gives of *being*, that it ſignifies in this place only *exerciſing*, is ſolv'd by the baniſhment of *Abiathar*, as well as by his deprivation: But with this difference, that if it was only baniſhment, he would be ſtill reckon'd High-Prieſt, as before; becauſe baniſhment being only a civil puniſhment it did not at all reſpect his eccleſiaſtical character; but if he was depriv'd from his eccleſiaſtical dignity, and his right to it vacated, then he would no longer, eſpecially after another being put in his place, be call'd by the name of ſuch a dignity, wherein he was ſuperſeded. Now the Hiſtory tells us, that he was ſtill reckon'd High-Prieſt as much as before; therefore it muſt follow, that he was not depriv'd, only baniſh'd inſtead of being put to death, as others were for the ſame crime, that is, Treaſon: And why ſhould not a civil crime be puniſh'd by a civil ſentence rather than by an eccleſiaſtical? It is moſt natural: So that on all ſides, this paſſage is clear'd up. And to return the ſmartneſs of the Aſſertor, upon this very inſtance, p. 46. which he thinks, at leaſt boaſts, he has made ſo clear; *it is he, and the ſome few on his ſide* (or if they are never ſo many) who *have taken incredible pains* (by playing with words, againſt the current of the Hiſtory) *to find a knot in a Bulruſh.* And there is no need to have recourſe to inſpiration or extraordinary commiſſions to ſolve what *Solomon* did to *Abiathar*, for as the Aſſertor ſays truly *(ibid.) What ſignify'd inſpiration in this caſe? The puniſhment of a Traytor belongs to the regal office.*

Tho' at the ſame time *Solomon* being inſpir'd in ſo extraordinary a manner, it is much more probable that he had reſpect to that Prophecy there mention'd, 1 *Kin.* II. 27. than the Soldiers in caſting Lots for the Garments of our bleſſed Saviour; which the Aſſertor brings, p. 47. as a parallel caſe. But the difference of expreſſion is remarkable, for in that of the Soldiers it is ſaid, *That it might be fulfill'd which was ſpoken by the Prophet*; the Prophecy was thus fulfill'd, tho' the Soldiers knew nothing of it: But in the caſe of *Solomon* it is not ſaid, *That it might be fulfill'd*, but *That he might fulfill*, which argues ſomething more of intention in *Solomon* than in the Soldiers. But I inſiſt not upon this, or the nicety of expreſſions; I rather chuſe to follow the Clew of the Hiſtory, and matter of fact which is much more certain: Therefore whether *Solomon* did this by inſpiration, or not, is not material to the point in hand, ſince in the tract of the Story he did no more than what was within the ordinary regal Power; tho' the Aſſertor can bring no argument ſo ſtrong againſt it being done by inſpiration, as there is for its being ſo done.

He dallies likewiſe with that expreſſion, 1 *Kin.* II. 35. That the King put *Zadok* in the room of *Abiathar*, and makes it as much an act of the ordinary regal Power, as his putting *Benaiah* in the room of *Joab*, who was General of the Army, p. 45. And he inſults too much upon this, before he had put off his Armour. For,

(1.) Whether *Abiathar* was the firſt or ſecond High Prieſt, it was the right of *Zadok* to ſucceed him, ſuppoſing him depriv'd. And it was ask'd whether *Solomon* could have put any other in his room? To which the Aſſertor has not adventured to anſwer: Whereas I ſuppoſe he will make no difficulty to ſay, that *Solomon* might have put whom he pleas'd in the room of *Joab*.

(2.) Suppoſe *Abiathar* not depriv'd, only hindered, by his baniſhment, from executing his part of the courſes of the Prieſts in the Temple (and he had the precedency of eight of the *Twenty four courſes*, 1 *Chr.* XXIV. 4.) Then the King's putting *Zadok* over theſe eight courſes (as he was over the other ſixteen before) during the abſence of *Abiathar*, as it was regular, and only executing the Canons of the Church, which is the right and duty of all chriſtian Kings; ſo does it come naturally under the head of ordering

ordering the courſes of the Prieſts, which by an expreſs and extraordinary commiſſion was given by God to *David* and *Solomon*, and that in writing, 1 *Chr.* XXVIII. 13, 19. But the Aſſertor wou'd have had this of *Abiathar* particularly nam'd there; tho' none of the other Prieſts or their regulations in their courſes are nam'd in that Chapter: And beſides this was in the reign of *David*, before *Abiathar* had committed that Treaſon, for which he was afterwards baniſh'd by *Solomon:* Yet the Aſſertor is very angry it was not nam'd before it came to paſs, and makes this omiſſion a nullity of the whole cauſe: For *How then comes it to paſs* (ſays he, p. 47.) *That in the account we have of theſe courſes,* 1 Chr. XXIV. *where, as the Author of the* Caſe *himſelf obſerves, every thing is moſt particularly ſet down, we find not ſo much as one word concerning this part? The omiſſion of this part, this principal part, had it been really ſuch, was very groſs: But no more need be ſaid of this; the ſilence of the Scripture in this caſe, is a ſufficient refutation of ſo groundleſs a ſurmiſe.* Here let me obſerve the dexterity of this Aſſertor; that moſt minute and particular deſcription of the Temple and its Utenſils, and *alſo for the courſes of the Prieſts,* which is ſet down in the *Caſe,* is from 1 *Chr.* XXVIII. But the Aſſertor here turns the Reader for it to chap. XXIV. as if the *Caſe* had plac'd it there; and the Reader not finding it there, there is a full confutation of the *Caſe!*

But in the next place, thoſe diviſions of the courſes mentioned 1 *Chr.* XXIV. were diſtributed by *David,* as it is expreſſly ſaid ℣. 3. which was before this caſe of *Abiathar* happened.

And is all this to be ſaid in the caſe of *Solomon*'s putting *Benaiah* in the room of *Joab?* Is there no more in one caſe than in the other? In the caſe of diſtributing the courſes of the Prieſts, than of marſhalling the Army? Were particular inſtructions given to *David* or *Solomon* in the one caſe, as in the other?

(3.) What Prophecy was fulfill'd in the caſe of *Benaiah?* Or did *Solomon* do it for any ſuch end? Tho' as I ſaid, I inſiſt not on this.

But here tho' the cauſe be determin'd, yet I muſt take notice of the Aſſertor in p. 44. giving up his chief ſtrength, whereupon he lays moſt ſtreſs, tho' as I ſaid, it concerns not the cauſe at all, that is, that *Abiathar,* and not *Zadok* was the ſupreme High Prieſt; till *Zadok* was anointed with *Solomon,* 1 *Chr.* XXIX. 22. And that from that time (which was before the death of *David)* he became the ſupreme High Prieſt: For by this, *Zadok,* and not *Abiathar,* was the ſupreme High-Prieſt, before the deprivation (as he wou'd have it) of *Abiathar.* Which is all in which this cauſe is concern'd.

But how does he prove that *Zadok* was not High Prieſt before? He ſuppoſes it in the ſame place p. 44. becauſe *Zadok* was then anointed, that is, with *Solomon,* when he was anointed to be King: And thence he only ſuppoſes, that *Zadok* was not High Prieſt before. But in the ſame verſe which he there quotes, 1 *Chr.* XXIX. 22. it is ſaid, that they made *Solomon* King the ſecond time; which the Aſſertor, repeating the verſe, leaves out. There was a reaſon; for why may not a Prieſt be made, that is, recogniz'd the ſecond or third time, as well as a King? *Saul* was twice made King, 1 *Sam.* X. 1. XI. 15. And hands were laid upon *Barnabas* and *Saul* after their being Apoſtles, upon that particular occaſion for which they were ſent at that time, *Acts* XIII. 3.

In the next place, he ſhou'd have prov'd that anointing was neceſſary for for every High Prieſt: It is not to a King; for he is King, and may be a long time, even all his life, without being crown'd; and he may be crown'd ſeveral times, if there be occaſion. *Zadok* was called Prieſt, and always put before *Abiathar,* wherever they are nam'd together, long before this

anointing: And he being choſen and not *Abiathar*, to be anointed with *Solomon* in the time of *David*, ſhews that he was then reckon'd the chief of the two: Therefore his being put afterwards in the room of *Abiathar*, was only to ſupply thoſe courſes, which belong'd to *Abiathar*, and not any new advancement of him above *Abiathar:* For as the Aſſertor will have it, he was above *Abiathar*, and was the ſupreme High Prieſt, before that, that is, ever ſince his being anointed with *Solomon*.

But the Aſſertor asks, p. 45. *Who ever call'd the baniſhment of a Prieſt, a thruſting him from the Prieſthood?* Was not the baniſhment of *David*, when he fled out of the land for *Abſalom*, a thruſting him from the Throne? Was not the baniſhment of King *Charles* II. (to name no more) of the ſame kind? And it might have been call'd, and was call'd a depriving them of their Kingdoms; yet they did not underſtand it to be ſuch a deprivation, as deſtroy'd their Right. When St. *Athanaſius* was baniſhed by *Conſtantine* to *Triers*, might he not be ſaid to be depriv'd of his Church at *Alexandria?* Yet it is not ſo much as pretended, that the ſentence of *Conſtantine* was an eccleſiaſtical, or any other than a civil puniſhment.

This it is to trifle with words, and oppoſe ſuch Childrens play to ſolid Hiſtory and matter of fact.

I think we need not purſue the Aſſertor any farther upon this point. I ſhall only deſire the Reader to look back to p. 622. and ſee the reaſons there againſt making this example of *Solomon* a Precedent, if taken in the ſenſe of theſe Aſſertors of the *Regale*.

Let me mind them but of one text now come in my way. It is ſaid of *Solomon*, 1 Kin. IX. 25. *And he burnt incenſe upon the Altar that was before the Lord; ſo he finiſhed the houſe.* Yet for attempting the ſame thing King *Uzziah* was ſtricken with leproſy to the day of his death. It ſeems the example of *Solomon* was no ſafe precedent for him! Tho' the Aſſertor recommends it to all chriſtian Kings, and ſays, *It is ſafe arguing from this precedent.* Which is for more notoriety, put thus in his Contents. Perhaps *Jeroboam* too underſtood *Solomon*'s thruſting out *Abiathar*, as the Aſſertor has done! And try'd to imitate him, in depriving of his Prieſts, who were guilty of the ſame crime, that is, Treaſon againſt him: But the thanks he got for it, is no great encouragement for any other King to follow him in the like; and chriſtian Kings are oblig'd to the Aſſertor for his love in perſuading them to try the experiment over again! Moreover let them remember (tho' it will provoke the Prieſtcraft-Men) that it was reckon'd pride in the King to aſſume to himſelf the office of a Prieſt, 2 *Chr.* XXVI. 16.

But the *Caſe* concludes this *Sect.* viii. of *Solomon* and *Abiathar*, with an argument, N. 6. to which the Aſſertor has thought fit to ſay—— Nothing!

And it is the moſt material of all; and ſumms up the whole, that is, that the *Jewiſh* Kings cou'd not *alter the* Aaronical *Prieſthood, and ſet up other Prieſts in their place.* That they cou'd do it, the Aſſertor durſt not aſſert; and yet what he advances upon this caſe of *Abiathar*, does infer that they cou'd do it: For by the ſame right that a King can deprive one Prieſt, he may another, and another, and ſo to the end, ſeeing, as the Aſſertor owns, p. 50. they all hold, *By one and the ſame tenure, and are ſubject to the ſame power that one is.*

How he comes off of this, is the next thing I preſent you with.

8. We are now arriv'd at ſomething material, that is, the anſwer given to what is laid down in the beginning of the *Caſe*, p. 604. as a foundation for what follows; and which is apply'd p. 630. that the power of deprivation being lodg'd in the State, they may deprive all the Biſhops in the Kingdom, and even *vacate* the apoſtolick commiſſion, in the hands of the Biſhops their

ſucceſſors. To this ſays the Aſſertor, p. 49, 50. that the King may deprive ſome, but not all in the Kingdom, unleſs he put others in their room: *And*, ſays he, *ſhould a Prince be ſo prophane as to aboliſh by an Act the whole College of Biſhops, no body would be obliged to take any notice of it.* It was ſaid in the ſame paragraph which he quotes of the *Caſe*, p. 604. that Epiſcopacy was vacated in *Scotland:* And again in p. 630. which he likewiſe quotes in this ſame place. I will not preſume to gueſs whom he means by prophane, only to let him ſee into what inconvenience his hypotheſis runs him unawares! It will not be ſtinted: Prerogative muſt have all or none.

9. Againſt that poſition, *That no authority leſs than that which gives any commiſſion, can ſtop the execution of it*, he ſays, p. 51. *That an Archbiſhop alone may ſuſpend a Biſhop, whereas he cannot conſecrate* (he ſhould have ſaid *deprive*, to make it come up to the caſe) *without the aſſiſtance of two more at leaſt.* Anſ. The power of an Archbiſhop to ſuſpend, and the limitation not to conſecrate or deprive alone, is all from the Canons, which is the authority of the epiſcopal College; and this the Archbiſhop does but execute.

10. He falls into a merry vein, and laughs it out for ſeveral pages together, from p. 51. to p. 59. at an advantage he thinks he has got, for the relation betwixt a Biſhop and his Flock being called a Marriage. Then he applies it literally to Marriage, and being cunning has found out ſeveral things wherein they do not exactly agree, and that the ſimile does not go upon all four. He makes every tranſlation of a Biſhop from one See to another an adultery; and then, if there be ſeveral tranſlations, the Biſhop, (ſays he) *muſt be an intolerable Fornicator.* This was witty! or prophane! But in good earneſt did this Aſſertor never hear before of a Marriage betwixt a Biſhop and his Flock? Did he think this a new invention of the Author of the *Caſe*, that he has paid him ſo unmercifully for it? Did he never hear of a Ring, as well as a paſtoral Staff us'd in the inveſtiture of Biſhops; and that the Ring was uſed as an emblem of the Marriage betwixt the Biſhop and his Flock? Did he no where read, or has heard, that among the primitive Fathers, particularly in St. *Cyprian*'s time, an anti-Biſhop, who uſurped upon the rightful Biſhop, was called an adulterer?

But he objects that the Marriage is betwixt *Chriſt* and the Church: That had been materially obſerv'd if it had not been expreſſly ſo declared in the *Caſe*, in the very place he quotes; where the Biſhop is only called an Ambaſſador of *Chriſt*, who marries the Church to *Chriſt* by proxy, and in his name. And then our Biſhop repreſenting immediately the Perſon of *Chriſt* to us, and ſtanding in his ſtead, according to the language of St. *Ignatius* and other the moſt primitive Fathers, is very good ground to call this a Marriage, tho' but in the ſecondary ſenſe, betwixt a Biſhop and his Flock; and the invader of the Biſhops right, an adulterer. And thus the ſtyle of the primitive Fathers, more than of the Author of the *Caſe*, is juſtified.

But then, why is not the tranſlation of a Biſhop from one See to another an adultery, as well as an anti-Biſhop thruſting out the lawful Biſhop?

Becauſe here are two Husbands or Biſhops, and one muſt be an adulterer: Which in the other caſe is not.

But can a Biſhop once married to a Flock leave that, and be ſucceeded by another Biſhop in his life-time? Yes, as an Ambaſſador who beds a Queen may be ſucceeded by another, and another, ſent from the ſame Prince; who may likewiſe perform the ſame ceremony if there be occaſion for it: And the ſame Ambaſſador may marry ſeveral Queens in the name of ſeveral Princes. But an anti-Ambaſſador who ſets up in oppoſition to him,

him, and pretends to be delegated from the ſame Prince, and would rival him in his office, is ſure a different caſe.

He objects again, p. 56. that our Union with *Chriſt* is immediate: He does not Mean as to his Perſon. And are the influences of his Holy Spirit leſs immediate, that they are convey'd to us by outward adminiſtrations, as of Prayers, Sacraments, Preaching, *&c.* and by proper hands whom he has ſeparated for that office? If there be any thing in this objection, it will throw down all Prieſthood, Sacraments, and other means of Grace, as well as Biſhops: And to keep nearer to the compariſon, is a Man's Marriage with his Wife the leſs immediate, that it is ſolemniz'd by a Prieſt?

But it is a ſtrange objection, and which I confeſs I never dream'd of, that he makes, p. 55. and ſo runs on with it till he meets with what I named laſt, and afterwards to p. 58. As if all muſt be damn'd, without retrieve, who die in the vacancy of a Biſhoprick; becauſe then they have no Marriage with *Chriſt*, for want of Marriage to a Biſhop. This is perfect teazing and ſchooling the Author, to ſee if he had learned his Catechiſm. However, I will be in earneſt with him, and deſire him to conſider of the difference betwixt living or dying in the vacancy of a Biſhoprick, (ſince he will have it ſo) and in open oppoſition to, and ſeparation from the whole order of Epiſcopacy which *Chriſt* has eſtabliſhed in the Earth: Or, *Secondly*, To ſubject that whole order to the arbitrary will and pleaſure of ſecular powers; by admitting it in one caſe, which includes all the reſt: And, *Thirdly*, In aſſiance of ſuch ſecular power, to join with an anti-Biſhop againſt the rightful Biſhop; whether this be the ſame caſe as that of a vacancy?

More eſpecially in this Aſſertor and others who are for Epiſcopacy; and and preſs it as far as the Author of the *Caſe*, even when they oppoſe him: For example, in this very place, p. 56. he ſays, *It is a very falſe and dangerous poſition, that who keep outward Communion with the Biſhop, do thereby partake of the inward Communion with* Chriſt, *Indeed* (ſays he) *the reverſe of this poſition is true*, viz. *that whoſoever will partake of an inward Communion with* Chriſt, *muſt keep outward Communion with their Biſhop; for Schiſm is as damning a ſin as murther or adultery; and if obſtinately perſiſted in to the laſt, deſtroys all hope of Salvation.* In the firſt place, I deſire the Aſſertor to conſider here over again his objections of our immediate Communion with *Chriſt*, and the vacancy of a Biſhoprick; and ſee if he can get looſe any way, that will not likewiſe releaſe the Author of the *Caſe*. But in the next place, I appeal to the Reader, if he can find out the reverſe to that poſition which is here called falſe and dangerous, in that other poſition which is ſet up for the truth: And whether they do not both ſeem to be the very ſame; only that which is called the reverſe, is worded more poſitively and ſtrongly. The difference the Aſſertor would make, is, as if by the firſt poſition it were meant, that keeping outward Communion with the Biſhop, were of it ſelf alone ſufficient to give the inward Communion with *Chriſt*, tho' to Atheiſts and Infidels, (as he words it) but that he makes indeed by the reverſe poſition, keeping outward Communion with the Biſhop a *Cauſa ſine quâ non*, without which there is no hope of Salvation, while obſtinately perſiſted in. Now can he, can any Man upon the Earth imagine, that when it was ſaid, *He that keeps outward Communion with his Biſhop, does partake of the inward Communion with* Chriſt, it was meant, tho' he did it hypocritically, even tho' an Atheiſt or Infidel? Did St. *Ignatius* mean ſo? Who ſays in his Epiſtle to St. *Polycarp*, Αντίψυχον ἐγὼ—— *My Soul for theirs who are in obedience to their Biſhop*—— *Let my lot be with them.* If a Man ſays that Grace is conferred by the Sacraments, Prayer, or other means appoint-

ed of God, muſt he in every ſuch expreſſion add all the preparation requiſite, or elſe muſt the poſition be falſe and dangerous? Or is it rather to be ſuppos'd, will not every body ſuppoſe that it be done ſincerely and with a good heart? I will ſay no more upon this point, becauſe I believe the Aſſertor will inſiſt no more upon it.

But in p. 58. there is ſomething has more the face of an anſwer, that is, to the objection of putting it in the power of the *Regale*, either to give us no more Biſhops, or very bad ones. He ſays, the Dean and Chapter ought not to chuſe an unworthy Man, tho' commanded by the *Conge d'Eſlier*; nor the Biſhops to conſecrate him, *Though their refuſal coſt them not only their eſtates and liberties, but even their lives too.* That is very true: But firſt, What if no *Conge d'Eſlier* be ſent? And the King deſigns (but does not tell you ſo) to let your Biſhops drop off one after another, and to give you no more? Will you ſtay to the very laſt Biſhop? Or truſt your own jealouſies and ſurmiſes, and provide for your ſelves in time? Which yet you cannot do, without incurring a *præmunire*. Would not Men in ſuch a caſe, be apt to put the evil day far off, and keep out of a Priſon as long as they could? They would ſay, it may do well enough yet; there are ſo many Biſhops left; and when they were come to a few, then it is too late; what can theſe few do?

And ſecondly, as to keeping out unworthy Men; a Man may be very much unqualified for a Biſhop or a Curate; and yet we may not be able to aſſign ſuch immoralities or inſufficiencies as would ſtand the tryal of a Jury, which it muſt come to in this caſe: For it is now a point of Law. And a Man wou'd be much more apt to ſay in this than in the former caſe, come, come, we muſt not break with the State for ſuch a matter, and may be, have the whole Church ruined, and Presbytery or ſomething elſe ſet up, as in *Scotland:* It is true, I wiſh a better Man were preſented; but he may do well enough; and there are other good Men to balance him; he may become better in good Company. We muſt let him paſs; whether there be any grounds for ſuch ſuppoſitions as theſe, let matter of fact determine: Can there one inſtance be given of a *Conge d'Eſlier* refuſed ſince the reformation? And we have complain'd of bad Biſhops ſince that time. If a bribe blinds the eyes of the wiſe; and he is not to be a Judge, no nor an Evidence, or upon a Jury, if he either gain or loſe by the cauſe: Is not a Mans whole eſtate, his liberty, and his life, and all his hopes of future preferment, too great a byaſs to corrupt his Judgment? And muſt the well-being of the Church depend only upon Men, who can be unconcerned for all theſe?

Beſides in *Ireland*, there are no *Conge d'Eſliers*, the King makes Biſhops there only by his Letters: And the *Conge d'Eſlier* is taken away here by Act of Parliament, 1 *Edw.* VI. c. 2. which was repeal'd 1 *Mar.* c. 2. but that of *Mar.* was repeal'd 1 *Jac.* c. 25. n. 48. Whether that does not revive the Statute of *Edw.* VI. is, I ſuppoſe, in the breaſt of the Judges, when the King has a mind to it; and how the *Conge d'Eſlier* came to be dropt in *Ireland*, may be enquir'd. But I think they are as ſecure there, as we are here: For there are as many inſtances of the King's Letters refus'd there, as his *Conge d'Eſliers* in *England*. Whatever it ſhould be, it is evident, that *de facto*, all depends abſolutely upon the *Regale*. If you will ſay, it is beſt it ſhould be ſo; that is another point: Then ſtand to it, and juſtify it; but pretend not, when pinch'd hard with the conſequences, to come off of it, and ſet up ſuch poor reſerves againſt it.

11. The next that follows in the *Reg. Suprem.* is a long diſpute about the meaning of the word Prieſt, which begins p. 59. and laſts to p. 65. this does, tho' not immediately concern our ſubject of the *Regale*: Therefore

I muſt ſay ſomething to it: He ſays, p. 59. That there are Prieſts and a Prieſthood in the Church of *England*, *In all ſenſes of the words*: But ſays afterwards in the ſame page, *Not in the proper ſenſe of the word.* How! in *all ſenſes*, and not in the *proper ſenſe!* This ſeems hard to underſtand. One would think the proper ſenſe of any word had been the chief, if not the only ſenſe: Words may be taken metaphorically, and apply'd to ſeveral things, as fire may ſignify anger, and love, and many other things; but the proper ſenſe is ſtill fire.

But what is his reaſon why not in the proper ſenſe? He tells p. 61. he makes the *Ratio Formalis* of the Prieſthood to conſiſt in offering both gifts and ſacrifices for ſins. And for fear of the ſacrifice of the Maſs, he as others, will allow no proper ſacrifice under the Goſpel Miniſtration, and conſequently no proper Prieſthood. And I think Dr. *Outram*'s obſervation (upon which he chiefly inſiſts) is not juſt, that the *Aaronical Prieſthood was ordain'd chiefly* (which he has left out in the tranſlation, but I take no advantage) *for God, in things pertaining to Men: But the evangelical for Men, in things pertaining to God.* For was not *Chriſt*'s ſacrifice for ſins, and the Sacrament of his Body and Blood for the remiſſion of ſins (as he expreſs'd it in the words of the inſtitution) as much at leaſt, *in things pertaining to Men*, as the ſacrifices under the Law? I know not the meaning of Dr. *Outram*'s diſtinction, for in all tranſactions betwixt two Parties, both Parties are concern'd: And I take the proper notion of a Prieſt to be a Perſon authorized by God to tranſact with Men in his name, to ſeal the Covenants betwixt them; and to adminiſter them on both ſides; to preſent the Prayers and Offerings of the People to God; and on God's part to bleſs them, abſolve them from their ſins, and ſeal it to them, in giving them to partake of his holy Table, thereby admitting them as gueſts to the Marriage-Feaſt, which is the proper office of theſe Stewards of God's Houſhold, whom he has commiſſionated for that very purpoſe. The methods and manner of this may alter, but the office is ſtill the ſame; as St. *Iræneus* ſays (*adverſ. Hereſ.* l. 4. c. 34,) *Sacrificia in Populo* (i. e. of the *Jews*) *Sacrificia & in Eccleſiâ, ſed ſpecies immutata eſt tantùm:* That is, *There were Sacrifices in the Temple, there are alſo Sacrifices in the Church, only the kind of them is alter'd.* Tho' an office may be expreſs'd by any part of that office; yet that is not a proper definition of the office: The definition muſt be a general, which includes all the particulars, as that I have before given of the Prieſthood. A receiver of Tithe is made ſynonymous to the word Prieſt, *Heb.* VII. 8, 23. becauſe it was part of the Prieſt's office: So the offering of ſacrifice is a part, and but a part of the ſame office; but no proper definition of the office, more than that of a receiver of Tithe; which now would make the King, and all our impropriators to be Prieſts.

There may be many things in a Letter of Attorney, or a Commiſſion, and theſe may be alter'd or chang'd: But it is the general words of the Commiſſion that conſtitute any Man my Attorney or Repreſentative, ſo as to oblige me, by what he does, in my name. A Prieſt is God's Attorney or Repreſentative to Mankind: And the methods of his entring them into Covenant with God, have been vary'd, yet the Office, and his Commiſſion ſtill the ſame. Under the Law, eating of the ſacrifice, was entring into, or renewing of their federal Covenant with God: As it is ſaid, *Pſal.* L. 5. *Thoſe that have made a Covenant with me by ſacrifice.* And thus it was underſtood among the Heathen: Therefore it is ſaid, 1 *Cor.* X. 21. *Ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils: Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's Table, and of the Table of Devils.* And the reaſon is given, *℣.* 20. *That the things which the* Gentiles *ſacrifice, they ſacri-*

fice to Devils, and not to God: And I would not that ye ſhould have fellowſhip with Devils. That is; eating part of what was ſacrific'd to them, was having fellowſhip, entring into covenant with them: Thus argues the Apoſtle againſt the *Jews*, Heb. XIII. 10. *We have an Altar whereof they have no right to eat, who ſerve the Tabernacle.* To eat of the Altar, is, of thoſe things which were offer'd upon the Altar; that is, our chriſtian ſacrifice of the holy Euchariſt. We offer the Elements before Conſecration, upon the holy Table; ſo it is directed in the *Rubrick* immediately before the *Prayer for the whole State of* Chriſt's *Church*, then they are to be plac'd upon the Table; after which done, the Prieſt ſhall ſay, *Lord, accept theſe our Alms and Oblations.* Alms refer to the Money given at the Offertory; and Oblations, I take it, to the Elements then offered; and for the Margin, *when there is no Alms or Oblations*, that is, neither Offertory nor Sacrament. But however the very placing them upon God's holy Table in a ſolemn act of Worſhip, upon his altar, is a ſolemn dedication of them to him; and then eating of them from thence, is a partaking of his Table, and eating of his Altar: and Altar and Prieſt are relative terms. It is ſaid, *Pſal.* XCVI. 8. *Bring offerings, and come into his Courts.* Theſe were offer'd by the hands of his Prieſts: And it was the proper office of the Prieſthood. Theſe offerings were ſacrifices; there were other ſacrifices beſides the bloody ones: The prayers and praiſes of the People, which were offer'd by the Prieſts, were truly and properly a ſacrifice; the incenſe was but a type of them, and aſcended with them, *Rev.* VIII. 3, 4. And for invading this part of the Prieſt's office, the great, and otherwiſe good, King *Uzziah* was ſmitten, 2 *Chr.* XXVI. 16.

For the bloody ſacrifices were not the only; no, nor otherwiſe an eſſential part of the Prieſts office, than as they were made an eſſential part of the *Jewiſh* Worſhip; yet not ſo eſſential as the ſacrifices before-mentioned of prayers and praiſes; for theſe were obligatory upon all, at all times: Whereas the others were confin'd to *Jeruſalem*, becauſe the great and true ſacrifice was to be offer'd there: But there were Prieſts properly ſo call'd, in all the reſt of *Iſrael*, and who truly executed the Prieſts office to the People. It may pleaſe God to alter the inſtitutions by which he will be worſhipped; but this alters not the nature of the Prieſthood whom he ordains to adminiſter them: It is like an Ambaſſador receiving new inſtructions; it makes no alteration in his commiſſion. A general commiſſion to act on the part of God, implies all the particulars that ſhall be given in command. See the commiſſion firſt given to the *Levites*, Deut. x. 8. *At that time the Lord ſeparated the tribe of* Levi, *to bear the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, to ſtand before the Lord to miniſter unto him, and to bleſs in his name, unto this day.* Here is nothing of bloody ſacrifice, yet the whole office is here included: The bearing of the Ark ceas'd; yet the Prieſthood did not alter, tho' that be the firſt thing here nam'd in the office; but the laſt is the whole thing, *to miniſter to the Lord, and to bleſs in his name:* This is the whole and proper office of the Prieſthood. In what manner and by what means this miniſtration is perform'd, alters nothing of the office. And our bleſſed Saviour's commiſſion which he gave to his Apoſtles; *as my Father ſent me, I ſend you:* And, *whoſe ſins ye remit*, &c. is ſurely as emphatical as that given to the *Levites:* Yet the fright, as I ſaid, of the ſacrifice of the Maſs would make ſome deny Prieſthood in the proper ſenſe to the Church of *England.* Why? The Church of *Rome* her ſelf calls that an unbloody ſacrifice: Such then are our Oblations, both of the Money we offer, and the Elements before Conſecration, and after we may be ſaid to offer the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, while through the merits of his

his paſſion we intercede for mercy, and offer them to interpoſe betwixt the juſtice of God and our ſins.

It is in this manner, that *Chriſt* does now offer them in Heaven, and is for ever a Prieſt, tho' he is not to be ſacrific'd again.

Thus his Prieſts do execute the ſame office and prieſthood upon Earth, which he does in Heaven; and this makes them to be Prieſts in the moſt ſtrict and proper ſenſe, even beyond the offering of the typical ſacrifices before his coming in the Fleſh.

Beſides, our Prieſts in the Church of *England* do offer another ſacrifice purſuant to *Rom.* XII. 1. which the Church of *Rome* has forgot, and is not to be found in all her Canon of the Maſs, but in our office of Communion: The Prieſt at the Altar does in our names, *offer and preſent unto God, our ſelves, our Souls and Bodies, to be a reaſonable, holy, and lively ſacrifice unto him*; theſe are unbloody ſacrifices; and the Church of *Rome* pretends to no other: Why then ſhould we deny our Prieſts to be ſuch, in the proper ſenſe, becauſe we have no ſacrifice to offer? I have been the longer upon this, becauſe it is a miſtake runs among too many; and this Aſſertor p. 60. ſquints an inſinuation of Popery at thoſe who think there is a proper Prieſthood in the Church of *England*. *And for my own part* (ſays he) *I cannot conceive to what purpoſe a proper Prieſthood is thus drawn in by head and ears, unleſs it be to make way for a proper ſacrifice too: And if that be his reaſon, it is eaſy to gueſs what Men wou'd be at.* If what is ſaid be of any weight, then it appears to what purpoſe it is more largely inſiſted upon in the *Caſe*.

12. Here follows a bitter exclamation, p. 65. for ſaying, That if the commiſſion of the Church be divine, it ſets it above the power of Kings, as well as of the People: Upon which, ſays he, *Where I wonder had this Man his education? Certainly no Son of the Church of* England *ever vilify'd Princes at this rate: Have not Princes a divine character as well as Prieſts? Are they not as much the Lord's anointed as Prieſts? Are they not as much the Miniſters of God as Prieſts? And are the ſame things to be ſaid of the beaſts of the People?*

Soft and fair good Sir! When your paſſion is abated, I will ſpeak to you. Kings have a divine commiſſion, and are the Miniſters of God; which you are apt to forget ſometimes, and ſet the beaſts of the People above them, to judge of their Government, and even depoſe them: Therefore think again of the great things ſaid of Kings, that they have a divine commiſſion, are the Lord's anointed, his Miniſters, *&c.* *And are the ſame things ſaid of the beaſts of the People?* But Sir, they are of Prieſts, and greater things than theſe, as you may ſee in the *Caſe*, p. 668, &c. of which you have taken no notice. And yet there is no interferring: The Prieſts have nothing do with the King's divine commiſſion of the civil Sword, but are ſubject to it even to death: But then their equally divine commiſſion in ſpirituals, is as independent upon the civil Sword: Will that ſatisfy you? Is this plain enough?

But he goes on p. 66. and ſeparates the Perſon from the Office, ſays, that the Prieſts may be depriv'd, but the Office cannot be aboliſh'd: But what becomes of the Office when the Prieſts are gone? Where is the Prieſthood when there are no Prieſts? Now to keep on the compariſon betwixt Kings and Prieſts, I wou'd have the Aſſertor call to mind, that it is made Treaſon to ſeparate the King's Perſon from his Authority; which was the diſtinction of forty one (we have liv'd to ſee it reviv'd) by which they cut off the head of *Charles Stuart*, without hurting of the King! To obviate this very pretence, it is told in the *Caſe*, p. 665. how great honour was commanded by God to be paid not only to the Prieſthood, but to

the Perſons of the Prieſts: But this too has ſlipt the obſervation of the Aſſertor. If we cou'd ſee an Office execute it ſelf, without any body to adminiſter it, there might be room for this diſtinction, till when, as the Aſſertor concludes this *Theſis*, p. 67. *It will be time enough to conſider of it, and not before.*

But as to the inſtances of *Uzziah*, *Saul*, and *Jeroboam*, he puts all eaſily off, thus, that *when we allow Princes to adminiſter Sacraments, to commiſſion Lay-Men to do the office of Prieſts, and to rake Dunghills to fill epiſcopal Sees, it will be time enough*—— As to the firſt, there were other parts of the Prieſts office beſides burning of incenſe, and which it had been as unlawful to invade; witneſs *Jeroboam*'s depriving of the Prieſts of the Lord. The ſecond falls foul upon the Act of Toleration, which qualifies all, whether in orders or out of orders, to do the office of Prieſts, that is, to preach, and adminiſter the Sacraments. To the third I have ſpoke already what is needful.

V. We are come now to his VI^th *Theſis*, p. 68. *That Kings have ſupreme authority in the external diſcipline of the Church.* For which every word of proof he brings are theſe following; *viz. For all forenſick juriſdiction does depend upon the King. Nor can any Perſon be cited into, or proceeded againſt, in any eccleſiaſtical Court without his licence and permiſſion.* This is giving the King a negative (with a witneſs!) againſt the power of the keys, and the Church cannot now deliver unto Satan without my Lord Chief-Juſtice's warrant! But this has been ſpoke to before, *Sect.* III. N. 1. And the Aſſertor here does barely aſſert, and offers not one word of proof more than I have repeated, for this moſt magnificently ſcandalous part of the *Regale*: Which ſubmits even *Chriſt* to the King! For he cannot by this ratify the cenſures of his Church in Heaven without his Majeſty's Licence; becauſe without that they cannot be inflicted upon Earth! Or if inflicted, the *Regale* can give a prohibition! Not only as to the temporal penalties annexed by Law, but can order the excommunication itſelf to be taken off! Which is the ſentence given in the ſecular Courts in ſuch caſes. And I have heard of an excommunication during the King's pleaſure, which is committing the keys of Heaven to him! But the Aſſertor goes on, according to wont, to expoſe and triumph over the *Caſe*, he ſays, *We are told indeed that Kings themſelves have been excommunicated.* And quotes the *Caſe*, p. 110. (p. 637. of this Edit.) where the inſtance is given of St. *Oudoceus*, which he does not deny, but rejects with ſcorn. They have put their whole cauſe upon precedents; yet when precedents are given on the contrary ſide, what care they for precedents. When *Conſtantine* ſpeaks againſt them, he was but a young Chriſtian, and meant not what he ſaid! They were only ſome warm words! And it was impoſſible that St. *Athanaſius*, or *Hoſius*, or any other ſhould ſay what they did! They can (that is, they fain wou'd) prove contrary practices in them: They could write a Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience againſt them. And thoſe godly Kings and Princes who gave up their *Regale*, and ſaid it was a moſt wicked thing, and would ſend their Souls to Hell fire, yet did not do it out of Conſcience! They had ſome fetch or other in it! They were afraid of the Eccleſiaſticks perhaps! Or it was through bigotry to the See of *Rome!* (as the Aſſertor ſuggeſts, p. 36, 37.) tho' they refuſed the Pope's grant for it when freely offer'd, and preſs'd upon them, and ventured his diſpleaſure in rejecting and burning his Bulls with indignation! As is told in the *Caſe*, from Biſhop *Burnet*'s *Hiſtory of the Regale*. And when, to get out of the objection of Popery, this inſtance of St. *Oudoceus* is given here in *England*, before Popery ſet foot in it, then Princes have now more Wit, and Biſhops more Grace! Which is the anſwer here given to it, p. 69.

And

And yet in the ſame page (this Book is full of wonders!) the principle is aſſerted, that *this power may and ought, upon juſt occaſions, to be exercis'd even over the Prince himſelf, as St.* Ambroſe *exercis'd it upon* Theodoſius *the Emperor.* The ſame inſtance is given in confirmation of the ſame principle, in the ſecond Homily, *Of the right uſe of the Church*, which (as hereafter quoted) ſays plainly that St. *Ambroſe* did *excommunicate the Emperor, and brought him to open penance.*

Now why ſo angry at St. *Oudoceus*, and yet approve ſo much of St. *Ambroſe?* Becauſe St. *Oudoceus* is an inſtance here in *England*, and brings it nearer home!

The reſt of this *Theſis* is ſpent againſt giving the holy Sacrament to unqualify'd Perſons, to fit them for places: Wherein I have nothing to oppoſe.

VI. His VII^th *Theſis is, Kings have ſupreme power over Synods, to call them when they ſee convenient, to preſide over their debates, and to give their Canons the Force of Laws.*

1. To which I have already ſaid, that Kings may call Synods: And they may preſide in them, for this end; to ſee that they aſſume not to themſelves the civil power: And to give Canons the force of civil Laws, is wholly in the State. But the queſtion is, whether the Clergy may not meet in Council when they ſee neceſſity for it, without the King's leave, or even againſt his command, if the caſe ſo require? And to do the Aſſertor juſtice, he grants it in many places; but in as many he denies it, he ſays here, p. 71. *Were it in the power of the Clergy to meet in Synods when they pleaſe, and to make what Laws they pleaſe, they might corrupt Religion as they pleas'd, and there would be no remedy.* But he preſently ſaw the conſequence of this, that Religion muſt be truſted in ſome hands or other; and that this would put it as abſolutely in the power of the State to corrupt Religion as they pleas'd. And then the queſtion would come naturally, in whoſe hands *Chriſt* left his Religion, whether of the Church or of the State? And he quotes the *Caſe*, p. 13. (here p. 608.) that this would diſſolve the Church, or make her ſubſiſt precariouſly, at the mere will and pleaſure of the State. In anſwer to which, he throws at the Author the 12^th Canon 1603. where I take the word *Eccleſiaſtical* in the Law ſenſe, for ſuch eccleſiaſtical cauſes as have their foundation from the Laws of the Land, as the probat of Wills, Certificate of Baſtardy, legal Divorce, *&c.* or ſuch cauſes, which, tho' in their own nature purely ſpiritual, yet have temporal penalties annexed to them, as Excommunication, Hereſy, *&c.* And therefore, ſo far as the Law is concern'd, muſt be cognizable by the Law: In ſhort, this Canon muſt be conſtrued in the ſame method as thoſe called *Eraſtian Acts of Parliament*, in the *Caſe*, *Sect.* ix. But if it cannot be ſav'd from being *Eraſtian*, nor thoſe Acts of Parliament, if the Aſſertor thinks ſo, it lies upon him, or thoſe that ſo think to defend them: Truth will not alter for them: And if they be wrong they ought to be ſet right.

But this Canon may be eaſily turn'd upon the Aſſertor: For in the very next page, p. 73. he allows the Church to meet in Synod, without leave of the State, that is, in caſes of neceſſity. Now ware Canon! For who is judge of this neceſſity? If the Church, ſhe may meet when ſhe will; and if the State, ſhe can never meet without their leave.

I wou'd here, it being in my way, return the Aſſertor's civility, in the next page, p. 74. where he takes occaſion to give an obliging character of the other works of him whom he ſuppoſes to be the Author of the *Caſe*, and even of that part of the *Caſe* which touches not the *Regale*, but ſpeaks of the *Pontificate*; and (kindly to him) ſuppoſes that it muſt be the badneſs of the cauſe which made his performance come ſo far ſhort in that of the *Regale*.

But might not another conſideration have come in his way? That ſince he lik'd every thing elſe of whom he ſuppos'd the Author, there might be a reaſon why he found himſelf oblig'd to oppoſe him in this only! Did this cauſe touch no concern, no expectation? It did none of that Author, unleſs to expoſe him to more diſpleaſure: And that does not uſually byaſs a Man's judgment to his prejudice.

Others think this the beſt thing he has done: And the Papiſts except only againſt that part of the *Pontificate*, as the Aſſertor does of the *Regale*.

The Quakers except only againſt what concerns them: Which the Aſſertor approves of.

And other Diſſenters ſay all had been well enough if he had not meddled with them.

Thus you ſee, every Man to his mind.

I believe that Author had no deſign to diſpleaſe any body.

Yet would rather venture that than be falſe to what he thought to be truth.

And he thinks himſelf obliged to any who have but a moderate opinion of his endeavours.

Therefore, in return for that Author, I will own, that the Aſſertor has juſt thoughts of the Church, and of Epiſcopacy; and that thoſe turns and ſhifts which look ſo like contradictions, were the effects of his cauſe which could afford no better: Or if he was put upon it, the excuſe may be accordingly; what is done againſt one's will, has ſeldom the air of the Parent: And if I gueſs right at the Man, it is the ſlighteſt thing has come from him except one.

2. He anſwers the inſtances given of the diſmal effects of the *Regale* by Biſhop *Burnet*, from whom the *Caſe* takes it, by laying it only upon the Male-Adminiſtration of thoſe Princes, which anſwer may be given to the judgments that have follow'd all uſurpations. But then, p. 76. he makes a compariſon betwixt the effects of the *Regale* in the hands of Kings, and of Eccleſiaſticks: But inſtances only in the *Regale* of the Pope. And indeed there may be work for a compariſon there: But to draw the concluſion from thence to Eccleſiaſticks in the general, is, at beſt, not good logick. The primitive Government of the Church was in the hands of Eccleſiaſticks before the *Regale* either of Popes or Kings were in faſhion: And we us'd to call thoſe the pureſt ages of the Church.

3. He repeats an objection already ſpoke to, of the State's oppreſſing too much, or ſuppreſſing the Church: And then gives her leave to fly to her own power. I need not repeat what has been ſaid to that; but I only take notice here of a long quotation he brings from K. *Charles* I. and thinks his authority muſt not be queſtioned: Whereas it is told in the very pages, 251, 252. of the *Caſe* (here p. 677.) which he quotes p. 80. that the principle of *Eraſtianiſm* did prevail too much at that time: And the King himſelf might be tainted with it in ſome meaſure: Which yet is no argument againſt his ſincerity, no, nor his Martyrdom, for thoſe rights of the Church, in defence of which he laid his head upon the block. To this the Aſſertor *nihil dicit*; but he falls foul upon the *Caſe* for naming *Eraſtian* Laws, when before, that Author had endeavoured to clear our Laws from being *Eraſtian*. But have they not been ſo underſtood and practiſed, eſpecially in that Rebellion of Forty One, of which he then ſpoke? And if he could clear them, in their true ſenſe and meaning, from that odious objection, I think there is none ought to be angry with him: At leaſt they may be favourable to ſo good an intention, whatever the performance may prove.

4. We

4. We are now near an end: He begins p. 82. with his anſwer to ſeveral Councils that are quoted in the *Caſe*, p. 108. (here p. 637.) But what are they quoted for? It was to anſwer an objection, that the *Regale* was all along the conſtant and uniform doctrine of the Church: And provocations were given in moſt peremptory terms, to ſhew but one inſtance to the contrary. But in anſwer to the Councils here produc'd, the Aſſertor falls a battelling the authority of this and the other: For the ſeventh and eighth *general Councils* (ſaith he, p. 87.) *as they are called, they deſerve no more notice than the Council of* Trent. But call them what you will, they are good evidence in this caſe. The point is a matter of fact, whether the *Regale* was generally and univerſally, even without any exception, the doctrine of thoſe ages? And what better evidence would you have than what thoſe ages called general Councils? We are not now ſaying whether the doctrine be good or bad; but whether there was ſuch a doctrine: And the Council of *Trent* itſelf is the beſt evidence in the world, what was the doctrine of thoſe that compos'd that Council.

Well then, we come to ſome Councils againſt which the Aſſertor has no objections. 1. Counc. *Conſtant. A. D.* 380. c. 6. this was the ſecond general Council; there it ſays, *That if any have a complaint againſt a Biſhop, he muſt bring it before the Synod of all the Biſhops of the Province or Dioceſe. And if any ſhall deſpiſe this decree, and preſume to trouble either the Emperor or the civil Courts, or an œcumenical Council with it, he ſhall,* &c. And ſays the Aſſertor, p. 84. *That if the Prince have no power to ſit Judge upon a Biſhop, neither has an œcumenical Council.* But, by his leave, the caſe is different: An œcumenical or general Council is not always in being, ſometimes not one in many ages: And if appeals thither were admitted from all ordinary Synods of Biſhops, it would be perfectly an eluding of Juſtice. But Kings and Civil Courts never die, they are always forth coming: Therefore this could not be the reaſon of forbidding appeals to them: And for what other reaſon let the Aſſertor ſtudy againſt next time.

But there is an elder Council than this there quoted, to the ſame purpoſe, which clears this ſubterfuge, the Council of *Antioch*, *A. D.* 341. c. 12. which the Aſſertor is not at the pains to give us, as he does the reſt, for a certain reaſon; which he wou'd not have you enquire, when he ſays of that of *Conſtant. This is the moſt pertinent of all his quotations:* And paſſes over that of *Antioch*, c. 12. only thus, *It is to the ſame effect with that the Council of* Conſtant. *above.* It is ſo; but if he had ſet down the words, as he did that of *Conſtant.* it wou'd have ſpoil'd his Criticiſm (by which he thinks to eſcape) about œcumenical Councils: For they are not nam'd in this Canon of *Antioch*, which ſays, *If any Presbyter or Deacon being depos'd by his own proper Biſhop, or a Biſhop by the Synod, dare appeal to the King, ſeeing his appeal lies to a greater Synod of more Biſhops, where he is to wait the examination of his cauſe, and to refer the deciſion to them: But if making light of theſe, he go to the King with it; ſuch an one deſerves no pardon, nor ought to be admitted to make any ſort of Apology, or to have hopes of his being ever reſtor'd any more.* What was the reaſon of this great ſeverity? What not to be heard? Not to be admitted to make any ſort of Apology? How cou'd they tell what reaſon he might give for it? No; there cou'd be no reaſon; it was making the civil Power judge in an eccleſiaſtical cauſe; which they look'd upon as a total giving up the Charter of the Church. They underſtood not to ſay to the Sea of civil Power, *Hitherto ſhalt thou come, and no farther.* To make King or Parliament judge of the deprivation of Presbyters or Dea-

cons, much more of Biſhops; to diveſt themſelves of their own proper authority; and when diſarm'd, to think to capitulate!

Now inſtead of the Aſſertor's ſaying, this was to the ſame effect with that of *Conſtant.* he ſhou'd have ſaid, that of *Conſtant.* was to the ſame effect with this, for this was elder: And perhaps ſome after this, being thus barr'd from appeals to the civil Power, found out this method of eluding the juſtice that was ready to overtake them, by appealing to an œcumenical Council, which might not be till after they were dead; and therefore that the Council of *Conſtant.* did add this of appealing to œcumenical Councils, to that Canon of *Antioch*; but without the leaſt umbrage of their altering any thing of the reſt of the Canon, which by repeating, they confirmed.

The Aſſertor after this gives a ſhort account of ſeveral Canons of other Councils quoted, which he thinks not pertinent to the cauſe in hand: They are about ſettling the times of the ſitting of the Synods, the methods of proſecution againſt Biſhops and other Clergy-Men, in eccleſiaſtical cauſes and other points of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; which being by theſe Canons wholly preſerv'd in the hands of the Church, I think, with his leave, are very pertinent to ſhew, that ſhe had no recourſe to the *Regale*, in managing the affairs of her own Body, but acted therein wholly independent to the civil Power.

But he comes p. 86. to the Council of *Eliberis*, which ſays he, *Can.* 56. *Requires a Magiſtrate to abſent from Church during the year of his Duumvirate.* And adds, *Here's a Magiſtrate excommunicated, and that is ſomething to the purpoſe: But it ought to have been conſidered withal, that the Duumvirate was but an inferior office; and which moreover in thoſe unhappy times was not to be innocently executed.* This is all he ſays to it. As to the firſt, the title of this Canon is, *De Magiſtratibus & Dominantibus; Of Magiſtrates, and Rulers or Governors*, which includes all, where there is no exception.

For the ſecond excuſe, that the office of the Duumvirate was not to be innocently executed, he ſhou'd have given us ſome reaſon for it. Was it an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion from the *Regale?* That objection lay againſt the very nature of it: But if it was wholly a civil office, and that it cou'd not be innocently executed; then it will operate more ſtrongly againſt the Aſſertor and the *Regale*; for here is the Church interpoſing her authority moſt independently upon the *Regale*; and excommunicating not only a ſingle Magiſtrate, but all who durſt preſume to take upon them a civil office, eſtabliſhed by the State, which the Church thought was not to be innocently executed. The Aſſertor muſt throw us in this Council too, with the 7th and 8th general Councils, which he hath diſcarded before; and I ſuppoſe had done it, but that it is a very ancient one: It was *Anno Domini* 308.

Next follows, *ibid.* p. 86. his Anſwer to the 30th Apoſtolical Canon (thirty one is added in the *Caſe*, only becauſe in ſome Editions of the Councils, this Canon is made the 30th, in others the 31ſt) which forbids Biſhops to be promoted by means of ſecular Princes, under pain of deprivation.

To which ſays the Aſſertor, p, 86, 87. There were no ſecular Magiſtrates then but Heathen: Therefore that this will not reach the caſe of chriſtian Princes. This is *Gratis dictum*; if they are not excepted they are included. But *Secondly*, The before-mention'd Councils were in the reigns of chriſtian Princes; and they are the beſt Expoſitors we can have of the Apoſtolical Canons; and by the way, theſe Councils are received in the Church of *England*. *Thirdly*, The Aſſertor p. 6. to 11. argues the inherent Right of all Princes,

Princes, even Heathen, to this Power: He ſays, *All Princes have the ſame Right to the* Regale *or Supremacy in eccleſiaſtical affairs; for that they hold it* Jure Coronæ, *in Right of their Crowns. And cou'd it indeed be ſuppos'd* (ſays he, p. 10.) *that a Pagan Prince wou'd exerciſe this authority to the ends for which God hath entruſted him with it, there is no queſtion to be made, but that it ought to be ſubmitted to; as the Decrees of* Nebuchadnezzar *and* Darius *for the honour of the true God,* Dan. III. 29. VI. 26. But if God has intruſted them with this authority, it is not in the power of Man to take it from them; no, nor to hinder their exerciſe of it: For what was it given for? And how do we know but they will exerciſe it well, till they are try'd? They may do well at one time, and ill another; they may mend like other Folks: But it ſeems the Apoſtolical Canon had no mind to truſt them. They might ſpeak fair like *Nebuchadnezzar*, ſome times; and in another Mood, throw them into the fiery Furnace.

However this we have gain'd, that now by confeſſion on all hands, chriſtian Princes have no other foundation for their *Regale* than Heathens; and if we may ſtop the exerciſe of it, and the Church take it into her own hands, for her own preſervation in caſe of an Infidel King (I ſuppoſe he will give us a Papiſt too into the bargain; and then why not a Presbyterian, &c.) who may be a virtuous good moral Man, and love to ſee his ſubjects proſper, tho' of a different Religion, and make good Decrees like *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Darius*, even to build our Temple too, as *Cyrus*; and wou'd deſire to ſee ſober and virtuous Biſhops, rather than wicked, who might debauch the People, in their very Morals: I ſay, if even in this caſe, we muſt ſtop the exerciſe of the *Regale* in the hands of ſuch a wiſe, ſober, and virtuous Prince; how much more reaſon is there to take it from a young, fooliſh, profligate, and debauch'd Prince, who may be an *Atheiſt* too, tho' he was chriſten'd in his infancy? Yet he muſt have the ſtyle of moſt ſerene and auguſt; ay, and be pray'd for too, as our moſt religious and gracious King! For theſe are only titles to his office! And he will be leſs apt to part with his *Regale*, or the leaſt punctilio of his prerogative, than a better Man; and like *Saul*, to cut off the whole City of the Prieſts, if a *Doeg* do but whiſper him in the Ear. Therefore if we will not endeavour to ſettle the *Regale* in the time of a good Prince, a bad one will not let us.

5. He concludes with a threat of excommunication againſt the Author of the *Caſe*, from the 2d Canon of our Church, *Anno Domini* 1603. for denying the *ſame authority, in cauſes eccleſiaſtical*, to our Kings, *that the godly Kings had amongſt the* Jews, *and chriſtian Emperors of the primitive Church.*

By chriſtian Emperors here, I ſuppoſe is meant the good ones, as *Conſtantine* who diſown'd any Right he had to the *Regale*; and other godly Kings and Princes who when poſſeſs'd of it by the Laws of their Country and preſcription from their Anceſtors, yet gave it up, and renounc'd it as a moſt wicked and damnable thing, that wou'd ſend their Souls to Hell-fire, for ſuch an encroachment and uſurpation upon *Chriſt* and his Church.

We will not ſuppoſe, that the heretical Emperor *Conſtantius* is here meant, who firſt uſurp'd the *Regale*, or others after him who continu'd, and improv'd it.

Or if contrary practices of the ſame Emperor can be found, ſome times diſowning the *Regale*, and at other times pretending to it: I hope we are at liberty to chuſe which ſide of ſuch precedents ſhall be found moſt agreeable to the Laws of *Chriſt*, to the frame and foundation upon which he built his Church.

And for the godly Kings amongſt the *Jews*, it is the expreſs argument of the *Caſe* to allow the ſame (but no more) authority to our chriſtian Kings: And by this, that Author hopes that the cauſe is determin'd; ſince without criticiſing upon particular expreſſions, as what the thruſting out of *Abiathar* means, whether it is to be taken in the civil or eccleſiaſtical ſenſe, *&c.* the matter of fact is evident, paſt all diſpute or denyal of this, or any other Aſſertors, that it was not within the ordinary and allowed *Regale* of the *Jewiſh* Kings, to exauctorate the Prieſts of *Levi*, or to put others in their room: For doing of which, one of their Kings was ſeverely curſed of God.

Therefore if allowing leſs to our Kings than the Canon requires, does incur an excommunication; what is it to allow them more? From the firſt, the Author of the *Caſe* is free: But the Aſſertor is manifeſtly under the ſecond; And the conſequence is not only againſt a Canon of our Church, but of holy Scriptures, and of the primitive catholick and apoſtolick Church, which we profeſs in our Creed.

And now I think we have quite done: For what follows from p. 89. concerning the 37th Article, is ſpoke to before.

If I have taken needleſs pains, and been too minute in reply to this anſwer, I have only to ſay,

Firſt, That it is the only one has yet appear'd; and perhaps may be the laſt.

Secondly, It argues more reſpect to the Author, to leave nothing he has ſaid unconſider'd.

Thirdly, It may ſerve to ſet this matter in a clearer light, and remove thoſe popular prejudices which carry away unthinking People without examining.

21 *April*, 1701.

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A

DISSERTATION

Concerning the

USE and AUTHORITY

OF

Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

In a Letter *to Mr.* Samuel Parker *on his Abridgment of* Joſephus.

Dear Sir,

I AM very glad you have employ'd thoſe good talents, God has given you, to the ſtudy of Hiſtory, eſpecially the eccleſiaſtical, which will ſerve beſt to the ends you propoſe, of promoting the intereſts of God's Church, in an age where ſhe is ſo far loſt, as to be almoſt forgotten: And though we keep her name, ſhe is yet unknown to moſt, what ſhe truly is, or what it is that belongs to her. To retrieve which the beſt method will be, to ſhew her in her primitive face; and then Men will ſee how ſhe has improv'd or degenerated. A picture allures more than deſcription; and matter of fact beyond many arguments: Diſcourſes tell us of things, but Hiſtory ſhews them to us.

But of all Hiſtory, the eccleſiaſtical is the moſt beneficial, as much more as the concerns of the Church are beyond that of the State; our Souls above that of our Bodies; and our eternal State more than the moment we have to ſtay in this World.

Secular Hiſtory may make us States-Men and Politicians: But the eccleſiaſtical will make us wiſe unto Salvation.

There we ſee the riſe and growth of Hereſies and Schiſms; and how theſe Tares were ſown, while the Husband-Man ſlept; how ſoon they

were beat down while the Watch-Men were viligant and zealous: But when they put on a ſort of moderation, and would compound, how the weeds in a moment over-ſpread the face of the Vineyard; that it requir'd even Miracles ſometimes to retrieve it!

There we ſee the beginning and encroachments of Eraſtianiſm, more fatal to the Church than perſecution; when Court-Biſhops gave up the ſacred *Depoſitum* committed to their charge, into the hands of Kings and States, for worldly conſiderations.

And there, and there only, I may ſay, is the deciſion of all controverted points in Divinity, either as to Doctrine or Diſcipline: For every one of them muſt be determin'd by matter of fact. It is not refining, and criticiſms, and our notions of things, but what that Faith was which at firſt was deliver'd to the Saints. This is matter of fact, and muſt be determin'd by evidence: And where any text of the New Teſtament is diſputed, the beſt evidence is from thoſe Fathers of the Church who liv'd in the apoſtolical age, and learn'd the Faith from the mouths of the Apoſtles themſelves, ſuch as St. *Clement*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, &c. Theſe muſt know the beſt ſenſe and meaning of the words deliver'd by the Apoſtles: And next to them, they to whom they did deliver the ſame, and ſo on through the ſeveral ages of the Church to this day.

And thoſe Doctrines, and that Government of the Church which has this evidence, muſt be the truth.

And they who refuſe to be determin'd by this rule, are juſtly to be ſuſpected; nay, they give witneſs againſt themſelves, that they are departed from the truth.

Thus the Church of *Rome* will not be concluded by the evidence, but by what they call the authority of the Church: Then they make this authority the ſame in all ages; and ſo ſettle all upon the authority of the preſent Church: Then they vainly ſuppoſing themſelves to be the whole World, or the catholick Church, or the Pope the head of it; and conſequently none to be true Members of it, who own not his univerſal Supremacy (who always were, and are at this day more than ten parts to one againſt thoſe Churches which did, or do own it;) they take upon them to impoſe new Articles of Faith, as at *Trent*; and aſſume the authority of the whole apoſtolical College to themſelves.

But as the famous Arch-biſhop of *Spalato*, *Marc. Anton. de Dom.* ſaid, the farther he travel'd upwards in antiquity, he ſtill found more of the epiſcopal, and leſs of the papal authority, which he complain'd had in his time, quite ſwallow'd up the epiſcopal at *Rome*, and gives this as the reaſon, in in his *Concilium Profectionis*, for his quitting his Archbiſhoprick, and other preferments in the Church of *Rome*, and his coming over to the Church of *England*, in the reign of our King *James* I. to ſeek for a more pure and primitive Epiſcopacy: And this he did, as he tells himſelf, before he had ever read a Proteſtant Book, or convers'd with any Proteſtants; but merely by his ſearching into antiquity.

The ſame method wou'd baffle and ſilence our vile Sectaries, of ſeveral ſorts: For example, who can read the Hiſtory which you have epitomis'd, and doubt that Epiſcopacy, was the government of the Church, at that time, and before, all over the chriſtian World? And as to that childiſh rattle, which the Presbyterians play with of going to the Etymology of the words, Ἐπίσκοπος, Πρεσβύτερος, and Διάκονος, it can have no more weight with any Man of ſenſe that reads *Euſebius*, than the word *Imperator* being us'd ſometimes for the General of an Army, could perſuade any that read the *Roman* Hiſtory, to believe that there never was an Emperor in *Rome*.

But as none can undertake this method except Men of learning; ſo where they have manag'd the controverſial points of Divinity in this manner, ſuch works have always been beſt receiv'd in the World, and have proved moſt effectual and unanſwerable, as the celebrated Forbeſs of *Corſe*, his *Inſtructiones Hiſtorico-Theologicæ*; the learned *Coſin*, Biſhop of *Durham*, his *Scholaſtical Hiſtory of the Canon of the holy Scripture*, and his *Hiſtory of Tranſubſtantiation*, which none of our Adverſaries of the Church of *Rome* have attempted to anſwer: For plain mattter of fact will not bend, or ſuffer us to dodge and and fence with it, as we may do for ever about poor criticiſms of words, and ſpeculations of our own inventing.

They who read not Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and the primitive Fathers, muſt take their knowledge at ſecond hand upon truſt from others; which ſome think to ſupply with reading modern Syſtems and courſes of Divinity, whereby they may have all at once, and be thereby likewiſe better enabl'd to underſtand the Controverſies of our own age.

But as theſe are grafted upon the ages foregoing; ſo the beſt method of ſeeing clearly into them, is to examine upwards, and read downwards from the beginning: There we ſhall find many of thoſe ſeemingly exalted, and new notions ſet up by the various Sects amongſt us, to have been old exploded Hereſies condemn'd by the catholick Church, and only new vampt by ſubtile enemies crept in among us, to divide and diſtract the ignorant and unſtable.

It is a thing much to be lamented, that ſo many of our Clergy (though generally the moſt learned of any in any Nation upon the Earth) ſome out of poverty, having no Money to buy Books, no, nor to provide bare neceſſaries, ſince the ſcandalous and ſacrilegious impropriations made of their Tythes; firſt by the Pope, and then worſe diverted by thoſe who ſhould have reſtor'd them; and others out of lazineſs and avocations to ſecular affairs, content themſelves with two or three *Dutch* or *German* Syſtems of Divinity, and ſome modern Books upon the conteſts now a-foot; whereby they can bear up ſomething of Diſcourſe, upon general topicks, but know nothing to the bottom.

This diſeaſe had crept much even into the Univerſities, not only while they were oppreſs'd and purg'd during the uſurpation of Forty One, by thoſe who hated learning, becauſe it made againſt them: But before that time the modern Polemicks then bandy'd in *Holland* and here, of *Calviniſts*, *Arminians*, *Remonſtrants*, *Anti-Remonſtrants*, &c. had taken up moſt of the Studies of the young *Genius*'s at the Univerſities, to fit themſelves for that War; whereby the learning of antiquity from the early Fathers, and of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory was in a great meaſure laid aſide, and much impair'd.

Which having been obſerv'd by that great Archbiſhop *Laud*, he, when Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, apply'd the proper remedy, and order'd the heads of the Houſes to direct the young Students to the reading of antiquity, beginning at the firſt ages of the Church, and ſo downwards; which has exceedingly rais'd the glory of that Univerſity, as of the other of *Cambridge*, which follow'd the ſame example; whence ſo many learned works have been produc'd, in our Kingdoms, of the true and ſolid antiquity, as have in a manner reviv'd the firſt ages of the Church, and given us noble Editions of ſome of the greateſt of the Fathers; with hopes to ſee the ſame method gone through with the reſt: The emulation of this has likewiſe gone into other Countries, and improv'd learning every where.

Nay, even among the Fanaticks themſelves, who tho' they are fill'd with indignation to ſee this method purſu'd, and have wrote ſpiteful Books againſt the Fathers, to deſtroy their authority, yet are forc'd to come into them,

and have taken pains to gather ſcraps out of them, which they wreſt to favour their new opinions. Fain would they have antiquity on their ſide, if they could get it; and when it will not do, they rail at it, and run down Fathers, Councils, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, all in a lump; and would have us take their light within for the only true interpreter of Scripture! While at the ſame time they give us Hiſtories of their vile Sects, their beginnings, progreſs, ſucceſs, models, diſcipline, doctrine, *&c.* to preſerve their memories to future ages, and to be a pattern for them: Yet they will not allow this to the Apoſtolical, and next ſucceeding ages; or that we can know them by the Hiſtories and Writings of thoſe times.

In which we find nothing of the Papal Supremacy, or Presbyterian Parity; but flagrant Epiſcopacy every where in all Churches: Yet with this difference, that whereas our Diſſenters have this plea only left, to bawl and wrangle, as if our Biſhops took more upon them, and aſſum'd greater authority than thoſe primitive Biſhops did pretend to over their Presbyters and People; the caſe is ſo far otherwiſe, that if our Biſhops ſhould ſpeak now in the language us'd by thoſe early apoſtolical Biſhops, that rout would be ready to ſtone them, and cry out blaſphemy! If they were told, that the Biſhop does immediately repreſent the Perſon of *Chriſt*: That therefore as the Apoſtles and Diſciples were obedient to *Chriſt*, ſo ought the Presbyters, Deacons, and Laity, to be obedient to their Biſhop: That who kept not outward Communion with his Biſhop, did forfeit the inward Communion with *Chriſt* the Head: That even Prayers and Sacraments out of the Communion of the Biſhop, were like the Offerings of *Korah*, Rebellion againſt the Lord: But *my Soul for theirs who keep Communion with their Biſhop*; for that he is the Principle of Unity in his Church, and who is not in Communion with him, is out of the Unity of the catholick Church: This would be call'd high-flying with a witneſs! Yet this was the language of the holy *Ignatius*, and thoſe primitive, and even Apoſtolical times.

How far ſhort of this is the ſtyle and the pretenſions of our preſent Biſhops? Yet we hear theſe Sons of *Korah*, in his very words (which they ſtill retain, as well as his arguments) telling their Biſhops, *Ye take too much upon you:* And the reaſon, *ſeeing all the Congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them; wherefore then lift ye up your ſelves above the Congregation of the Lord?* They ſet up their own holineſs (humble Men of heart!) againſt thoſe Governors ſet over them by *Chriſt*; and call their authority, a *Lording it over the Heritage of the Lord:* Their authority, which is dwindled almoſt to a ſhadow, from that which was left by the Apoſtles to the Biſhops whom they ordain'd; and exercis'd by them with the joy and conſent of all good Chriſtians, for many ages; and all this upon the pretence that our Biſhops have enlarg'd their authority above that of the firſt Biſhops!

But all this is cur'd by conſulting the original Records and Hiſtories of the Church, by which it will appear how groundleſs and contemptible the pretenſions are of both Pope and Presbyter, who are join'd like *Sampſon's* Foxes, with Fire-brands, tho' they look ſeveral ways, to ruin and depreſs the primitive Epiſcopacy. The one would have no Biſhop but himſelf; the other would have none at all: Let either of them ſee what footſteps they can find of either of theſe Schemes, in your *Euſebius*, or in any Writer before his time.

The frame of the Church was then in the full authority of every Biſhop over his own Flock, as well Presbyters as People, as he who muſt give an account to *Chriſt*, the chief Shepherd; and in the mutual agreement and correſpondence of the Biſhops among themſelves, for the joint Regimen of the

the whole Body, according to ſuch Canons and Rules of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, as they ſettled among themſelves; which is exactly parallel to the Government in which God has diſpoſed the World, the full and independent authority of each particular Government in the ſeveral Nations of the Earth, over their own Subjects; and what we call the Law of Nations, as a Rule among the ſeveral Kings and States, for the preſervation of the whole. And as God, in his infinite wiſdom, has not thought it beſt for the World to ſet one univerſal Monarch over it all; but has conſulted better for the peace and ſecurity of Mankind, in many independent Kings, who may balance one another, and be Guarantees in the Treaties of peace among themſelves: So, as St. *Cyprian* has obſerv'd Chriſt *did therefore make the College of Biſhops numerous, that if one ſhould prove heretical, or ſeek to devour the Flock, the reſt might mercifully interpoſe for the ſaving of it.* But if this power were lodg'd in any one univerſal Biſhop, then, as St. *Gregory* the *Great* wiſely argues, *If that univerſal Biſhop ſhould fall, the whole univerſal Church may fall with him.*

On the other hand, if every Government were not intire and abſolute within it ſelf, they could not rule their own Subjects; and ſo could not contribute towards the general peace of the World: So that the Presbyterian Parity would unhinge all particular Governments, and render the Government of the World a mere Chaos and a Mobb.

Now the State and Hiſtory of the primitive Church ſhews this by a ſtronger argument, that is, of fact, what was the Government of the Church, as eſtabliſh'd and left by the Apoſtles; for that is it which muſt, after all our reaſonings, determine us: It is not what ſchemes and contrivances we may fancy, but what that Government was, which *de facto*, the Apoſtles left in the Church; and that muſt continue, till a greater, at leaſt as great an authority ſhall alter it.

But ſome think, that the Apoſtles left no ſtanding Government in the Church, but what might be alter'd by the Church in after-ages, according to occaſions and emergencies; and ſo Epiſcopacy, Presbytery, or any thing elſe may come in——- Theſe make no great matter of the Government of the Church, ſo as (they cry) the Doctrine be ſecur'd. But they conſider not that the Government was ordain'd to ſecure the Doctrine: And no inſtance can be given from *Jeroboam* downward, where the change of the Government did not bring along with it a change of Doctrine, as the Apoſtle argues, *Heb.* VII. 12. *For the Prieſthood being changed, there is made of neceſſity a change alſo of the Law.* And as in temporal Kingdoms, there cannot be a change of Government, without a change alſo of the Law; ſo is it in the Kingdom of God upon Earth, which is the Church. Every ſmall Corporation is jealous of their Government, and look upon any infraction upon that to be an invaſion of their rights and liberties: The Church alone, with us, is render'd precarious, and her Government of no conſequence! What ſtreſs God laid upon it, may be ſeen in the buſineſs of *Korah*; and how near to heart it was laid in the primitive Church, we ſee in the firſt invaſions were made upon the Epiſcopal Authority. How was all the Church in a flame, and the Biſhops every where concern'd themſelves upon *Novatus* thruſting himſelf into the See of *Cornelius*, as being an infraction upon the Rules and Rights of the Epiſcopal College? How did the great St. *Cyprian* cry out, upon this occaſion, that whoever invaded the See of another Biſhop, was not *Secundus, ſed Nullus*; no ſecond Biſhop while the firſt was alive, and not ſynodically depos'd, by the Epiſcopal College, for Hereſy, or other Crimes deſerving it? For the Right of every Biſhop in the Earth is herein concern'd, and conſequently of the whole Church, of her whole conſtitution, as a Society, that is, as a Church: And

it

it was not then thought a matter of ſo little moment, to ſuffer the pillar and ground of the truth to be ſhaken: For if the Church goes, the truth which ſhe ſupports, goes with her, is impair'd or improv'd with her; for *Chriſt* has founded it upon her, has built the Faith upon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, himſelf the chief corner ſtone; and has promis'd to be with the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, to the end of the World. Is it then a matter ſo indifferent who are their Succeſſors? Who ſhould be the Center of Unity in every Church? Who ſhould repreſent the Perſon of *Chriſt* to us, and ſign and ſeal his Covenants with us, in his name, and by his commiſſion? Can any inveſted with ſuch an authority be put in and out at pleaſure, at every Body's pleaſure, of Kings, of States, nay, of the Mobb, be voted up and down by them?

While the Church retain'd her primitive Diſcipline, and preſerv'd the bounds of the Sanctuary free from popular and all Lay-Uſurpations, how was the Faith made glorious, and the chriſtian Zeal ſhone far and wide, to the diſarming, and converſion of her Adverſaries?

But in after-times, when her authority was leſſen'd, ſwallow'd up by the Pope, and put all into his hands; prey'd upon by the ſecular powers; divided and torn aſunder by rebellious and ambitious Presbyters; and laſtly, trod under foot by the Beaſts of the People; how were the Flood-Gates open'd of all vile Errors and Hereſies, which over-ſpread the face of the Church?

Let me name two examples known to every body: The firſt is, when Epiſcopacy was totally ſubdu'd among us, in the former ſucceſsful Revolution of Forty One, what a prodigious ſwarm of new-broach'd Hereſies and Sects roſe up all of a ſudden, and over-ſpread the face of the Land? You will find the names of moſt of them in *Hereſiography* and *Gangrena*, wrote in thoſe times; they were about the number of thoſe reckon'd by *Epiphanius*, that is, Sixty. No Nation upon the Earth ſince chriſtianity, ever ſaw ſo diſmal a ſight at any one time!

But ſo ſoon as Epiſcopacy was reſtor'd, with the baniſh'd King, *An.* 1660. theſe all (except three or four of chief name) inſtantly diſappear'd, as miſts before the Sun.

The ſecond inſtance I ſhall give, is, the ſtate of the Church ſince the laſt Revolution in 1688. wherein Epiſcopacy was aboliſh'd in *Scotland*—— *in ordine ad*—— And though the time was not come for going ſo far in *England* (by a ſeaſonable interpoſition of providence) yet all preparations were made for it: The power and management both in Church and State, were put into the hands of the enemies of Epiſcopacy: Its divine Rights, or any Right at all, above the reach of an Act of Parliament, was taken away, and effectually diſown'd, by the Act for Lay-Deprivations. Hence a Schiſm aroſe in the Church of *England*, (the firſt ſince the Reformation) and Biſhops and Anti-Biſhops were ſet up.

Since which time, the Flood-gates of Hereſy have been again ſet open. The *Socinians*, otherwiſe call'd *Unitarians*, ſo rampant, that beſides the liberty of the Preſs, and free owning of themſelves, even in Coffee-Houſes, without the leaſt reſtraint, they proceeded ſo far, as to lay the ſcheme for the open and publick profeſſion of their Religion, to build and endow Churches for themſelves, *&c.* as we are told in the life of *Thomas Firmin*, their indefatigable Agent.

Sir *Robert Howard*, a Member of the Privy-Council, and of great poſt in the Government, own'd in print what he call'd his *Hiſtory of Religion*; which is a rank Satyr againſt all Prieſthood and Churches whatſoever, and ridicules Religion it ſelf.

The Books and Pamphlets of thoſe times, upon theſe ſubjects, are very voluminous: And from the countenance they receiv'd (I wiſh I could not ſay, even from ſome then in high Station in the Church) they have fill'd this land, eſpecially the young Gentry, with Principles of Irreligion, of Deiſm (which is now the moſt prevalent, as it is the moſt curſed of Sects) and even of downright Atheiſm.

And for the poorer and more ignorant ſort of People, they ſeeing the foundations thus ſhaken, have run over in Shoals, (taking advantage of the plenitude of the toleration) to the remainder of the Sects left amongſt us ſince the former Revolution (like ſo many of the *Canaanites*, to teach us the uſe of War) beſides new ones, this rank ſoil has produc'd, as the *Philadelphians*, *Bourignoniſts*, *Daviſites*, *Maſonians*, (ſince extinguiſh'd) and others; the Sweet-Singers, *Antinomians*, and others of the old ones reviv'd. As thoſe much ancienter, which we find in your *Euſebius*, l. 3. c. 26. That the Bodies of the faithful ſhall not die. And, l. 6. c. 37. That the Soul does die with the Body; the former ſet up lately by *Aſgil*, the latter by Dr. *Coward*, and ſeveral others, who have wrote on the ſame ſide. And theſe old exploded Hereſies, are now the chat of Coffee-Houſes and Taverns, as new and ingenious diſcoveries, and take with too many, in an age prepar'd for ſuch deluſions; and many more went over to Popery in the laſt, than in the former reign.

From all this, that dreadful looſe has proceeded of prophaneſs, and open immoralities, which we now ſee before our eyes, in an exceſs, would have been thought ſcandalous, even in licentious times.

For what reſtraint can there be, where there is no ſenſe of Religion? And what ſenſe of an inſtituted and reveal'd Religion, where its inſtitutions are deſpis'd, and their authority with whom *Chriſt* has left the adminiſtration of them, and government of his Church, is render'd precarious and voluble with every turn of State? Nay, ſubject to the caprice of thoſe who have itching ears, and heap up teachers to themſelves? When tender conſcience and moderation is pleaded on their behalf, who tear the Body of *Chriſt* in pieces by various Sects and Schiſms? When the Spirit of Zeal, the very Life and Soul of chriſtianity, the Παῤῥησία of the Goſpel, is not only laid aſide, but call'd violence and high-flying? And in the room thereof, ſuch a *Laodicean* and *Latitudinarian* Principle is ſet up, as knows not where it will ſtop, nor can indeed, till it has given up all reveal'd Religion, which is inconſiſtent with it. Towards which, what pains have we ſeen taken, by ſome whom it leaſt became, to advance, in oppoſition to it, what they call natural Religion (which will allow them Latitude enough) even to prefer a Mother's obligation to ſuckle her own Child, as being a natural duty, before any poſitive precept of reveal'd Religion? Which includes the belief of a *Chriſt*, or any Faith in him; for that is nothing elſe but a poſitive precept of reveal'd Religion. And then we cannot ſuppoſe that any of his Inſtitutions, Prayers, Sacraments, or any thing elſe ſhould be much ſtood upon; eſpecially ſuch as concern the Regimen of his Church, as a Society, diſtinct from, and independent of any other upon Earth: Theſe muſt be eaſily diſpens'd with, when the Author of what I have nam'd above, makes the command of an Husband (who by the way is no natural relation, but of poſitive inſtitution) ſufficient to diſcharge his Wife from that natural duty of giving ſuck to her Child, which he makes *of more neceſſary and indiſpenſable obligation*, (theſe are his words) *than any poſitive precept of reveal'd Religion:* And directs Parents and Maſters to take care, not to bring up their Children and Servants in what he calls the *Jargon*, that is, the diſtinguiſhing Principles of any Party: For theſe muſt give place at all times, to Politicks, to keep up peace and quietneſs,

though in the moſt manifeſt injuſtice; which any ſort of Principles, being ſtood to, might ſome time or other happen to diſturb; and the quiet poſſeſſion, though of wickedneſs, he makes preferable to any Religion whatſoever; the conſequences of which he extends not beyond this World (for he has publickly preach'd and printed the utter uncertainty (at leaſt) in his opinion, whether there be any Hell) therefore ſays, *And for God's ſake, what is Religion good for, but to reform the manners and diſpoſitions of Men, to reſtrain human nature from violence and cruelty, from falſhood and treachery, from ſedition and rebellion? Better it were, there were no reveal'd Religion,* (that is, no *Chriſt*) *and that human nature were left to the conduct of its own Principles and Inclinations, which are much more mild and merciful, much more for the peace and happineſs of human Society, than to be acted by a Religion that is continually ſupplanting Government, and undermining the welfare of Mankind,* &c.

There is much more in the ſame Author of the like ſort: And I mention it here, to let our *Latitudinarians* ſee whither their Principles do tend: This Author being much admir'd by them, and the very top of them.

And I name this Sect of the *Latitudinarians*, the laſt that I ſhall now ſpeak of, as including all the reſt, and all that indeed can be; at leaſt, ſo far as to give way to them, and live well with them, for peace ſake, though *Korahites* or *Mahumetans!*

And I have pitch'd upon this remarkable Perſon for an inſtance, he being the moſt concern'd of any Man in *England*, in the late lay-deprivations, and breaches upon the Epiſcopal Authority.

And to make good what I have obſerv'd before, that infractions upon the Government of the Church, have always been attended with corruptions, even in her Doctrine.

And thence to infer, how neceſſary it is to preſerve the Government of the Church, as *Chriſt* and the Apoſtles left it.

Which what it is, and how zealouſly contended for in the primitive ages, the Hiſtory you abridg'd does evidently have ſhew.

I might add a third inſtance, that of *Holland*, which, becauſe it would not have Epiſcopacy, is render'd the Sink and Aſylum of all vile Errors and Hereſies; from whence moſt of ours were ſent to us, in the former as well as laſt Revolution, which I have ſhew'd elſewhere: And thus it has been, is, and will be in all places, more or leſs, as Eraſtianiſm prevails, and Epiſcopacy is depreſs'd.

I have now but one word more, concerning the method of Abridgments of Hiſtory; they are of uſe to thoſe who have read the Hiſtories at large, and to thoſe who have not. To the former they ſerve as Indexes, and revive them in their Memories with little pains; and they encourage the latter to peruſe the Hiſtories themſelves; and to thoſe who have not leiſure or application to go through great works, they afford that knowledge which they would otherwiſe totally want.

As to your performance, your modeſty prevents my ſaying any thing of it to your ſelf; and it will recommend it ſelf to others, nothing the more for an Epiſtolary Friend.

Inſtead of all which I join heartily with you, in beſeeching God Almighty to give his bleſſing to it; to direct and proſper this and all your other labours, for his glory, and the good of his afflicted Church; and to ſend more Labourers into his Harveſt in this time of need; that he may not yet remove our Candleſtick, for all that we have done; but to heal the breaches of our *Sion*, and to haſten his Kingdom. *Amen.*

The Converſion of
St. *Paul*, 170$\frac{2}{3}$.

A SERMON

A

SERMON

Preach'd at

CHESTER,

AGAINST

MARRIAGES

IN

Different Communions.

MARRIAGES

IN

CHESTER

AT

SERMON

A

PREFACE.

I. *THE ſubſtance of the enſuing Diſcourſe was delivered twelve years ago in a Sermon at* Cheſter; *in which and the neighbouring County it is more common than elſewhere in* England *to match with Diſſenters, at leaſt of one ſort, from our Church. And croſs the water in* Ireland, *the examples are many of* Engliſh *Families, who by marrying with the Natives have loſt their Nation as well as Religion, and are turned mere* Iriſhmen *as well as Papiſts.*

Before I adventured to commit this to the Preſs, I ſent it to the moſt learned and judicious Mr. Dodwell, *who returned the following* * *Letter, with his leave to make it publick, and to go along with this; which will make this valuable, as being the occaſion of ſhewing ſo learned a Treatiſe to the World: And ſo neceſſary at this time to revive the true notion of the* Peculium, *the holy Seed, or City of God, which he has diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the World by particular and moſt glorious privileges and promiſes in all ages of the world, from the firſt Man born, even unto this day; and has wonderfully preſerv'd by his miraculous Providences amidſt all her enemies; has aſſur'd her of a final victory over them, and eternal triumph and jubilee in Heaven. This is an invincible argument for the truth of the Goſpel, when it is ſhew'd, that the ſame* Peculium *which* Chriſt *has ſet up in his Church had been deduc'd thro' ſeveral œconomies, from the beginning of the World, and foretold by all the Prophets from that time to the coming of the* Meſſiah: *And that Fold of the Sheep*

* This was a large Diſcourſe, and printed with the Sermon in the 8vo Edition; but not thought proper to be inſerted here among a collection of this Author's Works.

being finally ſeparated from the Goats, makes up the two eternal ſtates of Heaven and Hell.

It is likewiſe the moſt forcible perſuaſive that can be to the reſtoring of a catholick Communion and Unity among all chriſtian Churches, the members of this one Body.

And alſo it is the trueſt light and rule whereby to govern the Diſcipline of every particular Church within her ſelf, all with due reſpect to the preſerving and ſupporting the true notion and prerogatives of the Peculium.

Among which, this of Marriage is a principle part, which has been forgotten and neglected amongſt us and other Communions, contrary to both their and our principles.

At firſt view this attempt may ſeem as tending to the widening of our differences, and keeping us at greater diſtance.

But when duly conſider'd, it will have the quite contrary effect: For they who are in earneſt with their Religion, will by this ſenſible motive be brought to conſider the more ſpiritual and eternal conſequences of being within the true Peculium; *and will not, for ſmall and indifferent things make a Schiſm in the Church of which they are members; and for pride or peeviſhneſs throw themſelves out of the Fold of* Chriſt's *Church, and ſet up another of their own contrivance.*

And it will diſcover the hypocriſy of thoſe looſe profeſſors who cannot abſtain from Marriage for the ſame reaſons which they think ſufficient to divorce themſelves from the Church, which is the Body of Chriſt, *and to tear it in pieces by their Schiſm.*

It will beget a higher regard of Religion, and it is to be hoped, when other arguments fail, that many may be perſuaded to leave their Schiſm, when they cannot otherwiſe compaſs a rich match, or one whom they love: And this may be ſuppos'd a guard which God has put for the ſecurity of his Religion.

And as it may reduce many, ſo it will cement thoſe that are in the Peculium *much more firmly, when they conſider by what a holy and ſtrict tye they are united into one Body under* Chriſt *the Head.*

Let me go on then a little in this Preface to pave the way towards the enſuing Diſcourſe.

There are two things to be conſider'd in this matter of Marriage into different Communions; Firſt, *As to the inconvenience of it, the prejudice and hurt to Families as well in their ſpiritual as temporal concerns. And,* Secondly, *As to the lawfulneſs of it, which is the chief and great point, and mainly to be conſider'd.*

I will

II. *I will therefore only touch upon the first, because the reasons are obvious to any one, and the examples frequent, and daily complaints are heard, and the miserable inconveniences seen, felt, and understood.*

It is a common theme how little the promises in Courtship, or contracts upon Marriage, as to giving full liberty in Religion, are regarded! And indeed they ought not to be regarded, and oblige only to repentance, as being unlawful oaths or promises. Can I covenant (or ought I to keep it) to suffer my Wife to go on in what I am persuaded is a great sin, to continue all her life in an idolatrous Worship, or in open and notorious Schism, without so much as once interposing even my advice, or attempting to satisfy her scruples or convince her Reason? Will not the Blood of her Soul be requir'd at my hand? Shall I be oblig'd to that hardness of heart towards her, which would be a Sin in me towards a stranger? It is written, Lev. XIX. 17. Thou shalt not hate thy Brother in thine heart: Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer Sin upon him; *or, as our Margin reads it,* suffer Sin for him: *That is, I shall answer for his Sin if I do not reprove it. And can I tie my self up from this duty towards my Wife? Is not this hating her in my heart? Is it not saying, let me have your Person or Estate, and I care not what becomes of your Soul? And shall not I answer for this to God? If I suffer sin upon her without rebuking of it, shall not I* suffer Sin for her?

Then again, what security can I have of her not tampering with her Children? If I be so hard-hearted towards her, as to let her go freely (as I think) to the Devil: And whether I think truly or not, the kindness is the same; nay, and the Sin too in a great measure, because I go on in that which I think to be a Sin and Provocation to God, which is provoking of him to his Face: I say, tho' I should be so insensible of my duty to God or Man, as to suffer this in my Wife, without reproof; yet she may be better natur'd, and have not only more sense of God but bowels for her Children, than to see them perish (as she believes) both Soul and Body, for want of her advice and instruction. And if the husband be likewise religious, and make the same Conscience of educating his Children, then will some of them speak the language of Israel, *and some the speech of* Ashdod, *or, which is worse, dissemble it for fear of offending, till they come to be their own Masters: And then there is another Family corrupted, and the infection gone to my Grand-Children, and whole Posterity.*

There

III. *There are agreements made in ſome of theſe Marriages, that the Father ſhall have the education of the Sons in his Religion; and the Mother of the Daughters in hers: Or the Father of the firſt Child, the Mother of the ſecond,* &c.

That is, I give up ſome of my Children to what I think a falſe Religion, and wherein I dare not venture my own Soul; to have the privilege of bringing others of them up in the true Religion: This is, if we are in earneſt with Religion, to damn one (as far as in us lies) to ſave another: A ſad bargain for our our Children!

Eſpecially conſidering that thoſe I give up are certainly loſt if I keep my engagement: And I have no aſſurance that Faith will be kept with me, as to my ſhare of my Children; ſo that I deliver ſome of them to certain ruin, for the hazard of ſaving others.

Let us add to this the drawing into factions and parties among the Children and Servants, on account of the difference of Religions practis'd in the Family, and ſo breeding diviſions and diſturbance to the Peace and good Government of the Family; and wearing out, by degrees, that Love and mutual Confidence and Truſt there ought to be betwixt Man and Wife, while they are oblig'd to keep perpetual watch upon each other, for fear of their Children and Servants, for whoſe Religion (I mean of the Servants as well as Children) the Maſters of Families are chargeable before God: (how little ſoever that be now thought of; but Men uſe the ſervice of Mankind as of Beaſts, without other conſideration than feeding of their Bodies, which they do for their own advantage;) I ſay, Maſters are anſwerable for the Religion of their Servants as far as inſtruction goes, and the exerciſe of a juſt and equitable authority: And it being a truth even to a proverb, that Men, (eſpecially Children) are more drawn by example than precept, this greateſt of temptations can never be wanting in that Family where Man and Wife are of different Communions.

There is but one thing that can be ſaid to this, and it is common with thoſe concern'd; that is, that there are good and bad of all Communions, and if Men live juſtly and virtuouſly in any Communion, they may go to Heaven; therefore what need they trouble one another about this or that Communion, ſo they be all chriſtian? That there is good ſound doctrine taught in all, enough to ſave our Souls, if we duly follow and practiſe it: That the things wherein they differ are not eſſential, but only matters of ſpeculation, that may be this way or that way, and no great harm done: And if any be in ſuch errors, they are but venial, and will not be imputed to honeſt well-meaning People, tho' in ignorance, ſince it is not malicious, but only out of weakneſs of Judgment, &c.

Theſe are the topicks by which Men of all Communions amongſt us do ſatisfy themſelves, not to baulk their fancy or intereſt in a good match when it comes in their way.

And I wiſh with all my heart that they did believe themſelves, while they thus ſeek to impoſe upon themſelves, to gratify a paſſion, whether of Love, Ambition, or Covetouſneſs.

For if the differences amongſt us be ſo ſmall, as not to hinder Marriage, much leſs good neighbourhood; how then come they, through the other end of the glaſs, to appear ſo mountainous as to be a ſufficient ground for Schiſm, for breaking the Unity of the Church, and tearing Chriſt's *Body in pieces? And not only for ſuffering perſecution, even to Death, our ſelves; but they have been thought ſufficient to diſſolve our Oaths of Allegiance, to juſtify Rebellion, and to fill the World with Blood, Slaughter, and Deſolation. Men have been ill look'd upon, and loſt their employments, for keeping company with malignants: And is there no offence in marrying with them? Come out from among them, and touch not the unclean, has been often preſs'd, and ſeparate your ſelves— which is the ground of all our ſeparations: And after all, may we join with them in Marriage, tho' in nothing elſe? Is Marriage the leaſt, the moſt inconſiderable of all ties? Is there leſs temptation in that than in common acquaintance and converſation?*

Or upon the whole, is this the truth, that our pretences to Religion, tender Conſciences, &c. *are all jeſt and banter, to carry on other deſigns, and inveigle the ignorant People to our ſide? And ſo we can keep them out of the oppoſite intereſt, not to touch there, we care not tho' they marry with their Religion, with the Daughter of a ſtrange God.*

If the poor miſled Populace wou'd conſider duly of this, it might ſerve as an amulet to diſſolve that charm with which they have been bewitched: And let them ſee that it was not the intereſt of Religion, but their own, which induc'd their leaders to ſeduce them from their duty, and out of the boſom of the Church, that they might uſurp upon the State.

And to ſuch of them as are truly conſcientious (for no doubt ſuch there are among all our Diſſenters) there is no medium, but either to return from their Schiſm, or otherwiſe, to abſtain from Marriages with thoſe who are of a different Communion.

And the ſame obligation lies upon others not to mix with them. But if any will ſay, that the differences betwixt our oppoſite Communions are ſo ſmall as not to hinder worldly Marriage, we muſt

certainly conclude, that they are not ſufficient to diſſolve that far more holy and ſpiritual Marriage by which we are made members of the Church, and ſo of Chriſt, *the Head of it: That they cannot be ſufficient to warrant our forſaking the publick Aſſemblies of the Church, and making a breach in her Communion; upon which the heavieſt curſe is pronounc'd that ever came out of the Mouth of* God, Heb. x. 25, &c.

Let me add, that all thoſe objections upon which our Diſſenters have broke off from the Church are eaſily overcome when intereſt ſtands in the way. How frequently do they come to the holy Sacrament, according to all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, *in obedience to the ſacramental Teſt, to qualify themſelves for offices and employments in the Government? And thoſe of them that are rich, and have good ſettlements upon Marriage, do marry by the Common-Prayer, and the epiſcopal eſtabliſh'd Clergy, to prevent any diſputes in Law that might ariſe for their marrying otherwiſe: And this is common with the beſt and moſt zealous of them.*

Now I would beſeech them to lay their hand upon their heart and conſider, that if there be ſin in theſe things, they ought not to comply with it upon any account. And if there be no Sin, how will they juſtify their ſeparation? Since all of us do agree, that nothing leſs than Sin can juſtify ſeparation, becauſe Schiſm is a great Sin allow'd on all hands; and therefore nothing can excuſe it but where ſomething that is as plainly and directly a Sin as Schiſm is, is requir'd from us. And in that caſe, becauſe no Man muſt ſin, our ſeparation is no Schiſm; but we are thruſt out of Communion for not committing of a Sin: And therefore the Schiſm lies at their door who impoſe the Sin, as a condition of their Communion.

The inconveniences of theſe Marriages has been touch'd upon; and from thence the unlawfulneſs has been inferred, as being a running our ſelves into a temptation: But the full proof muſt be from the holy Scriptures, theſe muſt determine us, therefore let us enquire what we find ſaid of it there.

And I will take my riſe from a remarkable place, from whence my ſcruples firſt aroſe; and therefore I have choſen it for my text; that I may conſider of it with Company, and have the aſſiſtance of others to know whether I have rightly underſtood it or not: Which if I have not, and be thereof convinc'd, I ſhall owe great thanks to any who ſhall undeceive me, and do promiſe a retractation: For there is nothing of this kind, none of theſe ſort of

Marriages by which I have receiv'd any ſort of perſonal prejudice or any of my Relations: So that I am, as to that, perfectly unprejudic'd in this cauſe; and nothing has moved me to this undertaking, but merely the importance of the thing itſelf, and the miſchiefs I have ſeen thereby accrue to many Families; eſpecially to one, which affects all.

IV. *But before I enter upon this enquiry, let me add to that of Marriages another cuſtom too frequent amongſt us, that is, to admit thoſe of oppoſite Communions to ſtand as God-Fathers or God-Mothers to Children at their Baptiſm. Some have no farther conſideration of them than as Goſſips to help a Merry-making at the Chriſtening-Feaſt; and therefore have reſpect only to their quality, that it be proportionable to thoſe who invite them; and to whom they may return the like civility when they ſhall have occaſion: And the common excuſe is, that they engage only to take care that the Child be inſtructed in the general rules of Chriſtianity, wherein all our ſeveral Sects and Diviſions do agree: And therefore that any of them are ſufficiently qualify'd to undertake ſuch a Charge.*

But I would deſire ſuch to conſider,

I. *That all our ſeveral Sects do alledge againſt our Church's defection in ſome of the principles of Chriſtianity; for otherwiſe they could not juſtify their ſeparation from being a Schiſm; ſince it is allow'd on all hands, that nothing leſs than a defection from ſome of the principles of Chriſtianity can juſtify a Schiſm: Therefore thoſe that are in a Schiſm cannot be good inſtructors in the principles of Chriſtianity.*

II. *The charge given to God-Fathers and God-Mothers in our Office of Baptiſm is ſuch as none can undertake and perform with a good Conſcience who are not of our Communion.*

1. *To call upon the Children, when of age ſufficient, to hear Sermons: By which the Church cannot mean to carry them to Conventicles of Diſſenters to be inſtructed by their Sermons: And Diſſenters ought not to carry Children where they think it not lawful to go themſelves.*

2. *To bring them to the Biſhop to be confirm'd; which cannot be done with a good Conſcience by thoſe who are anti-epiſcopal; nor by Papiſts to a Proteſtant Biſhop, as it is certainly intended in that Charge.*

III. *A promiſe made in the preſence of God, at a ſolemn Office of the Church, is in the nature of a vow, the performance of which will certainly be required.*

IV. *Hence*

IV. *Hence there is a ſpiritual relation contracted, which carries with it an higher conſideration than that of Goſſips or good Neighbourhood: There is a great deal more in the Word God-Father: Such is a Father in things relating to God. In the Church of* Rome *the ſpiritual relation is reckoned among the degrees of Conſanguinity wherein Marriage is prohibited: But I urge it no farther now than as utterly inconſiſtent with thoſe of oppoſite Communions.*

Much more might be ſaid upon this matter; but I thought thus much not impertinent to the ſubject we have in hand: To which therefore I now return; and take the text I have before mentioned.

EZRA X. 4.

Ariſe, for this matter belongeth unto thee, we alſo will be with thee: be of good courage, and do it.

WHAT this matter was appears from the context:

Ezra reproved the People of *Iſrael*, for their having marry'd with the idolatrous Nations, contrary to the command of God: And they returned him this anſwer, *We have treſpaſſed againſt our God, and have taken ſtrange Wives of the People of the Land; yet now there is hope in* Iſrael *concerning this thing: Now therefore let us make a Covenant with our God, to put away all the Wives, and ſuch as are born of them, according to the counſel of my Lord, and of thoſe that tremble at the commandment of our God; and let it be done according to the Law. Ariſe, for this matter belongeth unto thee, we alſo will be with thee: be of good courage, and do it.*

Let me here obſerve in the firſt place, that all the Nations then in the World, except the *Jews* were Idolaters: And therefore to forbid Marriage with Idolaters, was the ſame to the *Jews*, as to forbid Marriage with any who were not of their Communion: For they only then were the *Peculium* or holy Seed, which had been deduc'd in their Fore-Fathers, all the way from *Seth*; which is the reaſon that their Genealogies are ſet down with ſo much exactneſs in *Geneſis*, even before the Flood; and this ſeems to have been the chief purpoſe for which that Hiſtory was intended.

I. The Prohibition on account of Religion. This the reaſon given.

And this will appear farther, in that this prohibition to the *Jews* of marrying with the Heathens, was not on account of their Nation, but Religion: Of which, the firſt evidence I offer you is this, that this is the reaſon given for this command almoſt in every place where this command is repeated in Scripture.

Thou ſhalt not make Marriages with them; thy Daughter thou ſhalt not give unto his Son, nor his Daughter ſhalt thou take unto thy Son; for they will turn away thy Son from following me, that they may ſerve other Gods. Deut. vii. 3.

1 Kin. xi. 2. *The Lord ſaid unto the Children of* Iſrael, *ye ſhall not go in to them, neither ſhall they come in unto you, for ſurely they will turn away your heart after their Gods.* They turn'd away the heart of *Solomon*; and if the Wiſdom of *Solomon* was not proof againſt the witchcraft of this ſin, what ſecond Man's preſumption can be guiltleſs?

But that the hazard of being tempted to Idolatry was the reaſon of God's prohibiting his People to match with the idolatrous Nations, is yet farther evinc'd from this, that not only Marriages with them was forbidden, but every thing elſe that might tend to the ſame end of tempting them to Idolatry.

Exod. xxiii. 32. *Thou ſhalt make no Covenant with them, nor with their Gods; they ſhall not dwell in thy Land, leſt they make thee Sin againſt me, for if*

xxxiv. 15. *thou ſerve their Gods, it will be ſurely a ſnare unto thee—— Leſt thou make a Covenant with the Inhabitants of the Land, and they go a whoring after their Gods, and do ſacrifice unto their Gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his ſacrifice; and thou take of their Daughters unto thy Sons, and their Daughters go a whoring after their Gods, and make thy Sons go a whoring after their Gods.*

Num. xxxiii. 52. *Ye ſhall drive out all the Inhabitants of the Land from before you, and deſtroy all their Pictures,* &c. *But if ye will not drive them out, thoſe which ye let remain of them ſhall be pricks in your eyes, and thorns in your ſides, and ſhall vex you in the land wherein ye dwell* (that is, in tempt-

Num. xxv. 18. ing them to Idolatry, as it is expreſſed, *They vex you with their wiles wherewith they have beguiled you in the matter of* Peor, *&c.)* And God threatens, that if you ſuffer your ſelves to be thus vexed, or tempted by them, it ſhall come to paſs, ſays God, *that I ſhall do unto you, as I thought to do unto them.*

Whence we may learn, that God's hating theſe Nations was upon account of their Idolatry; and that for the ſame cauſe he will equally hate any other Nation.

But farther, to convince you that the prohibition to the *Jews* of marrying with Heathens was not on account of their Nation, but Religion; we find the ſame reproof againſt the *Jews* for marrying with Idolaters of their own

2 Chr. xxi. 6. Nation: Thus it is recorded of *Jehoram* King of *Judah*; *He walked in the way of the Kings of* Iſrael——*for he had the Daughter of* Achab *to*

xix. 2. *Wife.* And *Jehoſhaphat* is reproved for joining in affinity with the ſame *Achab*; and this reaſon is given, *Shouldſt thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord?* And the like we find of his joining with *Aha-*

xx. 37. *ziah* another idolatrous King of *Iſrael: Becauſe thou haſt joined thy ſelf with* Ahaziah, *the Lord hath broken thy works. And the Ships were broken,* &c.

II.

Ob. Of marrying with the ten Tribes. But it may be objected, that this wou'd infer, it was unlawful for the two tribes that ſtuck to *Rehoboam*, to marry with the other ten tribes, becauſe they never departed from the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, *viz.* The Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*, and therefore they were Idolaters even to their Captivity, and ſo wou'd be included within the reaſon of the command againſt marrying with the Heathens, *viz.* becauſe they were Idolaters.

Anſwer. To this I anſwer, that the reaſon is not the ſame, becauſe there were always many in *Iſrael* who did not join in that Idolatry: We are ſure of the the Prophets, and have all poſſible preſumption for many more; it cannot

2 Kin. ii. 3. be ſuppoſed that the Prophets had none ſuch in their Communion. We read of a College of Prophets even at *Bethel*, beſide ſeveral others; and in

1 Kin. xix. 18. the loweſt ebb that ever there was, we find ſeven thouſand who bowed not to *Baal.*

But as to thoſe of the ten tribes who did join in Idolatry, I cannot ſee but the command did reach them; when we ſee before our eyes the reproof of thoſe who did marry with them.

But to put this matter out of diſpute, that it was not on account of their Nation, but Religion, that Marriages were forbidden with the Heathen; we find that it was lawful to marry with thoſe of the heathen Nations who chang'd their Religion, and became Proſelytes to the Law of God; witneſs *Ruth* the *Moabiteſs* and *Rachab*, from whom our Saviour himſelf deduces his Genealogy. Proſelytes. Matth. i. 5.

III. Not limited to the *Canaanites*.

And to this you may add, that this prohibition was not only upon ſome politick conſideration, with reference to the ſeven curſed Nations whom the *Jews* were commanded to deſtroy, and therefore not to mix with them; for the caſe in *Ezra* was of their marrying with the *Babylonians*, and other idolatrous Nations during the ſeventy years Captivity.

For it was the tranſgreſſion *of thoſe that had been carried away:* And the *Ammonites*, *Moabites* and *Ægyptians* are reckon'd (*Ezra* ix. 1.) among thoſe whom the *Jews* had marry'd, and from whom they were to be divorc'd, as being contrary to the Law of God: And theſe were none of the ſeven curſed Nations, whom the *Jews* were commanded to deſtroy, and not to make Marriages with them. Deut. vii. 1. xx. 17.

Bellarmin ſays * this muſt be only meant of thoſe *Egyptians*, &c. who dwelt in the Land of *Canaan:* But he gives no reaſon for it; that wou'd have been troubleſome, eſpecially after having proved in the ſame Chapter that the prohibition of marrying with Idolaters was a moral command, & *ad omnes pertinet*, and belongs to all of us, and not only to the *Jews*; becauſe as he there proves, the cauſe was moral. Yet he ſaid as much as the cauſe cou'd bear; that is, that that was moral in the Land of *Canaan*, which was not ſo a mile farther (as if God were offended with the Ground and not with the Sin;) that this prohibition oblig'd all and not only the *Jews*; and yet it oblig'd no body, no not the *Jews* themſelves out of *Judæa*; no, nor in *Judæa*, ſo the Idolaters they marry'd, were only Travellers or Sojourners, and not Dwellers in the Land.

But I will not trouble you in chaſing ſuch wild ſuppoſes as *Bellarmin* often makes uſe of inſtead of anſwers, and that in this very caſe it muſt needs be confeſs'd, that he objects better than he replies, and gets into a difficulty much eaſier than he comes out of it.

But to ſhew you that the command, *Deut.* VII. 3. of not marrying with thoſe ſeven Nations which are mentioned, *v.* 1. was not limited to them only, but extended even to other Nations, where there was the ſame reaſon of Idolatry; we find 1 *Kin.* XI. 1, 2. where this command is repeated, and *Solomon* charged with the breach of it, there are reckon'd, beſides the Daughter of *Pharaoh* an *Ægyptian*, Women of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and *Zidonians*, who were not of theſe ſeven Nations, and yet it is ſaid, that theſe were *of the Nations concerning which the Lord ſaid unto the Children of* Iſrael, *ye ſhall not go in unto them, neither ſhall they come in unto you, for ſurely they will turn away your heart after their Gods.* This ſhews plainly, that all idolatrous Nations whatſoever, and not only the ſeven curſed Nations, were included in this command. And *Ezra* lays the ſtreſs upon mingling of the holy Seed; which muſt be with all who were not of the holy Seed. Who can doubt but that *Solomon*'s going after *Aſhtoreth* the Goddeſs of the *Zidonians*, and after *Milcom* the abomination of the *Ammonites*, was as great a ſin as if he had gone after Ezra xi. 3.

* *De Matrimon.* l. 1. c. 23.

any

Neh. ix. 2. any Idol of the ſeven curſed Nations? It is ſaid that *The Seed of* Iſrael *ſeparated themſelves from all Strangers*; that is, Strangers to their Communion, not to their Nation; becauſe they might marry with Proſelytes of any other Nation, unleſs we except the ſeven curſed Nations, who were to be totally rooted out.

If you will ask, why were theſe ſeven Nations particularized more than other idolatrous Nations?

You will find the reaſon *Deut.* xx. 16. God had determined theſe ſeven Nations to deſtruction for their extraordinary wickedneſs; and commanded the *Iſraelites* to execute this ſentence, and to poſſeſs their land, after having deſtroy'd them root and branch, *ſaving nothing alive that breathed.* But God commands that they ſhall not do ſo to any other Nations: For the *Jews* were not permitted to conquer where they pleas'd, but only ſuch particular places as they were commanded. Their bounds are ſet *Num.* xxxiv. They were in terms forbidden to meddle with the *Edomites*, (*Deut.* ii. 4, 5.) and *Moabites*, (℣. 9.) and *Ammonites*, (℣. 19.) and more ℣. 37.

This is a plain reaſon why thoſe ſeven Nations are particularly named, whoſe land God had given to the *Iſraelites* for an inheritance; and therefore there was more danger of their being ſeduc'd by the inhabitants of the land where they liv'd, than by ſtrangers; but this does not exclude the danger that might come by ſtrangers: So that tho' the inhabitants are particularly nam'd, yet we ſee from ſeveral inſtances of the Scripture, that other idolatrous Nations are likewiſe included within the reaſon, and God's own meaning of that command, *Deut.* vii. 3.

Apply'd to us. But now let us conſider how far all this matter will concern us at this day.

It is a maxim in the Law, that where there is the ſame reaſon, the Law ſhall be the ſame.

And there is none can deny but there is as much reaſon (at leaſt) for Chriſtians to avoid Idolatry, as the *Jews*.

But becauſe there may be ſeveral ſorts and ſpecies of Idolatry, it will be uſeful for us to ſee what that particular ſort of Idolatry was, into which the *Jews* ſo often fell, and which was ſo ſeverely prohibited and threatened by God, that we may beware of the like.

And becauſe the *Jews* took their Idolatry from the Heathen, and were corrupted by them, let us ſee what theirs was.

IV. What was the Idolatry of the Heathen. 1. As to the Object of their Worſhip.

It was, *Firſt*, in ſuppoſing a great number of Beings, both good and bad, whom they called *Dæmons*, (the ſame that we mean by Angels, *Angelos quos dicitis, ipſos & nos colimus*, St. *Auguſt.* in *Pſal.* xcvi.) who were conſtituted as inferior Gods under the one ſupreme Being; and each had his ſeveral Province aſſign'd to him, as the Winds to *Æolus*, the Sea to *Neptune*, &c. Theſe they worſhipped only as a ſort of leſſer Gods, who ſtood in the middle betwixt the ſupreme God and us, and govern'd us by his permiſſion and command, and were all of them accountable unto him: Therefore they called them *Dii medioxumi*, that is, midling or inferior Gods.

And of theſe they had tutelar Gods for particular Countries, Cities, and Families.

And when their Heroes were dead, they ranged them among theſe ſort of Gods, and worſhipped them.

But they worſhipped all theſe in ſubordination to the one ſupreme God, and with relation to him: As St. *Auguſtin* * does expreſſly tell us, *Hi omnes Dii Deæque ſit unus Jupiter, The worſhip of all theſe Gods and Goddeſſes were referred to the one* Jupiter; whom they made Supreme over all.

* De Civit. Dei. l. 4. c. 9.

This was the Polytheiſm of the *Gentiles*, in that they ſerved and worſhipped ſeveral Gods; tho' they owned theſe no otherwiſe than as the Miniſters of the Kingdom, or univerſal Sovereignty of the one ſupreme Being.

This was the Idolatry forbidden in the firſt Command.

The other branch of their Idolatry, which is the ſubject of the ſecond Command, did reſpect the manner of their Worſhip, which was by making Images or Pictures of their Gods, and calling them by the names of the Gods they repreſented; and having dedicated or conſecrated them to this uſe they believed them ſacred; and that ſuch Images did ſecure to them the preſence of the Deity, who inhabited and exhibited his influence and virtues by means of his Image. And their Temples were full of Ships, Crutches, *&c.* dedicated by their votaries, in memory of Mercies and Deliverances they ſuppos'd they had receiv'd by praying before theſe Images: And the Worſhip they paid to theſe Images was relative to that God whom they worſhipped by the Image. 2. As to the manner of their Worſhip.

They did not think the Image to be the God it repreſented: That was impoſſible; for nothing can be the Image or Picture of itſelf: And they had ſeveral Images of different ſhapes and figures for the ſame God.

And tho' they called each Image by the name of the God, as being conſecrated to bear his name, yet they did not think that there was more than one God of a ſort, as more than one *Apollo*, *Venus*, &c. tho' they had many Images of them.

Another uſe the Heathens ſet forth of their Images, was to ſerve as Books and Inſtruction to the unlearned who could not read; and to fix the intention on the Worſhip of their Gods, that they might keep their minds and intention upon that God whom they ſaw repreſented in a viſible form before their Eyes. This is inſiſted upon by *Maximus Tyrius*, a heathen Philoſopher, who was Tutor to *Marcus Aurelius* the Emperor, in his 38th *Diſſertation* upon this queſtion, *Whether Images were to be dedicated to the Gods?* Where he tells us, that they did not make Images as any likeneſs of the Perſons of their Gods, becauſe they had many, of different ſhapes, for the ſame God: And that they thought their Images no more like the Gods they repreſented, than the Letters which ſpell their names, which are of different ſhapes, in the different characters of ſeveral languages: That it was impoſſible to make any Image or Repreſentation of the Perſon of the ſupreme, eternal, infinite, and inviſible God; which, he ſays, they did not attempt, but only to expreſs ſome of his perfections; as, by Fire, they expreſs'd his Purity; by an Image with many Hands, his Power; by one full of Eyes, his Providence and Omniſcience, *&c.* For, he ſays, they know God to be more ancient than all things, greater than the Worlds, and whatever any Chriſtian can ſpeak befitting the divine Mejeſty.

If any think that ſuch wiſe Philoſophers as theſe could not be Idolaters, but only the more ignorant People, who might take their Images for real Gods,

I hope they will allow *Solomon* to have been as wiſe as any of theſe Philoſophers; and that he had more advantages than they, being inſtructed in the Law of God, and to whom God did vouchſafe to appear twice; who, before he fell into Idolatry, had built the Temple, and regulated the whole Service thereof, purſuant to the pattern and directions which he had receiv'd from the Mouth of God himſelf.

This ſhews that a wiſe and a good Man, and beloved of God, as *Solomon* was, may fall into Idolatry. And * *Maimonides* thinks, that it was his Wiſdom that betray'd him, in truſting to relative Worſhip, or ſuch ſort

* Maimon. Mor. Nev.

of diſtinctions: Which ſhould teach us not to be wiſer than the Law, or, as the Apoſtle expreſſes it, *above what is written.*

Let me here add, that the *Arian* Chriſtians were charg'd with Idolatry by the Orthodox, becauſe they worſhipped our Lord *Chriſt*, when they acknowledg'd him to be but a Creature, tho' they advanc'd him far above all Saints or Angels, or whatever Beings the Heathens worſhipped as their inferior Gods: For God will have none to be worſhipped but himſelf: This is an honour he will not give to any other.

There is indeed a diſtinction of divine and civil Worſhip; the latter paid to Kings, and our Superiors among Men; but no ſort of religious or divine Worſhip is to be given to any Creature. If the diſtinction of a divine but relative Worſhip would hold, it would excuſe heathen Idolatry; for it is impoſſible that they could worſhip thoſe whom they call'd *Dii medioxumi* with the ſame Worſhip they intended for thoſe whom they acknowledg'd to be above them: Or that *Solomon* could think that any of thoſe dumb Idols he worſhipped, was the ſupreme Being that made him, and all the Worlds; (no doubt he was maſter of as many diſtinctions as we can uſe in the caſe:) Or that the *Arians*, thinking *Chriſt* to be a Creature, could give him the ſame Worſhip, and in the ſame reſpect as they thought due to their and his Creator.

V. Of the Idolatry of the *Jews.*

This account of the heathen Idolatry was neceſſary to bring us to the true knowledge of that of the *Jews:* For this was the Idolatry of which God did warn the *Jews*, and ſtrictly prohibit to them,

Firſt, To have no other Gods before him, or *with him*, as it is worded *Exod.* xx. 3, 23. or *beſides him*, as it ſhould be render'd, *Rom.* i. 25. παρὰ τὴν κτίσαντα.

And when they did worſhip the Gods of the Nations round about, they did not do it in that ſenſe, as if they had totally thrown off the Lord from being their God, and taken ſuch a falſe God in his room, thereby quite changing the object of their Worſhip: No, but they worſhipped both together, in a ſuperior and inferior degree, as the Heathens did. And God calls this a *forſaking* of him, and *going a whoring after other Gods*, becauſe he had poſitively forbidden it, as having married his *Peculium*, and calls himſelf her Husband; and therefore would have none other to ſhare in their Religion and Devotion but himſelf alone: And the taking of others in, tho' in an inferior degree, was as when a Woman takes another into her Husband's Bed; which is a forſaking of her Husband, tho' ſhe ſtill lives with him, and a taking another in his place.

Iſa. liv. 5. Jer. xxxi. 32.

But that the *Jews* their forſaking of God was only in this adulterous ſenſe, in worſhipping of other Gods jointly with him, and not a total diſcarding of the Lord from being their God at all, will evidently appear in this, that they worſhipped both together: Which could not be if they had quite thrown off the one, and taken the other in his room. Thus we read, that the *Jews* did worſhip and ſwear by the Lord, and ſwear by *Malcham.*

Zeph. i. 5.

That they feared the Lord, and ſerved their own Gods, after the manner of the Nations who carried them away.

2 Kin. xvii. 33.

And theſe Nations worſhipped every one their own Gods; and yet *nihilominus* (ſays the *vulg.*) nevertheleſs *colebant Dominum, they worſhipped the Lord.*

℣. 32.

So that here the Idolatry of the *Jews* and of the Heathen is made the ſame; as it muſt be, when the *Jews* fell into the heathen Idolatry: which was, the worſhipping of other Gods with the true God.

Thus when *all the houſe of* Iſrael *lamented after the Lord*, to perform this matter was the chief care of *Samuel*; who ſpake unto them, ſaying,

1 Sam. vii. 2, 3, 4.

If ye do return unto the Lord with all your hearts, then put away the ſtrange Gods, and Aſhtaroth *from among you, and prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and ſerve him only; and he will deliver you out of the hand of the* Philiſtines. *Then the Children of* Iſrael *did put away* Balaam *and* Aſhtaroth, *and ſerved the Lord only.*

The notion was, as told before, that every Nation had their tutelar Gods, whom they were to worſhip; but ſtill in ſubordination to the ſupreme God who was over all. Thus the King of *Aſſyria* ſent to teach his People *the manner of the God of the Land of* Iſrael; ſuppoſing that the *Jews*, like other Nations, did worſhip a particular tutelar God of their own, who had care of their Countrey, but not at all to exclude the common receiv'd notion of the whole World, that there was a ſupreme infinite Being or God above them all; only that he had committed the care of ſuch and ſuch particular Countries and People to leſſer Gods under him: Whence *Homer* makes *Jupiter* to chaſtiſe the other Gods upon ſeveral occaſions, and makes them all accountable unto him, and to petition and ſupplicate him. 2 Kin. xvii. 26, 27.

Now as to the other branch of Idolatry, of worſhipping God by Images, there was nothing more poſitively prohibited to the *Jews*, as being a debaſing and corrupting their notions of God, and wholly unworthy of him. Therefore God cautions them to remember, that when he ſpoke to them *out of the midſt of the Fire, ye heard the voice of the words,* (ſays he) *but ſaw no ſimilitude,* (that's of whom he ſpoke) *only ye heard a voice— Take therefore good heed unto your ſelves (for ye ſaw no manner of ſimilitude on the day that the Lord ſpake unto you in* Horeb, *out of the midſt of the Fire) leſt ye corrupt your ſelves, and make you a graven Image, the ſimilitude of any Figure, the likeneſs of Male or Female,* &c. And he repeats it again, *Take heed unto your ſelves leſt ye forget the Covenant of the Lord your God which he made with you, and make you a graven Image, or the likeneſs of any thing which the Lord thy God hath forbidden thee; for the Lord thy God is a conſuming Fire, even a jealous God.* And he cried by his Prophets, ſaying, *Oh do not this abominable thing that I hate!* See with what deteſtation God ſpeaks of this Sin: And obſerve, that the command is not only againſt the worſhipping of ſuch Images of God, but againſt the very making of them; as it is likewiſe worded in the ſecond command, to cut off all room for diſtinctions. Deut. iv. 12. ℣. 15. ℣. 23. Jer. xliv. 4.

And we cannot ſay that they were the Images of any falſe Gods that were here forbidden, unleſs we will ſay, that it was a falſe God who ſpoke to them in *Horeb*; whoſe voice they heard, but ſaw no manner of ſimilitude of him: Or that it was a falſe God who ſaid, ſpeaking of theſe Images, *To whom then will ye liken me? ſaith the Holy One.* Iſa. xl. 25.

It is certain, that the Golden Calf was made as a ſymbol or repreſentation of the true God, to ſecure his preſence among them (after the manner they had ſeen in *Ægypt*, in the like Image of *Oſiris*) upon the ſuppoſed loſs of *Moſes*, by whom God had formerly ſpoken to them. *Make us Gods to go before us*, ſaid they; *for as for this* Moſes, who formerly went before us, *the Man that brought us up out of the Land of* Ægypt, *we wot not what is become of him.* And when they dedicated this Image, they proclaimed it a *Feaſt unto the Lord.* And *David* ſaid of this Image, that by doing of this, *They changed their glory into the ſimilitude of an Ox that eateth Graſs.* He would not call a falſe God the glory of *Iſrael!* And the Apoſtle ſpeaks in the ſame Phraſe, concerning the heathen Idolaters, that tho' they *Knew God*, even *his eternal Power and Godhead*, yet they were Idolaters in their manner of worſhipping him by Images; whereby, ſays he, They *changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an Image made like to corruptible Man, and to Birds, and four footed Beaſts, and* Exod. xxxii. 1. ℣. 5. Pſal. cvi. 20. Rom. i. 20, 21. ℣. 23.

and creeping things: He wou'd not call a falſe God, the incorruptible God!

You ſee how every where the Heathen and the *Jewiſh* Idolatry do ſquare together, for indeed they were the very ſame.

Acts vii. 41. 1 Cor. x. 7. And as the Images of the Heathen were called Idols, ſo is this of the Golden Calf; and the Dedication of it, tho' a *Feaſt unto the Lord*, is call'd Idolatry.

It is brutal to think, that they imagin'd, that the Calf which they made that day, was the ſupreme Being it ſelf, which had made them. No Heathen ever thought ſo of any of their Images. Will you take the notion of the *Jews* from themſelves? Their learned *Maimonides* ſays*, *That the whole is more than a part, or that the Sun is round, is not more evident than that there is but one God: And that no Idolater does worſhip his Idol in that ſenſe as if there were no other God.* And he ſays, *That he cannot ſuppoſe that ever there was a Man born, or ever will be born, who thinks, that that figure which he makes of Stone or Wood,* &c. *did create the Heaven and the Earth, or governs them.* But he ſays, *They worſhip thoſe Images, as things intermediate betwixt them and the ſupreme God.*

It is certain (ſays another famous *Jew* †) *That their intention was directed to God, as appears by the example of* Abimelech, *and the* Ninevites.

We muſt ſuppoſe the *Jews* to know beſt the Idolatry of their own Nation, for which they were ſo often and grievouſly puniſhed; and likewiſe that of the Heathen which they had imitated.

2 Kin. xvii. 41. Let me fortify this by the authority of holy Scripture. It is ſaid, *That they feared the Lord, and ſerved their Graven Images:* Which ſhews, that their Images were not ſet up in oppoſition to God, but as ſubſervient to his Worſhip; and that they did not think them to be inconſiſtent.

Ezek. xiv. 7. Thus God himſelf declares *Every one of the Houſe of* Iſrael, *or of the Stranger that ſojourneth in* Iſrael, *which ſeparateth himſelf from me, and ſetteth up his Idols in his heart, and putteth the Stumbling-block of his iniquity before his face, and cometh to a Prophet to enquire of him concerning me,* &c. Here tho' God calls the following of Idols a ſeparating of themſelves from him, and being *eſtranged from* him, as being a breach of God's expreſs command, who will not be worſhipped otherwiſe than as he has appointed; yet it was not ſuch a total ſeparation, as to reject him quite from being their God, for they came to his Prophets to enquire concerning him. ℣. 5.

Of chriſtian Idolatry. It is ſtrange, after this, to hear ſome deny, that there can be any Idolatry among Chriſtians; that is, that Idolatry is not only inconſiſtent with the rules of Chriſtianity, as all other ſins are; but that Idolatry does *ipſo facto*, make a Man ceaſe to be a Chriſtian, and un-churches any Church that is guilty of it: Proceeding, I ſuppoſe, upon the foreſaid ſuppoſition, that it is a total and abſolute forſaking of God, ſo that he is no longer our God; that God cannot be the God of an Idolater.

But beſides what is ſaid before of the *Arians*, who were Chriſtians, tho' Hereticks; and yet were charg'd with Idolatry by the other Chriſtians who were orthodox; St. *Paul* himſelf makes the ſuppoſition of a Brother, that is, a Chriſtian that is an Idolater. 1 Cor. v. 11.

And the Church of the *Jews* was a chriſtian Church; they believ'd in *Chriſt* to come, from the firſt promiſe of *Chriſt*, Gen. iii. 15. immediately after the fall, to the end of the World; it is the ſame chriſtian Church, tho' under ſeveral diſpenſations. Therefore it is called the Goſpel that Gal. iii. 8. Heb. iv. 2.

* Mor. Nev. *Part* I. *c.* 36. † Coſri, *Part* IV. §. 11. p. 284.

was

was preached to *Abraham*, to the *Jews* in the Wilderneſs, and to the Fathers.

And the Church of the *Jews* was in their time the only viſible Church of *Chriſt* upon the Earth; none other had the Faith in *Chriſt* or the *Meſſiah* to come but only they.

Yet how often did they fall into Idolatry? But as that was not a total forſaking of God, neither did he totally forſake them; tho' he puniſh'd them ſeverely for it.

Yea, when they had made them a molten Calf, and ſaid, this is thy God that brought thee up out of Ægypt, *and had wrought great provocations: Yet thou* (O God) *in thy manifold Mercies forſookeſt them not in the Wilderneſs: The Pillar of the Cloud departed not from them by day, to lead them in the way; neither the Pillar of fire by night——Thou gaveſt alſo thy good Spirit to inſtruct them*, &c. Here they were univerſally involv'd in this Idolatry, *Aaron* himſelf not excepted, High-Prieſt and all: Yet were they not un-churched. And God gave them his good Spirit to inſtruct them and watch over them in many providences; God does not utterly forſake us for every even great ſin that we commit. There is no perfection in this Earth, our Gold is mix'd with droſs; darkneſs is incorporated with our light, and Idolatry it ſelf ſometimes paſſes undiſcovered through our weak ſenſe of Religion, and that feeble notion which we have of God. Neh. ix. 18, 19, 20.

There are many examples of this in the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament. *Jehu* the great Reformer anointed by God for the purpoſe, and had his atteſtation that he had done well in fulfilling the Will of the Lord, and deſtroying the Worſhip of *Baal*, and that he had great Zeal for the Lord; and for this God did continue the Crown in his Family longer than in any of the Kings of *Iſrael*; and yet *Jehu* departed not from the Idolatry of the Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*. 2 Kin. ix. 6. x. 30. ℣. 16. ℣. 30. ℣. 29.

Cyrus was an Heathen Idolater, and God ſtyles him his *Chriſt*, or *Anointed*, his *Shepherd* to *build his Church*, and ſays, that he *raiſed him up in righteouſneſs, and wou'd direct all his ways*. Iſai. xlv. 1. xliv. 28. xlv. 13.

Therefore we cannot doubt, but many chriſtian Idolaters may have the inſtruction of God's good Spirit, and may be Men of Devotion and great Zeal, as *Jehu* was; and their labours may be profitable to the Church. And yet this does not excuſe their Idolatry, nor make Idolatry leſs a ſin, or alter its nature, or take off from its puniſhment, or the precaution of God's Law: But on the other hand, it rather aggravates it ſo much the more; and makes chriſtian Idolatry more inexcuſable than the heathen or *Jewiſh* Idolatry, and to be look'd after more carefully.

But you may ſay to me, if Idolatry be not inconſiſtent with the protection of God, and even the inſtruction of his good Spirit, why ſhou'd it be ſo unlawful to marry with Idolaters? Object.

I anſwer, The ſin is not the leſs for the goodneſs of God: It is rather a greater aggravation of the ſin. Anſ.

VIII. Why Marriage with Idolaters forbidden more than with other Sinners.

But why then ſhou'd it be a greater ſin to marry with an Idolater, than with a Fornicator, Drunkard, *&c.* who are nam'd together with Idolaters? 1 *Cor.* v. 11.

Nay, but who art thou, O Man, that replyeſt againſt God? God has ſo ordained it, we muſt ask no more queſtions.

And yet there is an obvious reaſon for this; for if God ſhou'd forbid Marriages with every ſinner, there wou'd be no Marriages.

Therefore God ſingles out the moſt *Abominable ſin which he hates*, as Idolatry is ſuperlatively called, *Jer.* xliv. 4. and God calls thoſe haters of him who commit this ſin, *Exod.* xx. 5. and lays a particular mark of his jealouſie (which is his utmoſt indignation) upon that, above other ſins. The

jealouſie of God is particularly apply'd to Idolatry through the Scripture, and he calls it Whoredom and Adultery againſt him. It is a bewitching ſin, and the nature of faln Man is bent to this ſpiritual fornication; whence we ſee how univerſally it has prevail'd, and blindly; for no Man ever yet own'd himſelf to be an Idolater: It is hard to ſuppoſe a Man to continue in it, if he knew it. And this is the ground of that which is the great and the ſtrongeſt reaſon why Marriages with Idolaters were forbidden, more than with other ſinners, as Drunkards, Adulterers, *&c. viz.* the danger of the Husband or Wife tempting one another to this ſin; it is the reaſon which God himſelf gives in the prohibition, *Ye ſhall not marry with them, for ſurely they will turn away your hearts after their Gods.*

And this they will do, as I ſaid before, becauſe all Idolaters think themſelves in the right, and therefore that they are under obligation to convert others, eſpecially their Husband or Wife, their Children and Family.

But there is little danger that any Husband or Wife will tempt one another to Adultery, Drunkenneſs, *&c.* It is rather ſeen that they endeavour to reclaim one another, and are troubled for one another's continuance in theſe ſins.

But Idolatry, that ſerpent ſin, inſinuates it ſelf under the notion of the Worſhip of God, and conforms it ſelf not only to chriſtianity, but ſometimes is transformed even into Zeal; a Zeal to the glory of God.

If notwithſtanding of all theſe precautions, any ſhou'd yet think himſelf ſtrong enough to grapple with this tentation, and that he could keep himſelf from Idolatry, tho' he had an idolatrous Wife:

I ſay to that Man, that it wou'd be juſt with God to ſuffer him to fall, for his preſumption; that God ſuffer'd *Solomon* to fall by this, that no Man after him ſhou'd preſume upon his own Wiſdom: That when we tranſgreſs a command of God in confidence of our own ſtrength, we make our ſelves wiſer than God, and do renounce his protection: That if we cou'd be aſſur'd of not falling into Idolatry our ſelves; yet how cou'd we be aſſur'd that our Children wou'd not be influenc'd by their Mother? Her very example is an influence, and abates of the horror of the Idolatry; of which we ſpoke in the Preface.

All arguments in the World do confirm the reaſonableneſs of this Law of God, eſpecially among Chriſtians; who are forc'd to confeſs their guilt, while they can find no topick to clear them from Idolatry, but by ſuppoſing that there can be no ſuch thing under the Goſpel, or not in the ſame meaning as it was under the Law. But,

Where will they find in the Goſpel another ſort of Idolatry ſet up different from that which was under the Law? Or will they ſay that Idolatry was only a Ceremony, or indifferent thing, which the coming of *Chriſt* render'd mild and harmleſs?

There is no poſſible reaſon to think that Idolatry is not the ſame under the Goſpel, which it was under the Law, more than that there is another ſort of Adultery, or Murder under the Goſpel different from that which was under the Law.

1 John iii. 15. Matth. v. 28. Eph. v. 5.

The Goſpel does indeed prohibit and diſtinguiſh theſe ſins more minutely than the Law had done; it brings Murther to a raſh word or a thought; ſearches out Adultery in the eyes, and in the heart; and applies Idolatry even to covetouſneſs.

But I hope I need not be requir'd to prove that this is not a leſſening of theſe ſins, or altering of their nature.

The Goſpel, like the Sun, diſcovers ſin the more, and renders it more vile; and ſpares not Idolatry more than Adultery, Murther, or any other wickedneſs; but purſues it to its Fountain, and opens its ſmalleſt Springs.

Therefore

Therefore all the advantage that Idolatry will find under the Goſpel, is, being ſet in a clearer light than it was under the Law, and rendring Chriſtian Idolaters much more inexcuſable than the *Jewiſh*, and from thence it muſt needs follow that thoſe commands and precautions which were given under the Law againſt Idolatry, do oblige rather more ſtrongly under the Goſpel: And as Chriſtian Idolatry is worſe than the *Jewiſh*, ſo Chriſtian or *Jewiſh* is worſe than the Heathen Idolatry; as much more provoking, as Adultery is more than Fornication. All Mankind ſtand in that relation to their Creator, that Idolatry in any is committing of Fornication againſt him, as you have heard from the frequent ſtyle of Scripture. But when People enter into a particular Covenant with God, when God marries himſelf to a People, and calls himſelf their Husband, as he did to the *Jews*, and much more to the Chriſtian Church, which he calls his Spouſe, his Wife, his Dearly Beloved, of one Body, and Fleſh and Bones with him: There Fornication becomes Adultery; and the Adultery of a Chriſtian Church is more heinous than that of the *Jewiſh*, as much as the Goſpel is a ſtricter Union to God, than the Law: And therefore where Idolatry is forbidden in the Law, it muſt be infer'd more ſtrongly as to thoſe under the Goſpel.

Pſal. l. 5. Jer. iii. 14. Iſai. liv. 5. Eph. v. 30.

But we are not in need of deductions from the Old Teſtament, the Goſpel ſpeaks not only plain but paſſionately in the caſe.

Hear the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, the unbelievers.

Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers, for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? And what communion hath light with darkneſs? And what concord hath Chriſt *with* Belial? *Or what part hath he that believeth with an Infidel? And what agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols? For ye are the Temple of the living God; wherefore come out from among them, and be ye ſeparate ſaith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you.*

VIII. That Text 2 Cor. vi. 14. explain'd.

I know ſome take this text in a larger ſenſe; that is, of joining in Church-Communion with Idolaters, and that to be the meaning of being unequally yoked.

But the expreſſion of yoke-fellows is more us'd in reference to Marriage, than of thoſe who go to Church together; and therefore the applying it to Marriage is the more natural meaning, and the other more precarious, at leaſt borrow'd, and the ſecundary meaning.

But I am not concern'd againſt this expoſition, for, as ſaid before in the Preface, if it will bear againſt joining in Church-Communion with Idolaters, it muſt conclude likewiſe as to marrying with them; for will not Marriage make them yoke-fellows? Can you ſuppoſe that it was permitted to marry with them, and at the ſame time commanded to *come out from among them, and be ſeparate?* Not to touch the unclean thing, and yet to make it *Bone of our Bone, and Fleſh of our Fleſh?* Is there no concord 'twixt *Chriſt* and *Belial*, and ſhall they become both one? Hath the Temple of God no agreement with Idols; and ſhall I make an Idol poſſeſſor of that Temple, and marry a Member of *Chriſt* to the Daughter of a ſtrange God?

Mal. ii. 11.

All this muſt be found rational, or by this text, marrying with Idolaters muſt be forbidden.

Bellarmin quotes St. *Hierom* in ſeveral places, proving this text to be meant of not marrying with Infidels; neither ſays he *, does *Theophylact* and *others go againſt this Expoſition, who generally expound it of ſhunning Commerce with Infidels; for if Commerce be forbidden with Infidels, certainly Marriage, which is the greateſt and moſt dangerous Commerce, is*

* De Matrimon. *l.* 1. *c.* 23.

forbidden.

forbidden. Theſe are his words, and confirm moſt exactly the argument I have made: Therefore give me leave to repeat St. *Hierom*'s application of this text as he is quoted by *Bellarmin.*

But now (ſays St. *Hierom*) many Women contemning the command of the Apoſtle, are joined to* Gentiles, *and proſtitute the Temples of* Chriſt *to Idols.*

And St. *Cyprian* ſhews his meaning of this text in *Serm. de Lapſis*, where among other crimes of the faithful he reckons that of marrying with Infidels; and ſays that it is *proſtituere gentilibus membra Chriſti*, to *proſtitute to the* Gentiles *the Members of* Chriſt.

Bellarmin brings in St. *Auguſtin* likewiſe ſpeaking againſt theſe Marriages, tho' he doubted of the force of theſe texts as to that point; yet he concludes, *omnino conandum eſt*—— It is by all means to be endeavour'd, that there be no ſuch Marriages; for (ſays he) why ſhou'd Men run themſelves *in tantum diſcrimen ambiguitatis, into the ſo great hazard of a doubt?* For that in ſo doubtful a caſe, the ſafer ſide is to be taken.

But *Bellarmin* blames St. *Auguſtin* even to the length of a ſin, for ſo much as making the leaſt doubt of this; and that it is a ſin in any who ſhall doubt of it. *Si Auguſtino dubitare licuit, nec tamen nobis quoque licebit: If it was lawful for* Auguſtine *to doubt of this, yet it will not be lawful for us: Cùm nos*——*when we* (ſays he) *have the determination of* Paul *explain'd by moſt Interpreters, and beſides many teſtimonies of Councils and Fathers which he had not ſeen; and in fine, of all the Divines who have wrote ſince the Maſter, and ſo we have the conſent of the whole Church with us in this matter.* Theſe are his words, and he quotes ſeveral Councils and Fathers expreſs upon this point, as *Can.* 13. of the General Council of *Chalcedon*, where Marriages are forbidden with Hereticks, *Jews*, and Pagans; and the like in ſeveral other Councils; but the 4th Council of *Toledo* goes farther, and commands that thoſe *Jews* who are marry'd to Chriſtians, ſhou'd become Chriſtians, or be ſeparated from their Wives.

I will ſpare you his quotations out of the Fathers, who are full upon this point, and made no doubt but that ſuch Marriages were unlawful; for I wou'd not be tedious, and I ſuppoſe that will not be deny'd, from what has been already ſaid: It is now time to come to ſome Objections which lie againſt what I have ſaid.

IX. An Anſw. to the Obj. from 1 Cor. vii. 12.

The firſt is from 1 *Cor.* VII. 12. where it is ſaid, *If any Brother hath a Wife that believeth not, and ſhe be pleas'd to dwell with him, let him not put her away:* And ſo of the Wife to her Husband.

I anſwer, That this caſe is put of divorcing, and not of marrying.

In the firſt converſions to chriſtianity it muſt needs happen that many Men might be converted, and not their Wives, and *è converſo*; and the queſtion is, whether this was a ſufficient cauſe of divorce? Which is a very different caſe from that of marrying with ſuch.

To ſhew you that this was the caſe, you may obſerve that the Apoſtle directs his command here to the married; having from the beginning of the Chapter given orders concerning the unmarry'd, and about the contracting of Matrimony; at the 10th verſe he begins with the marry'd ſtate——*Unto the marry'd I command*, &c.

And then in the very words of the objection, it is, *If a Brother* (that is a Chriſtian) *hath a Wife*; that is the caſe he puts, not to one that is

* At nunc pleræque contemnentes Apoſtoli juſſionem, junguntur Gentilibus, & Templa Chriſti Idolis proſtituunt.

about

about to marry; and the deciſion ſhews the ſame, *let him not put her away*; but he does not ſay, let him marry ſuch a one.

But there is more in it than this; for to my apprehenſion, it does imply the unlawfulneſs of marrying with ſuch: And my reaſon is this, that if it was ſuppos'd lawful to marry with ſuch, there cou'd be no diſpute about the lawfulneſs of living with them after they were marry'd; for it is a leſs matter to hinder the contracting of a Marriage, than to diſſolve it after it is contracted; and therefore if the Chriſtians made it a doubt whether they ought not to divorce their Wives for Idolatry; it is paſt a doubt that they thought it unlawful to marry with ſuch.

And there is yet a ſtronger argument in this caſe; for the Apoſtle gives a latitude even for divorce, at leaſt for parting, or ſuffering it, giving way to it; that is, if the unbelieving Party ſhall be refractory: *But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart; a Brother or a Siſter is not under bondage in ſuch caſes*; from whence I argue, that what has power even to diſſolve a Marriage muſt operate more ſtrongly againſt the contracting of ſuch Marriages. 1 Cor. vii. 15.

But to make all this matter yet more plain.

The Apoſtle in this Chapter having given rules for the unmarry'd, and for the marry'd, comes at the end to ſpeak of Widows and ſecond Marriages: And tho' he wou'd not abſolutely diſſolve Marriages which were before made, upon the converſion of one of the Parties; yet in caſe of a ſecond Marriage, he ties them up, that it ſhall be *only in the Lord*; and *Bellarmin* acknowledges that theſe words *in the Lord* were meant of not marrying but with the faithful, and that almoſt all the interpreters of this place ſay the ſame; as *Ambroſe*, *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, *Anſelm*, *Sedulius*, *Thomas*, *Cajetan*, and others; and beſides, *Tertullian* in his ſecond Book *ad uxorem*, and *Hierom* in his firſt Book againſt *Jovinianus*. 1 Cor. vii. 15.

The ſame was the ſenſe of St. *Ignatius* * (who was co-temporary with the Apoſtles, and Diſciple to St. *John*) That Chriſtians both Men and Women, ought to marry with the conſent of the Biſhop, that the Marriage may be *in the Lord*.

Which command of the Apoſtle (here quoted by St. *Ignat.*) was wrote in his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*: And the other above mentioned, which is more expreſs and ſevere, of being unequally yoked, *&c.* in his ſecond Epiſtle to the ſame *Corinthians*; which we may ſuppoſe was occaſioned by ſome of them having neglected or miſ-underſtood his former command; and therefore this ſtands as his own comment and interpretation of what he meant, by his expreſſion of *being marry'd in the Lord*.

Let me add, that the interpretation I have given of theſe texts, is exactly agreeable with the ſenſe of our firſt Reformers: Who in their *Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Laws*, compos'd by thirty two Divines, Civilians, *&c.* And confirm'd by the Authority firſt of King *Hen.* VIII. and after of *Edw.* VI. ſay thus, Chap. viii. *de Matrimonio*.

† *Let not Chriſtians marry with thoſe that are not of the chriſtian Faith. For ſeeing it is reaſonable that the Children of Chriſtians ſhou'd be brought up in the Chriſtian Faith, it is much to be feared how that can be done, unleſs both Parents be Chriſtian: But if it ſo happen, that one*

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* Πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις, μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἕνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ Κύριον. *Ep. ad* Polycarp. † Cum his qui non ſunt Chriſtianâ Fide, Chriſtianis matrimonium non inſtituetur. Nam cùm liberos Chriſtianos in Fide Chriſtianâ par ſit enutriri, magnus eſt metus, ne id, niſi utroque Chriſtiano Parente, ita eſſe non poſſit: Sed ſi contingat ut eorum qui jam ſunt Conjuges diverſa Religio fuerit, non temere diſtrahentur hujuſmodi Perſonæ; ſed juxta *Pauli* Doctrinam, reſpectu Chriſtianæ Charitatis, tam diu cohærebunt, quàm diu Perſona quæ alienâ Religione eſt, unà vivere ac cohabitare fuſtinebit.

of thoſe who are already marry'd be of a different Religion, let not ſuch Perſons be raſhly ſeparated; but according to the Doctrine of St. Paul, *let them live together ſo long as the Perſon who is of a different Religion ſhall be willing to co-habit.*

And this was no new Doctrine of the Reformation. The ſame ſenſe of theſe words of St. *Paul* is given by *Bellarmin**.

He proves at large that the Apoſtle did not permit the faithful to marry with Infidels; but yet did allow that the Marriage contracted with an Infidel ſhou'd not be diſſolv'd by the converſion of one of the parties. And he gives inſtances of ſeveral things, as Impotence, Vows of Continence, *&c.* which, if they be before the Marriage, do make it void; but if they come after a lawful Marriage, cannot diſſolve it.

Object. But will not the deciſion of St. *Paul* in this caſe go againſt that of *Ezra*, who commanded to divorce the Wives, and put away ſuch as were born of them?

Anſ. No not at all, for the caſes are totally different: That in *Ezra* was *Jews* (which is Believers) marrying with Idolaters; (which voided the Marriage from the beginning:) But that in St. *Paul*, was Infidels or Idolaters marrying with one another (of the lawfulneſs of which there is no manner of doubt) and then afterwards one of the Parties being converted and not the other, which ſhall not diſſolve the Marriage, unleſs the unbelieving will depart. But there is a farther objection yet behind.

X. *Object.* Of the Succeſſion of *Rehoboam.*

Rehoboam was the Son of an *Ammoniteſs*, yet he ſucceeded *Solomon*; and the like may be found of others.

Anſ. 1 Kin. xiv. 21. To this it may be anſwer'd, that it does not appear but that ſhe was a Proſelyte; and it is the more probable, becauſe *Rehoboam* was forty one years old when he began to reign, and ſo born before *Solomon*'s old age, wherein he fell to Idolatry; and it is not likely that before that time he wou'd ſo notoriouſly offend the Law of God as to marry an Idolater.

2 *Anſ.* But ſuppoſing that ſhe was not a Proſelyte; then the diſpute will lie 'twixt this act of *Solomon*'s, and the reformation made by *Ezra*.

Ezra x. 3. This act of *Solomon*'s is not ſaid to be according to the Law; and he fell by idolatrous Wives: But *Ezra*'s reformation was done *according to the Law* (given by *Moſes*, Neh. x. 29, 30.) and *the Council of theſe who trembled at the commandment of God*, Ezra x. 3.

℣. 14. ℣. 9. And there was fierce wrath from God upon them for this matter, until they did reform it.

This was probably expreſs'd in the extraordinary Rain that fell at that time.

And if we reckon the moſt miſerable event of *Rehoboam*'s reign, the diviſion of the twelve Tribes not heal'd to this day; we ſhall find more preſumptions of God's diſpleaſure at his Succeſſion, than we can make arguments from thence for ſettling it as a precedent. But what if *Rehoboam*'s Mother was not a Proſelyte? And what if the like may be ſaid of ſeveral of the future Succeſſions of the Kings of *Iſrael?*

It goes indeed againſt the grain to condemn whole generations of our Fore-Fathers, and not to be done without mighty cauſe, and the proof very clear.

XI. Long Traditions of our Fathers no Rule againſt Scripture.

But it hath been done by approved hands; and the providence of God may have great ends in it to correct human preſumption; to teach us to

* Apoſtolus non permittit Fidelem cum Infideli contrahere; ſed Matrimonium cum Infideli contractum permittit, non dirimit per converſionem alterius Conjugis; nam impedimenta dirimentia hoc proprium habent, ut dirimant, ſi ipſa præcedant, non dirimant ſi ſequantur: Impotentia enim coëundi, & votum ſolemne continentiæ, & alia id genus, ſi præcedant Matrimonium, illud ita impediunt, ut irritum reddant, ſi fiat; at ſi ſuperveniant poſt Matrimonium legitimè contractum, illud dirimere nequaquam poſſunt. *De Matrimonio l. 1. c. 23. f.*

make God's Law our Rule; and not to be miſled by the errors of great Men; to fix our hearts in God alone, and not to glory in Men. There were many godly reformations made by the Kings of *Judah*; but in none of them were the high places taken away: That was left as a mark of infirmity upon all reformation by human inſtruments; therefore no reformation was perfect but that only which was made by *Chriſt* himſelf: That after the captivity was more perfect than any before it, being built upon greater experience. And there are ſeveral inſtances in this ſame reformation after the captivity, of their going againſt the cuſtoms of many ages of their predeceſſors: They made Scripture their only Rule, and minded not the preſcription of their Fathers that went contrary to it.

Inſtances in the High-Places.

It was written in the Law, that the Children of *Iſrael* ſhould dwell in Booths in the Feaſt of the ſeventh Month. This command was neglected all along from the days of *Joſhua* to the return from the captivity; yet they reform'd it, and God gave them very great gladneſs.

Booths. Neh. viii. 14. ibid. 17.

Another great inſtance is of every ſeventh which was the ſabbatical year, commanded *Lev.* xxv. 4. with ſuch a particular judgment threatened to the neglect of it, *Lev.* xxvi. 34, 35, 43. as we ſee was executed, 2 *Chr.* xxxvi. 21. with a reſpect to the length of time in which they had neglected it, that was ſeventy ſabbatical years, which makes four hundred and ninety years before the Captivity; which reaches up to the time of *Samuel:* And yet we find not this neglect reprehended by him, or *David*, or *Solomon*, or any of the Prophets, or amended in any of their Reformations.

Sabbatical Year.

But the command againſt marrying of Idolaters is frequently repeated, the breach of it more ſeverely threatened, and often reproved by the Prophets, tho' it began not ſo early, nor prevail'd ſo univerſally among the *Jews* as that of the *Booths*; and therefore we muſt imagine it of greater importance, and conſequently the Reformation of it the more neceſſary, even tho' its preſcription had been older.

But this objection was not forgot by the Reformers, tho' indeed they made it no objection, but rather urg'd their Fathers long continuance in this Sin, as a ſtronger argument for their ſpeedy Reformation of it.

Ezra in his confeſſion of this Sin, calls it their *great Treſpaſs*, for which all their evil was come upon them; and that ſince the days of their Fathers they were in a *great Treſpaſs* unto that day, ſpeaking ſtill of the ſame Sin.

Ezra ix. 13. v. 7.

And the Seed of *Iſrael* ſeparated themſelves from all ſtrangers, and ſtood and confeſſed their Sins, and the Iniquities of their Fathers.

Neh. ix. 2.

This is the uſe they made of the example of their Fathers, when it was againſt the Law of God, and that in every caſe: Thus they argu'd concerning the prophanation of the Sabbath, *Did not your Fathers thus, and did not God bring all this evil upon us?* And of the caſe we are upon, of idolatrous Marriages, *Did not* Solomon *King of* Iſrael *fall by theſe things?*

xiii. 18.

The example of our Fathers is not our rule, but the Scripture is our rule, whereby to examine the practice of our Fathers.

There are likewiſe ſeveral examples in the chriſtian Church of marrying with Idolaters; as *Monica* the Mother of St. *Auguſtine*, who was married to an Heathen, and *Clotildis* a Chriſtian married to *Clodovit* King of *France*, who was an Heathen.

Chriſtians who have marry'd Heathens.

But the ſame anſwer that has been given of the like Marriages before the Goſpel will ſerve as to thoſe ſince.

I will, to cloſe this head, ſet you down *Bellarmine*'s Anſwer to all theſe examples. *De Matrimon.* lib. 1. c. 23.

He ſays "Theſe examples are either of thoſe who were led only by the "Law of Nature, before there was any particular Law againſt theſe Mar-"riages: Such were *Jacob*, *Joſeph*, *Eſther*, &c. or of thoſe who married

"heathen

" heathen Wives, but who had been converted to the Faith; for that was " always lawful, and thus *Salmon* married *Rahab* the Harlot from *Pale-* " *ſtine*, and *Booz* married *Ruth* the *Moabiteſs*, &c. for they were convert- " ed to the Faith and *Jewiſh* Religion, tho' otherwiſe they were of the " Heathen, with whom it was not lawful for the *Jews* to marry; or of " thoſe who were plainly reproved for their marrying with the Heathen, " contrary to the Law; among theſe was *Solomon*, who is reprov'd, " 1 *Kin.* xi. that he had married *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Canaanites*, " contrary to the Law. And among theſe thoſe Chriſtians are now to be " reckoned, who are mightily reprehended by the holy Fathers for this, as " we have above ſhewed out of *Cyprian*, *Ambroſe*, and *Hierom*; or laſtly, " of thoſe whom ignorance and a cuſtom that was introduc'd may perhaps " excuſe. And in this number it ſhould ſeem that St. *Monica* ought to be " put, the Mother of St. *Auguſtine*; for in her time the cuſtom had ſo pre- " vail'd, that it was thought no Sin to marry with the Heathen, as *Au-* " *guſtine* witneſſes in his Book of *Faith and Works*. chap. xix.

" Therefore St. *Monica* was, it may be, excuſed from the ſin by her " ignorance, and the cuſtom of her countrey; or certainly did purge that " ſin by repentance and tears; nor ought ſhe to diſſolve the Marriage once " contracted, becauſe the cuſtom of the faithful People had not at that " time reckoned the difference of **Worſhip** among thoſe impediments which " do diſſolve Marriage, as it did afterwards."

Theſe are *Bellarmine*'s words; concerning which I will not ſtay to ſhew you how he dwindles the prohibition of God againſt theſe Marriages (which he had at firſt confeſſed **to** be moral) into a mere cuſtom of the Church, thereby to make way for **the** Pope's diſpenſing power: And, by the by, to excuſe or alleviate the offence of ſome Saint in this matter; wherein he confeſſes all I would plead for, *viz.* that the example even of good Men, or of a Saint, does not invalidate the force of this prohibition of God: Saints may fall into great ſins, but this leſſens not the ſin, only ſhews human frailty.

XII. *Object.* That this was only a political Law among the *Jews*. *Anſ.*

There is an objection which is urg'd by ſome, that this was only a political Law among the *Jews*, and therefore not to oblige the other Nations.

Firſt, This is *gratis dictum*, that it is only ſuch a political Law.

The contrary is plainly ſhewn from hence, that the reaſon againſt Idolatry, is not temporary, nor reſpecting this or that Nation, but it is eternal, and therefore the Law muſt be ſuch, and not only political to a particular People.

At leaſt as to annulling ſuch Marriages. *Anſ.*

But you may ſay, tho' the Law againſt Idolatry be eternal, and even againſt marrying with Idolaters; yet to annul ſuch Marriages may be a political Law reſpecting the *Jews* only.

This is ſtill a *may be*, and what may be, may not be; and the ſurer ſide is to make a hedge about the Law, as the phraſe of the *Jews* is; rather to be ſtricter than too looſe with the Law of God.

But if the Law againſt Idolatry be eternal, then to avoid the temptation of it muſt be as eternal; and that of Marriage being the ſtrongeſt temptation that is poſſible, and which prov'd too ſtrong even for *Solomon*, it cannot paſs as a political Law reſpecting one Nation only. It will be a confirmation of this to ſhew that it is confeſſed by the Doctors even of *Rome:* Thus then we read in *Bellarmine*, *de Matrimonii Sacramento*, l. 1. c. 23.

That

* That the Command againſt marrying with the *Gentiles*, *Deut.* VII. tho' it be judicial, and properly obliges only the *Jews*, yet it hath ſomething moral in it, and belongs to all, if we look into the cauſe, for he gives a reaſon which is plainly moral; *For*, ſays he, *they will turn away thy Son from following me, that they may ſerve other Gods*; and 1 *Kin.* XI. where the ſame Command is repeated, God adds, *Surely they will turn away your Heart after their Gods*; and it is added in the ſame place, that *Solomon* went againſt this Command, and that befel him which God had foretold; for being ſeduced by his heathen Wives, he worſhipped their Idols: And certainly if the wiſeſt Man, and who had many other Wives, could be perverted by theſe new Marriages with the *Gentiles*, ſo that he worſhipped the Gods of every one of them; how great danger does hang over their heads who marry only one Wife, and ſhe an Heathen, or an Heretick; and who can no way be compared to *Solomon* in Wiſdom and Prudence?

Theſe are the words of *Bellarmine*; and he extends the Moral and Reaſon of this Law, and conſequently the obligation of it, not only to the marrying with Heathens or Idolaters, but to any that are out of the Communion of the Church; that is, to Hereticks: As he ſays in the beginning of the words before quoted, *Sit igitur propoſitio prima—— Les this be the firſt propoſition, that it is not lawful for the Faithful to marry with Infidels, or even with Hereticks.* And here at the end he joins together Heathens and Hereticks.

Nay, in the Church of *Rome* they carry up this Sin of marrying with an Heretick to be a grand Sacrilege: And conſequently, that it is a greater Sin to marry ſuch an one, than to commit Fornication with her: Thus they ſay,

† *To know an heretical Wife with a matrimonial affection, by which Marriage is contracted, is a greater Sin than to fornicate with her—— He ſins more grievouſly, by knowing of her with a matrimonial affection, and by contracting with her, than by knowing of her with an affection as to a Whore; becauſe he commits a grand Sacrilege, according to all.*

This is here deliver'd as the current doctrine of all the Doctors in the Church of *Rome*.

This Sacrilege, I ſuppoſe, muſt be grounded upon the members of the Church, being members of *Chriſt:* And the making a member of *Chriſt* one with another who is not his member, which is a Sacrilege of the higheſt nature; not only in robbing from God, his Temples or Altars made of ſtone, his Tythes, or other inanimate things dedicated to his Service and Worſhip; but in robbing and prophaning his living Temples, the very members of the Body of *Chriſt*.

And upon ſuppoſition that the Church of *Rome* were the only Church of *Chriſt* upon Earth, I do not ſee but that the conſquence would be juſt.

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* Sit igitur propoſitio prima, non licet Fidelibus cum Infidelibus aut etiam Hæreticis Matrimonia jungere; probatur primò ex verbo Dei, *Deut.* vii. Deus prohibuit Populo ſuo matrimonia jungere cum *Gentilibus*. Et quamvis Præceptum illud ſit judiciale, & ſolos *Judæos* propriè obligaverit, tamen habet aliquid etiam *moralis & ad omnes pertinet*, ſi cauſa inſpiciatur. Nam cauſam reddit planè moralem, quæ etiam nunc locum habet; *quia ſeducet*, inquit, *Filium tuum, ne ſequatur me, & ut magis ſerviat Diis alienis*, &c. 3 Reg. xi. ubi idem Præceptum repetitur, addit Deus, *certiſſimè avertent corda veſtra, ut ſequamini Deos alienos.* Et ibidem additur, *Solomonem* contra hoc Præceptum egiſſe, & illi continuò accidiſſe quod Deus prædixerat; depravatus enim per Uxores illas Ethnicas, adoravit earum Idola. Et ſanè ſi Vir ſapientiſſimus, & qui multis alias Uxores habebat, per nova illa conjugia cum *Gentilibus* ita perverti potuit, ut ſingularum Deos coleret, quantum periculum iis imminet, qui unam tantùm, eamque Ethnicam, vel Hæreticam ducunt, & qui nullo modo ſunt cum *Solomone* in Prudentiâ & Sapientiâ comparandi? † Hæreticam Uxorem cognoſcendo uxorio affectu, per quem contrahitur matrimonium, gravius eſt Peccatum quàm cum eadem fornicari——Magis peccat cognoſcendo illam uxorio affectu, & contrahendo cum illâ, quàm cognoſcendo affectu fornicario; quia committit grande Sacrilegium ſecundùm omnes. *Martin. d. Navarr. Conſil. l.* 4. *de ſponſal. Conſil.* 5. §. 10.

Tho' as to their diſtinction of making it a leſs Sin to fornicate than to marry with thoſe out of the Church, the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* VI. 15. makes it the ſame Sin of Sacrilege to commit Fornication with them, *viz.* that it is the making the members of *Chriſt* the members of an Harlot: And applies to this caſe, *v.* 16. what was ſaid of Marriage, that *two ſhall be one Fleſh.*

But then the difference betwixt a ſingle act, and an habitual living in this Sin is to be conſider'd. And indeed if ſuch Marriages be not lawful, they are a continu'd ſtate of Fornication: *For* (as it is ſaid in our Office of Matrimony) *be ye well aſſured, that ſo many as are coupled together otherwiſe than God's Word doth allow, are not joined together by God, neither is their Matrimony lawful.*

I cannot imagine how the *Roman Catholicks* among us can ſatisfy their Conſciences upon theſe principles, in marrying ſo commonly as they do with us.

If they ſay the Pope can diſpenſe with it:

1. Has every one of them a Diſpenſation for it? I do not underſtand that it is ſo much as ask'd, or that they think they have any need of it, it is ſo common amongſt us.

2. Can the Pope diſpenſe with Sacrilege? And ſuch a Sacrilege as tearing the members of *Chriſt* from his Body?

Or, 3. Will they be content to leſſen their Sin, that they know their Wives, and their Wives know them, with an whoring, and not a matrimonial affection?

Or, laſtly, will they confeſs, as the truth is, that their diſcipline is as looſe as ours when intereſt comes in the way; and that they mind none of theſe things?

But for the Proteſtants, who own no Diſpenſation againſt the Law of God, this will lie harder upon them to marry out of their own Communion; and with thoſe againſt whom they lay the Charge of Idolatry, and of the greateſt Schiſm ever was made in the chriſtian Church, by confining it wholly to their own Communion; thereby excluding far the greateſt part of the chriſtian World out of the pale of *Chriſt*'s Church.

XIII. Of marrying within the degrees prohibited.

We all agree, that marrying within the degrees prohibited *Lev.* XVIII. is unlawful; and that no power upon Earth can diſpenſe with it, becauſe it is prohibited in God's Law, as our *Act of Parliament* expreſſes it, 25 *Hen.* VIII. c. 22. And in the *Reform. Legum* (before mentioned) c. 3. it is ſaid:

* *God eſtabliſhed ſuch a Law in theſe degrees,* Lev. XVII. *and* XX. chap. *as obliges us and all our Poſterity; for theſe Commands in theſe Chapters were not peculiar to the People of the* Jews *(as ſome do dream) but have the ſame authority which our Religion does attribute to the ten commandments, ſo that no human power can any way infringe it.*

Now if theſe commands, *Lev.* XVIII and XX. were not only judicial to the Nation of the *Jews*, but of perpetual obligation to all Chriſtians: What reaſon can be given why thoſe other ſo oft repeated commands againſt marrying with Idolaters, ſhould be thought only judicial to the *Jews*, and to have no effect upon Chriſtians?

Is the one more moral than the other, and of more indiſpenſable obligation? Yes, for that of the degrees prohibited, muſt have been diſpens'd with in the beginning of the World, when there was a neceſſity of Men marrying their Siſters. And *Abraham* marry'd his half Siſter, before this Law

† Deus in his gradibus certum Jus poſuit, *Lev* XVIII. & XX. Cap. quo jure nos & omnem noſtram Poſteritatem tenere neceſſe eſt; nec enim hæc illorum Capitum Præcepta veteris Iſraelitarum Reipublicæ propria fuerunt (ut quidam ſomniant) ſed idem authoritatis pondus habent quod Religio noſtra Decalogo tribuit, ut nulla poteſtas humana quicquam in illis ullo modo conſtituere poſſit.

in *Lev.* XVIII. was made. And by the anſwer that *Tamar* made to her Brother *Amnon*, 2 *Sam.* XIII. 13. it ſhou'd ſeem, that it was then diſpenſable.

Whereas this of marrying with Idolaters never was diſpens'd with, but ſeverely reprehended even in *Solomon*, and many others.

Beſides, the reaſon of this Law, againſt this tentation to Idolatry, is perpetual, much more than that of the prohibited degrees, and alters not upon any variation of times, or circumſtances.

Laſtly, It is anew prohibited to Chriſtians in the New Teſtament (as before has been ſhew'd) which the prohibited degrees are not; I mean, not expreſſly, they are not particularly mention'd, tho' I grant they are imply'd. Therefore this Law againſt Marriage with Idolaters, is not only a judicial Law to the *Jews*, but of perpetual obligation to all Chriſtians.

Let me here remind you of what is ſaid before, that all the Worſhip of God in the World, except that of *Jews*, was then idolatrous; and therefore this command againſt marrying with Idolaters, was the ſame thing as againſt marrying out of their own Communion: And ſo comes up full to our preſent caſe.

XIV. Examples of God's Judgments againſt this Sin.

Having now thus far diſcuſſed this matter, let us go on to ſee how God has treated this ſin in all ages: That the marks of his heavy diſpleaſure againſt it, may raiſe in us a juſt horror and caution, leſt we fall under the like condemnation.

Inſtances of God's indignation againſt this ſin.

1. Before the Flood.

This is the particular ſin for which it is ſaid, that God ſent the Flood to deſtroy the whole Earth, except eight Perſons: For it is told as the root from whence all their other great wickedneſs did flow, *That the Sons of God did marry the Daughters of Men*; from which mixture there ſprung a race of Giants in all impiety, Men mighty and of renown in violence, oppreſſion, and licentiouſneſs, with which they filled the Earth. Gen. vi. 2, 3, 4, 13.

Theſe Sons of God were the poſterity of *Seth*. The others, call'd the Sons or Daughters of Men, were the poſterity of *Cain*.

God curſed *Cain* for his ſin, and I may ſay excommunicated him, as *Cain* ſaid to God, *From thy face ſhall I be hid:* And it is ſaid, That *Cain went out from the preſence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of* Nod. Now the Land of *Nod* was not out of God's preſence, any otherwiſe than as God's eſpecial preſence is with his Church, more than with others: There he is ſaid to ſhew his face; from which now *Cain* was hid. He ſeparated himſelf from his Father, his Family, and Communion; and ſet up for himſelf, living by rapine and violence, which encreas'd in his poſterity to the Flood. Gen. iv. 11, 14. ℣. 16.

He is thought to have firſt invented and ſet up the Worſhip of God by Images; perhaps for the ſame reaſon as *Jeroboam* ſet up his Calves, leſt the Peoples going to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip, ſhould make them leave him and return to their old Maſter. And ſo with *Cain*, leſt thoſe that follow'd him, ſhould leave him, and return to worſhip with *Adam*, as they had done before.

But however that be, it is granted by all that he made a ſeparation from *Adam*, and erected a new Colony of his own: And that from that time forth, the genealogy of *Iſrael*, or deduction of the City or Church of God, was not carry'd from *Cain*, but from *Seth*; of whom and his poſterity it is ſaid, that they did *call themſelves by the name of the Lord*; which implies their ſtanding in a federal relation to God, he chuſing them as his People or Church, and they giving up their names to him as their God, calling themſelves by his name, as we call our ſelves Chriſtians, from our being admitted into the Church of *Chriſt* by Baptiſm. And as *Chriſt* calls himſelf Gen. iv. 26.

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the Bridegroom of his Church, and her his Spouſe; ſo God called himſelf to his Church of *Iſrael*, *Iſa.* LXII. 5. And took the name of her Husband, *Jer.* III. 20. XXXI. 32. The expreſſion being *called by a Man's name*, or having *his name called upon them*, ſignifies *Marriage*, Iſa. IV. 1. and frequently elſewhere; which being the ſame expreſſion here uſed of *Seth* and his poſterity in relation to God, ſhews theſe to have been thoſe Sons of God who marry'd the Daughters of Men. And then theſe Daughters of Men cou'd be no other than the poſterity of *Cain*; there being but theſe two poſterities then in the World.

And here we ſee the World once deſtroy'd for this ſin.

Let us then go on, and look upon ſome examples of this ſin, in the new World after the Flood.

2. Iſhmael. Gen. xvi. 3. xxi. 21. God having ſet up his Church in the Family of *Abraham*, we find the firſt Perſecutor of it (as he is called *Gal.* IV. 29.) *Iſhmael*, was born of *Hagar* an *Ægyptian:* And tho' he was of the *Peculium* by his Father, and ſo good a Man as *Abraham*; yet ſo early did the influence of the Mother appear, for *ſhe took him a Wife out of the Land of* Ægypt, her own Country: Which no doubt help'd him forward in his perſecuting of *Iſaac*, and the true Church.

By which example *Abraham* being warned; and to ſhew, that this Principle of not marrying out of the *Peculium* was known, and did prevail at that time, long before the Law of *Moſes*; which proves it to be either a part of the Law of Nature, or otherwiſe, that it was given in command by God to the Patriarchs; I ſay, to ſhew this, let us obſerve what care *Abraham* took, as to the Marriage of *Iſaac*.

3. Iſaac. Gen. xxiv. 3. Read the Oath which he made his Steward to ſwear. *I will make thee ſwear by the Lord the God of Heaven, and the God of the Earth, that thou ſhalt not take a Wife unto my Son of the Daughters of the* Canaanites *amongſt whom I dwell: But thou ſhalt go unto my Country, and to my Kindred, and take a Wife unto my Son* Iſaac. He ſcrupled not the journey or diſtance of place.

4. Lot's Daughters. Gen. xix. 14, 15. But *Lot* took not the ſame care: He ſuffer'd ſome of his Daughters to marry in *Sodom*; and they periſhed; the others were ſaved.

5. Eſau. Gen. xxvi. 34, 35. We find the ſame ingredient in the ruin of *Eſau*; for his two Wives were both *Hittites*; and this is ſaid to be a *Grief of mind to* Iſaac *and* Rebekah. And immediately after follows his rejection, and the bleſſing transferr'd to *Jacob*.

6. Jacob. Gen. xxviii. 1, 2. Next we ſee the ſame care taken by *Iſaac* in the Marriage of *Jacob*, as before had been taken by *Abraham* in the Marriage of *Iſaac*. *And* Iſaac *called* Jacob *and bleſſed him, and charged him, and ſaid unto him, thou ſhalt not take a Wife of the Daughters of* Canaan. *Ariſe, go to* Padan-Aram *to the Houſe of* Bethuel *thy Mother's Father, and take thee a Wife from thence, of the Daughters of* Laban *thy Mother's Brother*.

Chap. xxvii. 46. And to ſhew the benefit of having a Wife of the ſame Communion, as the danger of the contrary; this came from the earneſt ſolicitation of *Rebekah*. *And* Rebekah *ſaid to* Iſaac, *I am weary of my life, becauſe of the Daughters of* Heth: *If* Jacob *take a Wife of the Daughters of* Heth, *ſuch as theſe which are of the Daughters of the Land, what good ſhall my life do me?*

It is obſervable, that the two eldeſt Sons of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, that is, *Iſhmael* and *Eſau*, who marry'd out of the *Peculium*, were rejected; and both turn'd Perſecutors of the Church: And the two younger, who marry'd within the *Peculium*, were received in their ſtead, and the *Peculium* was deduc'd in them and their poſterity.

The miſeries of *Judah* the Son of *Jacob*, and his inceſt proceeded from his marrying a *Canaaniteſs*; who bore to him thoſe curſed Brethren, *Er* and *Onan*. 7. Judah. Gen. xxxviii.

Let us now paſs on to the time of *Moſes*, who ſeems himſelf to have fallen into this ſin, for he marry'd an *Æthiopian*, if ſhe was not a Proſelyte. However this did not excuſe the ſedition of *Aaron* and *Miriam*, upon that account; becauſe *Moſes* was their ſuperior: And the power of reformation does not lie in the Subjects. Of which hereafter. 8. Moſes. Num. 12.

The firſt Blaſphemer that was ſtoned by God's own expreſs command, is mark'd as a Son of one of theſe Marriages; his Father an *Ægyptian*, by a Woman of *Iſrael*. 9. The firſt Blaſphemer. Lev. xxiv. 10.

When *Iſrael* was proof againſt all the enchantments of *Baalim*, they were inſnared into Idolatry by mixing with the Daughters of *Moab*. 10. Baal-peor. Num. xxv.

This is recorded as the ſin for which God ſold *Iſrael* into the hand of the King of *Meſopotamia*, in the time of the Judges: That they marry'd with the *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, &c. *And ſerved their Gods.* This was the firſt of their captivities. 11. The firſt of the captivities of Iſrael. Judg. iii. 6.

In theſe times *Sampſon* is a famous inſtance, who marry'd with the *Philiſtines*: Whence enſued his diſmal Tragedy, and the captivity of his Country. 12. Sampſon.

David marry'd the Daughter of *Talmai* King of *Geſhur*, by whom he had *Abſalom*, the diſgrace and troubler of his reign. 13. Abſalom. 2 Sam. iii. 3.

The caſe of his Son *Solomon* is notoriouſly known, who by marrying of ſtrange Wives, fell into Idolatry: And his example ſtands as a warning to all generations of Men, not to truſt themſelves with that tentation, which prov'd too ſtrong for the moſt wiſe of all mere mortals, that ever were, or ſhall be created. Beſides that he was greatly beloved of God, who ſent by the hand of his Prophet, to give him the name of *his beloved*. And God vouchſafed to appear twice unto him. He was choſen of all the Men upon the Earth to build the Temple of God, and erect a new œconomy of the Temple Service, ſuperior to that of the Tabernacle eſtabliſhed by *Moſes*. And he was named of God for this great work before he was born; and in this, preferred to *David* his Father; and had the promiſe of an everlaſting Kingdom given unto him, which is fulfilled in *Chriſt* our Lord, who ſprang from him, and now ſitteth upon the Throne. 14. Solomon. 1 Kin. xi. 1, 2. 2 Sam. xii. 25. 1 Kin. xi. 9. 1 Chron. xxii. 8, 9, 10.

And if ſuch a Man as this was ſuffer'd by the all-wiſe providence to fall by this ſin; it was meant (ſurely) to teach all others, that none ſhould thereafter preſume, upon their own ſtrength or attainments, to taſte of this forbidden Fruit.

So that this example of *Solomon* ſtands *inſtar omnium*, inſtead of a thouſand. Yet let us name a few more.

His fatal Son *Rehoboam*, who loſt ten of the twelve tribes, was the fruit of one of theſe Marriages, for his Mother was an *Ammoniteſs*. 15. Rehoboam 1 Kin. xiv. 14.

The Marriage of *Achab* with *Jezebel* the Daughter of *Ethbaal* King of the *Zidonians*, is reckon'd as a greater ſin than that of *Jeroboam*; at leaſt as a great aggravation of it: And it is written, that ſhe *ſtirred him up* to follow Idols. 16. Achab. 1 Kin. xvi. 31. Chap. xxi. 25, 26.

Jehoram King of *Judah* marry'd *Achab*'s Daughter, and walked in the ways of *Achab*. And God ſent grievous Plagues upon him, and a miſerable death, according to the prophecy of *Elijah*, ſent to him in writing. 17. Jehoram. 2 Chron. vi. 12.

And this iniquity of his went on to ruin his Son *Ahaziah*, who alſo walked in the ways of the Houſe of *Achab*, for his Mother was his Counſellor to do wickedly. And after that her counſel had brought him to a violent end, ſhe deſtroy'd all the Seed-Royal of the Houſe of *Judah*, and uſurp'd the Kingdom to herſelf. 18. Ahaziah. 2 Chr. xxii. 3. 2 Chr. xxii. 9. ℣. 10.

More particular examples of this ſort might be produc'd, but let theſe ſuffice to bring us,

19. Loſs of the ten tribes. 1 Kin. xvii.

Firſt, To the utter diſperſion and loſs of the ten tribes, even to this day. Which is ſaid to be chiefly for this ſin of Idolatry, to which they were tempted and enſnared by theſe Marriages of their ſeveral Kings.

20. Of the Kingdom of Judah.

Secondly, Of the great captivity of the two tribes, the Kingdom of *Judah*, for ſeventy years in *Babylon*, which was likewiſe for the ſame ſin.

And it is told before in the 10th inſtance, that their firſt captivity was upon their firſt falling into this ſin after their entring into the poſſeſſion of *Canaan*.

After the captivity. 21. Ezra. ix. 1, 2, 3.

Let us now look into the time after their return from the captivity.

And we find this ſame ſin moſt ſharply reprehended by *Ezra* the Prieſt; not only as to their Marriages with the ſeven curſed Nations, which are all particularly nam'd, *Deut.* VII. 1. But he names likewiſe the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, and *Ægyptians*, who were none of theſe Nations. And the reaſon he gives reaches to all other People who were not of their Communion, *viz. That the holy Seed have mingled themſelves with the People of thoſe Lands*, That is, with any other who were not of the holy Seed: Which was not confin'd to their Nation, but Religion; becauſe they were allow'd to marry Proſelytes of other Nations.

And let us obſerve the great Zeal of *Ezra* againſt theſe Marriages. *When* (ſaid he) *I heard this thing, I rent my Garment and my Mantle, and pluck'd off the hair of my Head, and of my Beard, and ſate down aſtonied*, &c. And he conceiv'd a moſt paſſionate Prayer (to the end of that chapter) attributing the Judgments that had befallen them to this ſin.

22. Nehemiah xiii. 23.

After him, *Nehemiah* expreſs'd no leſs indignation in the ſame caſe. And the Nations he nam'd with whom the *Iſraelites* had marry'd, were *Aſhdod*, *Ammon*, and *Moab*; none of which were of the ſeven curſed Nations.

ỳ. 25, &c.

And I contended with them (ſaid he, that is, with his brethren of the captivity, who had marry'd with theſe) *and curſed them, and ſmote certain of them, and pluck'd off their Hair, and made them ſwear by God; ſaying, Ye ſhall not give your Daughters unto their Sons, nor take their Daughters unto your Sons, or for your ſelves. Did not* Solomon *King of* Iſrael *ſin by theſe things? Yet among many Nations was there no King like him, who was beloved of his God, and God made him King over all* Iſrael; *nevertheleſs, even him did outlandiſh Women cauſe to ſin. Shall we then hearken unto you to do all this great evil, to tranſgreſs againſt our God, in marrying ſtrange Wives?*

23. Schiſm of the Samaritans.

The laſt inſtance I ſhall give is that of the great Schiſm of the *Samaritans*, which is not extinguiſhed to this day; and took its riſe from this laſt mention'd reformation of *Nehemiah*, who tells us in the very next words to thoſe before quoted, That *one of the Sons of* Jehoida, *the Son of* Eliaſhib *the High Prieſt*, *was Son in Law to* Sanballat *the* Horonite; *therefore* (ſays he) *I chaſed him from me.* This gave the occaſion; about ſixty years after the Schiſm broke out, in the year of the World 3672. when *Manaſſes* Brother to *Jaddus* the High Prieſt refuſed to put away his ſtrange Wife, and was therefore driven from the Sacrifice. His Father in Law *Sanballat*, then Governor of *Samaria*, revolted from *Darius* his lawful King, and obtain'd leave of *Alexander*, who had conquer'd him, to build a Temple on Mount *Gerizim*, of which he made *Manaſſes* the High Prieſt. And all that adher'd to their unlawful Marriages reſorted to this Temple; and ſuch other offenders as did not think themſelves ſafe at *Jeruſalem*.

Neh. xiii. 28.

Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 40. c. 8.

Here was Temple ſet up againſt Temple, Altar againſt Altar, Prieſt againſt Prieſt; carried on by Rebels; ſupported by the Lay-Power of a Conqueror; and juſtify'd by *Levites*, who lov'd or fear'd their Wives more than the Church.

I have

I have now given a ſhort account of theſe Marriages out of the *Peculium*, and the conſequences of them, from the beginning of the World, through the ſeveral ſtates of the Patriarchs, and the *Jews* unto this day: For, as I ſaid, this Schiſm, now grown a ſect of *Samaritans*, remains unto this day.

XV. No examples of this in the New Teſtament.

In the Hiſtory of the New Teſtament we find no examples of this Sin: For beſides that it reaches but a ſhort way, the caſe was ſo poſitively ruled by the Apoſtles, and theſe Marriages forbidden to the firſt chriſtian Churches, as has been ſhewed, that they degenerated not during the Lives of the Apoſtles; as the *Iſraelites* did not during the Life of *Joſhua*; but fell afterwards in the time of the Judges, who grew more careleſs, as ſhewed before in the tenth inſtance.

I will not now enter into the detail of the examples and evil conſequences of this Sin in after-ages of the Church, of which catalogues might be produc'd; but theſe could not add to the authority of what is here brought out of the Scriptures of God, from the beginning to the end: Beſides that it would ſwell this, unneceſſarily, to too great a bulk.

XVI. K. *Charles* I.

I ſay unneceſſarily, as to us, who are more touch'd with examples at home than abroad: And we have one very near, which we cannot forget, becauſe we feel it ſtill, and tremble at the conſequences which it may yet have upon us; that is, the Marriage of that glorious Martyr King *Charles* I. with one of a different Communion, who' tho' he eſcap'd the danger himſelf, yet his Children did not.

But that is chiefly to be attributed to thoſe Rebels who drove them into foreign Countries; and after (without a bluſh!) quarrelled with them for what they had learned there.

No doubt that Queen had an influence upon her Children, as all Mothers muſt have, more or leſs; but ſhe could not of her ſelf have had thoſe opportunites nor advantages in point of argument which that curſed Rebellion gave her, carry'd on by thoſe who called themſelves Proteſtants, and if continued to be juſtify'd, will make that name abhorrent to all Men of ſenſe and ſobriety; if it once come to be taken for granted that that cauſe cannot be maintain'd but by Rebellion, Perjury, and Lies.

Of the laſt of theſe that Queen (as others) had a great ſhare caſt upon her by a ſort of party-colour'd Saints, who had God in their Mouth, the Devil in their Heart, and the World in both their Arms: And took that handle to wound the King through her ſides.

I have no deſign to juſtify her, nor can I do it, knowing nothing of theſe tranſactions; but who can believe thoſe againſt her, who branded King *Charles* I. and Archbiſhop *Laud* for Papiſts, who both died Martyrs for our Church? Thoſe who had ſo abandoned themſelves to lying for the truth (as they called it) that they came almoſt to believe themſelves at laſt thoſe Lies they had told ſo often? Inſomuch, that whatever reports came from that quarter were juſtly to be ſuſpected: And he that will make that his rule, to conclude all thoſe ſtories to be Lies which they tell, either to their own advantage, or of ſlander to the Church or the King, merely upon that reaſon, becauſe they tell them; will not find himſelf miſtaken once in twenty times: And the more confident and poſitive they are, then we are to ſuſpect the moſt; for what cannot be prov'd, muſt by theſe means be ſupported. Ought we then to believe thoſe who have been ſo accuſtomed to make Lies their refuge, and will ſtand it on to out-face the Sun in that of which they dare not come to the proof, even themſelves being Judges?

I would do juſtice to all, and allow that the Queen of King *Charles* had her failings, and perhaps might meddle too much in the Government; and that her Religion was a byaſs to her; theſe are inconveniences ſufficient, but I would not give credit to all the ſlanderous ſtories rais'd of her by thoſe who

who had ends to ſerve in doing it: There is a right to be done even to the Dead, that we our ſelves ſuffer not, when we can no longer defend our ſelves.

But how much or little ſoever ſhe was faulty, yet this we know, that her Religion was made a handle to ruin the beſt of Kings: And her influence upon their Children abroad cannot but be ſuſpected to have had its ſhare in what follow'd.

Our Nobility, *&c.*

This encouragement being given by the King's example, was imitated by others, chiefly of the Nobility, who made no ſcruple to marry into Families of a different Communion, as ſorted beſt with their intereſts: As it was in the time of *Ezra*, *The hands of the Princes and Rulers were chief in this treſpaſs.* What inconveniences aroſe from this to their ſeveral Families, I leave to themſelves to reflect; to recount them would require a Hiſtory like to that of Sir *Henry Spelman*'s of Sacrilege.

Ezra ix. 3.

XVII. Theſe Marriages are unlawful, merely conſidered as a tentation.

But to come to an end, this will be granted me on all hands, that marrying into another Communion is, at leaſt, a tentation. And then how can any, without mocking of God, repeat the Lord's Prayer, *Lead us not into tentation*, when at the ſame time, even while the words are in his Mouth, in the Office of Matrimony, he deliberately, wilfully, and avowedly throws himſelf, or expoſes his Child to this great tentation?

How can any Prieſt, with a good Conſcience, deliver over with his own hands one of his Flock to another of a different Communion? If they ſhould fall thereby, would not their Blood be requir'd at his hand?

God ſays of ſuch Marriages, *Surely they will be a ſnare unto you.* Oh no, ſay we, that is too ſevere, perhaps they may not: As the Serpent ſaid to *Eve*, *Ye ſhall not ſurely die.* It is not ſurely ſo, be not afraid.

And after the many examples we have ſeen of the wiſeſt of Men, and greatly beloved of God, and the whole Nation of the *Jews*, his own peculiar People, overthrown by this tentation, ſhall we run our ſelves wilfully into it? Is it not a provoking of God, and a preſumptuous Sin? A truſting in our own ſtrength, in contempt of the commands and threatenings of God?

Upon the whole, as it has been ſaid in the Preface, there is no reaſon that is ſufficient to hinder Communion, but muſt alſo forbid Marriage with ſuch: And if the differences are ſo ſmall as to allow of Marriages, they cannot juſtify a breach of Communion.

Becauſe our Marriage in the Church, by which we are made members of *Chriſt*, of his outward viſible Body upon Earth; and by that entituled to a memberſhip in his Church triumphant for ever in Heaven; which are not two Churches or Bodies of *Chriſt*, but the ſame Body in different ſtates, they are the ſame Family, part in Heaven, and part on Earth; I ſay, this ſpiritual Marriage is infinitely greater, and of more eternal conſequence than our worldly Marriages, which are diſſolv'd by Death: And therefore whatever is a ſufficient cauſe to break off our Communion with any Church, muſt much more forcibly conclude againſt our marrying in that Communion.

Eph. iii. 15.

What is a lawful cauſe for breach of Communion.

Let me add, that there is no cauſe juſtifiable for a member of any lawfully conſtituted Church to ſeparate from her Communion, unleſs ſomething that is ſinful is required as a condition of her Communion: And if it be ſinful, or that we think it ſo, it muſt debar Marriage as well as Communion, for all the reaſons before ſaid.

XVIII. In whom the Power of Reformation lies.

I am now come to the laſt point, which is, In whom lies the power of reforming this matter. And that is ſhew'd in the words of my text, which I have choſen for that purpoſe, *Ariſe, for this matter belongeth unto thee*, ſaid the People to *Ezra* the Prieſt.

Matters of Religion are to be reformed by the Church; and not only the People, but the Princes are to make their application to the Prieſts: Thus ſaid *Ezra*, *Now when theſe things were done, the Princes came to me, ſaying*, &c. Ezra ix. 1.

It is told before how *Aaron* and *Miriam* made a ſedition againſt *Moſes*, becauſe of his *Æthiopian* Wife; but this is no objection, tho' *Aaron* was then High-prieſt: Becauſe, Num. xii.

Firſt, It does not appear but that ſhe was a proſelyte, as ſaid before; and it is moſt probable that ſhe was ſo, going along with them in the Wilderneſs, and witneſs to the many miracles there wrought.

Secondly, There ought no ſedition to be rais'd againſt the ſupreme civil Magiſtrate, tho' he had been guilty: No, not by the High-prieſt himſelf: Rebellion is never juſtifiable upon any pretence whatſoever.

Thirdly, *Moſes* was ſupreme, as well in eccleſiaſticals as temporals: It was he that conſecrated *Aaron*, made the Tabernacle, and ordered the whole œconomy of the Worſhip of God, and gave the Law, from the Mouth of God himſelf; which is the reaſon God gave againſt *Aaron* and *Miriam* for their mutiny againſt *Moſes*. He was preferred to *Aaron*, even in the Prieſthood, as it is written, *Moſes and Aaron among his Prieſts:* Tho' *Aaron* did exerciſe it, becauſe the ſucceſſion of the High-prieſthood was to deſcend in the Family of *Aaron* the elder Brother; yet, during the life of *Moſes*, he was ſupreme in all things, by the ſpecial appointment of God: But this was perſonal only to *Moſes*, therefore his caſe is ſingular: But to return. Pſal. xcix. 6.

As the Princes made their application to *Ezra* the Prieſt, ſo did the People, for the reformation of this error in their Religion. But they did it not in any tumultuous manner, as if they would force a reformation; (God does countenance no mob-reformations:) But they addreſs'd to *Ezra* with great humility, by the mouth of *Shechaniah*; and own'd that the matter of reformation did belong unto him; and that they would obey him according to the Law. Ezra x. 2,3,4.

In the next place, *Ezra* us'd no outward force to compel them to this, but only the Arms of a Prieſt, that is, ſtrong Exhortation, and laying the Law of God before them, which brought them to it.

It is ſaid indeed, That *Ezra* did *Pluck off the Hair of his own Head and of his Beard*, in deteſtation of this ſin of the People; and to move them the more to conſider the heinouſneſs of it. Ezra ix. 3.

But it is ſaid of *Nehemiah* the *Tirſhatha*, that is, the civil Governor, that he *Smote certain of them, and pluck'd off their Hair*, for the ſame crime. The civil Governor may inflict civil Puniſhments; the power of the civil Sword is in him; and he may exerciſe it in eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and over eccleſiaſtical Perſons: He is *Cuſtos utriuſque Tabulæ*, ſo far as the power of the civil Sword reaches; but no farther. Neh. xiii. 25.

Thus each power, the eccleſiaſtical and the civil ſtand in their ſeveral Spheres, diſtinct and independent of each other.

The reformation of Religion ought to move from the Church; and the State to aſſiſt by their civil Power to ſee the Commandments of God, and Canons of the Church conformable thereunto, put in due execution.

And for the People, they may petition and repreſent, but in all humble manner, not in Mobs and in Arms; and each Man may reform himſelf: But they cannot, without the ſin of Rebellion, carry on a publick reformation againſt the authority both of Church and State; that wou'd be to unhinge the World, and carry all back again to their firſt Chaos.

We read in holy Scripture of reformations made by Prieſts, as this of *Ezra*; and by civil Governors, as that of *Nehemiah*, and ſeveral Kings of *Iſrael*, approved of by God; but none ſuch can be found of the People without them.

XIX. The caſe of a Biſhop in error.

But what if the High-Prieſt himſelf, or Biſhop, who ought to reform, ſhould fall into this, or other ſin or error in Religion; what ſhall the People do in ſuch a caſe?

Anſ. They are his Subjects, and cannot act judicially againſt him: No, nor tumultuouſly to make ſedition againſt him, or defection from him, as *Aaron* and *Miriam* cou'd not againſt *Moſes*. But the People may ſeek for redreſs againſt ſuch a Biſhop from the epiſcopal Synod or College of the other Biſhops in the Kingdom, who have a juriſdiction over any one Biſhop, even the Archbiſhop himſelf, who is but their Speaker or Preſident of the Council, and therefore may be chang'd by them, or depos'd as any other Biſhop, and is ſubject as any other, to the rules and orders of the Court, tho' he be the Mouth or Speaker of it: For he is ſuch by their authority, and none other.

Of a Biſhop in hereſy.

But ſince we are upon this point, let us put the caſe to the utmoſt, and ſuppoſe a Biſhop fal'n not only into ſome ſmaller error, but into hereſy, or fundamental errors; may the People then quit him, and ſeparate from him even before ſynodical condemnation?

Anſ. 1. The hereſy muſt not be what every Man may ſo call, but what has been ſo defin'd by the Church in the primitive times, as well as now: For we cannot make new things to be hereſies, which were not ſo in the ſenſe of the primitive Church; that wou'd be to make a new Faith and a new Religion.

2. The fact muſt be notorious; not only clamour and jealouſies, and ſuſpicion handed about by an inſolent Party; which may befall, and often has, the beſt Men in the World; and the credulous Mob have ſwallow'd all down greedily; as Archbiſhop *Laud* was hounded by them to death for being a Papiſt, who was the moſt ſtrenuous and learned Oppoſer of Popery that was in his age, and gave it the deepeſt wound, in his immortal work againſt *Fiſher* the *Jeſuit*. And tho' King *Charles* the Martyr, at his death, recommended this Book particularly, with others, to his Children, to ſecure them againſt Popery; and declar'd himſelf againſt it upon the Scaffold, as the Archbiſhop had done before; yet all this is not ſufficient, at this day, to ſecure their memories from the imputation of Popery, with a giddy multitude, manag'd by a factious party, who tell them Stories; making good herein (and in more than this) the character one gave of the humor of the *Engliſh* People, *That they believe every thing they hear, and nothing that they ſee.*

Therefore I ſay, that if there be only a rumor of hereſy againſt a Biſhop, tho' never ſo great (for ſome make the greateſt noiſe, when there is leaſt reaſon, becauſe nothing but the noiſe will make it go down, and ſtop examining) he ought to have liberty to defend himſelf, and the People muſt wait his condemnation by his proper Judges, that is, a Synod of other Biſhops.

But now on the other hand, ſuppoſe a Biſhop ſhall not hide his hereſy, but preach it openly, and bare-fac'd in the Church; there, in that caſe, every Man may, and ought to quit him, and ſeparate from him, even before his being condemn'd by the Synod: For there is no room of doubt, or of proof, which is only for what a Man denies. And he that is an Heretick againſt the chriſtian Faith, is not ſo much as a Member of the chriſtian Church; and he who is not a Member, can never be Head or Principle of Unity in any Church.

Thus it was decreed in the Synod of *Conſtantinople*, *Can.* 15. *If any ſhall ſeparate themſelves from Communion with their ſuperior, for any hereſy condemned by the holy Synods and Fathers; he publickly preaching the ſame hereſy to the People, and teaching it bare-fac'd in the Church; ſuch ſhall not only be free from canonical cenſure for ſeparating themſelves from Communion with the Biſhop ſo call'd, before ſynodical condemnation,*

but they ſhall be thought worthy of the honour that is due to the orthodox, becauſe they have not condemned a Biſhop, but a falſe Biſhop, and a falſe Teacher; and have not divided the Unity of the Church by Schiſm, but have ſtudiouſly endeavoured to preſerve the Church from Schiſms and Diviſions. In the ſame Canon it is before decreed, that none ſhall ſeparate from his Biſhop, upon *any pretence of accuſations againſt him*, till it be determin'd by the Synod; and it makes all ſuch guilty of Schiſm: Which comes up to the full of all that I have ſaid.

If moſt or all the Biſhops in a Nation ſhou'd publickly preach up hereſy.

But now (that nothing may be left that can be ſuppos'd) let us put the caſe, that moſt or all the Biſhops in any Nation ſhould publickly and bare-fac'd in the Church preach up hereſies that have been cenſur'd as ſuch by the ſenſe and doctrine of the primitive Church: I ſay, in that caſe, and purſuant to the Canon before recited, as well as the reaſon of the thing, the People ought to ſeparate from ſuch Biſhops, even before ſynodical condemnation; and ſeek for orthodox Biſhops from other Nations, ſuppoſing, that they have none ſuch left of their own, who may conſecrate others that are orthodox.

And what the People may do, what every private Perſon may do, ſurely Princes and Governors may much more do: They may make uſe of the civil Sword, which is committed to them, to expel ſuch heretical Biſhops out of their dominions, even without ſynodical condemnation.

XX. Our Reformation juſtify'd.

And this, in one word, clears thoſe objections which are brought againſt our reformation, becauſe of the lay power that was employ'd in it; and brings the cauſe to this ſhort iſſue.

Firſt, Whether the Pope has ſuch an univerſal and unlimited Supremacy, as he pretended to at the time of the reformation? If not (as it is now generally own'd by the Roman Catholicks themſelves; and eſtabliſhed by the Decrees of the whole *Gallican* Clergy, in Council aſſembled *An.* 1682.) then the ſeparation of *England* from *Rome*, upon that only account, if there were no other, is juſtifiable; as being only the aſſerting the rights of every national Church, from the uſurpation of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Secondly, Whether the Popiſh Doctrines, upon which we differ with them, are heretical, according to the ſenſe of the primitive Church? And this iſſue we will be concluded by; to this we always deſire to bring them: So that here the cauſe muſt end.

For as to their preaching theſe Doctrines publickly in the Church owning of them bare-fac'd, writing for them, and puniſhing thoſe who deny'd them, of this there is no doubt.

Here then the diſpute lies, upon the additional Articles of *Trent*, which that Council has made of Faith.

Yet pretend not, that they can add to the Creed; only by way of explaining the true ſenſe and meaning of it. Whereas, moſt of the *Trent* new Articles are of things, whereof there is no mention at all in the Creed, as Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, *&c.* And even the grand point of tranſubſtantiation, which is explaining the manner of *Chriſt*'s preſence in the holy Sacrament, which he has no where reveal'd, he has not told us at all the manner, whether by ſubſtantiation, or con-ſubſtantiation, or tranſubſtantiation, or how otherwiſe; and therefore no Man can define it, or ought to attempt it; at leaſt, ſo as to make our definitions to be Articles of Faith, and enforcing them with *Anathemas*: But I ſay, beſides all this, there is no mention of this holy Sacrament it ſelf, in any of the three Creeds receiv'd by the Catholick Church, that is, the Apoſtolical, *Nicene*, or *Athanaſian* Creeds; how then can the Article of Tranſubſtantiation be an explication of any of theſe Articles?

The Sacraments are a publick profeſſion and exhibition, they are moreover ſeals and pledges of our Faith in *Chriſt* crucify'd: But as the ſeal is no

part

part of the writing to which it is affixed; ſo the ſeals of our Faith are not the Faith itſelf; and therefore are not mention'd in the Creed (which is a ſummary of our Faith only) more than preaching, prayers, and other means of grace, which God has appointed.

The Church of *Rome* has no way to come off, but under the ſhelter of that Article of *Believing the holy Catholick Church*; and then ſuppoſing her ſelf to be that Catholick Church, that we muſt receive for Faith, whatſoever ſhe propoſes to us as ſuch.

This, *Firſt*, takes the main cauſe for granted, that ſhe is the Catholick Church; and conſequently, that the major number of twenty, thirty, or ſixty Biſhops, many of them Penſioners to the Pope, and ſome only nominal (as one for Arch-biſhop of *Upſal* in *Sweden*, and another for *Ardmagh* in *Ireland*, to repreſent theſe two Nations, both then broke off from *Rome*, and under other Archbiſhops of their own) were the whole Catholick Church: For there were no more Biſhops to compoſe ſeveral Seſſions of the Council of *Trent*, as you may read in the Hiſtory of it, in the ſecond Book.

Secondly, If this Article of the Catholick Church were ſo underſtood, there needed no other Article but this one, that is, to receive for Faith, whatever ſhe told us as ſuch.

But if the Creed was meant as a compleat ſummary of all the Articles of Faith, then all the Articles muſt be there.

And again, the Creed cou'd be never cloſed, or complete, if there was a reſerve in it, for new Articles *in infinitum*.

Thirdly, All the chriſtian Churches in the World have agreed in the Apoſtles Creed, as a compleat ſummary of their Faith: And I take it to be impoſſible for them all to agree in the adding of any new Article. This is an infallible aſſurance of our Faith: And if any particular Church does it (and *Rome* is but one particular Church, and therefore cannot be the Catholick, more than a part can be the whole) it muſt be detected by the reſt, as the new Articles of *Trent* have been.

And we receive not our Faith from *Rome* alone, but as that Church (however eminent more than others) ſtands in the Liſt with all other chriſtian Churches, as a joint witneſs with them of their common Faith, as it was once deliver'd to the Saints by the holy Apoſtles; therefore the word Apoſtolical is join'd with that of Catholick, in the Article of the Church.

But this being a Controverſy by it ſelf, different from our preſent ſubject, tho' not altogether foreign to it in its conſequences; I will now enter no farther into it; only I thought it not inconvenient to have ſaid thus much, becauſe I foreſaw it might be objected.

Therefore recommending what I have here offer'd, to your ſerious conſideration; let us not forget the regard which God has to our Bodies, which he calls his Temple, and threatens to deſtroy thoſe who ſhall defile it: And commands us to offer up our Bodies as a reaſonable ſacrifice unto him. Therefore they are not our own, and we cannot diſpoſe of them in Marriage, after our own luſts and fancy, or otherwiſe than according to his Law; which let us beſeech him that he would open our Eyes to underſtand, and would write it in our Hearts.

O Almighty Lord and everlaſting God, vouchſafe we beſeech thee, to direct, ſanctify and govern both our Hearts and Bodies in the ways of thy Laws, and in the works of thy Commandments, that through thy moſt mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preſerved in Body and Soul, through our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

SIN and HERESY

Attempted from the

First War that they rais'd in HEAVEN,

THROUGH THEIR

Various Successes and Progress upon EARTH,

TO THE

Final Victory over them, and their Eternal Condemnation in HELL:

IN SOME

MEDITATIONS

UPON THE

Feast of St. *Michael* and *All Angels.*

THE

HISTORY

OF

SIN and HERESY

Attempted from the

PREFACE *to the* HISTORY *of* SIN *and* HERESY, *&c.*

IT may be expected that I ſhould make an apology for attempting a ſubject ſo ſeemingly abſtruſe, and out of the common road; but excuſes ſignify nothing, the performance muſt anſwer for itſelf. Readers are not to be brib'd by petitionary Writers; and I muſt leave it, whether I will or not, to their impartial Judgment, whether I have walked ſafely and modeſtly in ſo untrod a path; or have improved any thing uſeful and chriſtian from it.

The gravity and ſerioufneſs with which this ſubject ought to be treated, has not been regarded in the adventrous flight of Poets, who have dreſs'd Angels in Armour, and put Swords and Guns into their Hands, to form romantick Battels in the Plains of Heaven, a ſcene of licentious fancy; but the Truth has been greatly hurt thereby, and degraded at laſt even into a Play, which was deſign'd to have been acted upon the Stage: And tho' once happily prevented, yet it has paſs'd the Preſs, and become the entertainment of prophane raillery.

This was one reaſon why I have endeavoured to give a more ſerious repreſentation of that War in Heaven, and I hope I may ſay much better founded than Milton's *groundleſs ſuppoſition, who, in the fifth Book of his* Paradiſe Loſt *makes the cauſe of the revolt of* Lucifer *and his Angels to have been, that God upon a certain day in Heaven, before the creation of this lower World, did ſummon all the Angels to attend, and then declar'd his Son to be their Lord and King; and applies to that day the ſeventh Verſe of the ſecond* Pſalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. *The folly of this contrivance appears many ways: To make the*

Angels ignorant of the bleſſed Trinity; and to take it ill to acknowledge him for their King whom they had always ador'd as their God; or as if the Son had not been their King, or had not been begotten till that day. This ſcheme of the Angels revolt cannot anſwer either to the eternal Generation of the Son, which was before the Angels had a Being, or to his temporal Generation of the bleſſed Virgin, that being long after the fall of the Angels.

But if Mr. Milton *had made the cauſe of their diſcontent to have been the Incarnation of* Chriſt, *then, at that time, reveal'd to the Angels; and their conteſting in ſuch manner as hereafter told for the dignity of the angelical above that of the human Nature, his contexture had been nearer to the truth, and might have been much more poetical, in the ſevere and juſt meaſure of Poetry, which ought not to exceed the bounds of probability, not to expatiate into effeminate romance, but to expreſs Truth in an exalted and manly improvement of thought.*

Milton, *in the firſt Book of his* Paradiſe Loſt, *makes* Lucifer *ſuppoſe himſelf to be ſelf-exiſting, and ſo without beginning; which ſeems incongruous to the knowledge of an Angel, tho' he has deluded ſome fooliſh Men into that blaſphemous and vain opinion, as hereafter ſhewn. And Philoſophers of great name have held the Eternity of the World, becauſe they were ignorant of its beginning; ſo that there are more footſteps to warrant this conjecture of* Milton's *than the former which I have mentioned.*

In the repetition of the ſeveral Hereſies which Satan *has broach'd in the World againſt the truth of the Incarnation of* Chriſt, *I have but lightly nam'd thoſe of former and early ages, but inſiſted a little more particularly upon thoſe of our own times, becauſe we are more nearly concern'd in them.*

And I have now added them to the reſt of theſe Sheets, which have lain by me theſe ſeveral years, without any intention of making them publick: But now at laſt I have adventur'd to let them run their fate, if perhaps they may provoke more ſufficient Pens to correct or improve theſe thoughts to the advantage of Religion, and benefit to the Souls of Men.

I have taken a text that I might keep cloſer to my ſubject; for it is no objection againſt an Eſſay if the Diſcourſe be as regular as that of a Sermon.

MICHAEL-

MICHAELMAS-DAY.

Rev. xii. 7.

There was War in Heaven.

THE ſubject of this day is a great Myſtery: But Myſteries are to be inquir'd into; why elſe were they reveal'd?

But our inquiries muſt be with reverence and profound humility; why elſe are they Myſteries?

I. The benefit of contemplating the Fall of the Angels.

Our contemplation upon the fall of the Angels may be of excellent uſe to us: It will lay our ſin more lively before our eyes: Becauſe the Angels ſinn'd firſt; and tempted us to follow their example; and therefore it is to be ſuppos'd that our ſin is like theirs, of the ſame nature, tho' differing in circumſtances and qualities, as a River alters from its Fountain.

II. This Text is likewiſe applicable to the Conflicts of the Church upon Earth.

I will not deny but this Hiſtory of the fall of the Angels may be apply'd by the Apoſtle to illuſtrate the conflicts and final victory of the Church upon Earth, againſt the malice of Men and Hell; and may very fitly be underſtood ſo in this ſame chapter.

But this does in no ways derogate from the truth of the fall of the Angels and of their War in Heaven; no, but by ſuppoſing it and applying it to the Church, does more ſtrongly confirm the truth of it: Or rather indeed does but continue the ſtory; for the War that is now upon Earth 'twixt the Devil and the Church, is but the continuance of the ſame quarrel which he fought in Heaven againſt St. *Michael* and his Angels.

But the Collect for this day applies the conſideration of the Epiſtle and Goſpel, and proper Leſſons to the Angels of Heaven, to which they primarily belong. And there being many days, indeed all the other holy days of the year, wherein we remember the conflict of the Church againſt the Devil, let us employ this one day as ſet apart to conſider the firſt and great Battle, that *Lucifer* fought in Heaven, according to ſuch light as the

Scriptures give of it, particularly thoſe choſen for this day, eſpecially from theſe words of my text, *There was War in Heaven.*

III. Pride the firſt Sin of the Devil.

The ſin of the Devil is generally agreed to be pride; and that from good authority of Scripture, *Iſ.* XIV. 12. *How art thou fallen from Heaven, O* Lucifer, *Son of the Morning? For thou haſt ſaid in thine heart, I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God, I will be like the moſt high.* Again, *Ezek.* XXVIII. 14. *Thou art the anointed Cherub, and I have ſet thee ſo, thou waſt upon the holy Mountain of God. Thine heart was lifted up becauſe of thy beauty, thou haſt corrupted thy wiſdom by reaſon of thy brightneſs.*

Tho' this by the Prophet was apply'd to Men, yet it was by alluſion to the pride of the Devil;

Thus far in the general that it was pride.

IV. Which aſpires by conſequence to an equality with God.

And it's commonly ſaid to be an aſpiring to be equal with God. But that cannot be directly (for we cannot ſuppoſe ſuch abſurdity in an Angel) but by conſequence if you pleaſe, and from conſideration of the nature of pride, which ſets no bounds to its ambition; for he that deſires to be high, would he not be higher, and higheſt; which is, in conſequence, to be God.

But now as to the particular inſtance of his pride, the occaſion, the conteſt, and the iſſue of this firſt diſcontent of the Devil which rais'd a War in Heaven, let us with humility inquire, bounding our thoughts within the rule of God's word, to infer no Doctrine contrary to any expreſs command in Scripture; let us make a reſignation of whatever we earn in this Harveſt, by dedicating the whole to glorify and exalt the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, and vindicate his Virtue from its foreſt enemies.

V. The Incarnation of *Chriſt* ſhewn to be the ground of this Conteſt in Heaven.

We know the incarnation of *Chriſt* was reveal'd to Men (*Gen.* III. 15.) four thouſand years before it came to paſs. And we are not to ſuppoſe that ſo glorious a Myſtery was conceal'd from the Angels. We are told, 1 *Tim.* III. 16. that it was declared unto the Angels. And *Tit.* I. 2. that it was promis'd *before the World began*, which cou'd not be to Man. And 1 *Pet.* I. 12. that the Angels deſire to look into it: And the like might be inferr'd from many places of Scripture; particularly from the verſes immediately before my text, where the Apoſtle in a viſion ſeeing this War in Heaven as it were preſent before his eyes, plainly tells the cauſe of it to be the incarnation of *Chriſt*, and the malice that the Devil thence conceiv'd againſt *Chriſt* and againſt his Church, *The Dragon ſtood before the Woman, to devour her Child when ſhe had brought it forth: So ſhe brought forth a Man Child, who ſhou'd rule all Nations: And her Son was taken up unto God, and to his Throne.* As you have it in the 4th and 5th verſe; and thereupon *v.* 7. he tells you, there was a Battle in Heaven 'twixt *Michael* and the Dragon, and their Angels on both ſides.

You will obſerve that in this, as in other Prophecies and Viſions, things long paſt, and to come, are repreſented as preſent; and therefore in this chapter the firſt ground of difference among the Angels, the War which thereupon enſu'd in Heaven, and which is ſtill carry'd on to this day upon Earth, and the final iſſue thereof at the conſummation of the World, are all told in one breath, as all preſent together, as in a picture, for ſuch they were repreſented to St. *John*, who in his Viſion ſaw all at one view; and thence he ſpeaks of the firſt revelation God gave of the incarnation to Angels or to Man, and of the fulfilling thereof in the fullneſs of time, he ſpeaks here of them without diſtinction as of the ſelf ſame thing.

But we who muſt frame our knowledge by ſteps, let us begin with the firſt revelation, and thence inquire into this War in Heaven, and ſo deſcend by degrees till we ſee *Chriſt* actually incarnate as had been reveal'd. Thus

then

then we proceed; when the incarnation was firſt reveal'd, we reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the good Angels look'd upon this infinite condeſcenſion of God, as an act of the greateſt glory in God, and in raptures of Love ador'd the divine goodneſs.

But the other Angels, who had their eyes full of their own glory, thought ſuch condeſcenſion unworthy of God, and therefore were loth to believe it, at leaſt in that ſenſe they cou'd not underſtand it (being blinded with pride;) it was not agreeable to that notion of God, which they had, which conſiſted chiefly in power and greatneſs, as they belong to haughtineſs: They underſtood not the nature of Love, which only is almighty, and conquers in its condeſcending: And therefore they argued againſt it, as St. *Peter* againſt *Chriſt*'s Paſſion, *Mat.* XVI. 22. He could not believe *Chriſt* meant it in earneſt; but perhaps to try the zeal of his Diſciples, to ſee how much they would be concern'd againſt it, and ſhew themſelves not indifferent that their God ſhould die and be crucified like a Thief: Therefore *Peter* wou'd be the firſt to ſhew his love to his Maſter; and to ſhew it more zealouſly he took upon him to rebuke *Chriſt* for but ſpeaking of ſuch a thing, as if he had heard blaſphemy; it was not ſo much as to be nam'd or imagin'd; *be it far from thee, Lord, this ſhall not be unto thee.* So little did *Peter* then underſtand the true nature and greatneſs of Love! And to ſhew that this was the error of *Lucifer*, our Saviour there rebukes *Peter* in his name, *Get thee behind me* Satan, *thou art an offence unto me*; as if he had been ſpeaking to the Devil himſelf, who firſt had a wrong notion of Love, and inſtilled the ſame Principle into Men. And this I ſhew you for the firſt ſin of *Lucifer* and his Angels, that it conſiſted in a wrong notion of God (which is the great and mother hereſy) conſidering of him falſly in his attributes of power and ſovereignty: And therefore they cou'd not believe the incarnation cou'd be meant literally by God, as being unworthy his greatneſs and ſo vaſt a diminution of his majeſty, to empty himſelf into the baſeſt of the order of Spirits, and mingle infinite with Fleſh and Blood: and therefore argued againſt it; not knowing that true power and ſovereignty are in the conqueſts of love, which delights to condeſcend it ſelf, and advance others. But the deſire to over-power others by force and violence, and debaſe them under our power, is ſo far from almightineſs, that it is an impotent vice, which ariſes from fear and want of ſtrength in our minds; and the more we grow powerful, in that ſenſe, the more we fall from that which is true power, that is, to help or advance others; which we may perceive from this experience. Thoſe who overcome by Love, advance thoſe they overcome into their Love: But who overcome by force, ſubjugate thoſe they overcome; therefore the conqueſt of Love is giving a greater freedom, and that muſt be by looſing us from ſome former thraldom, and that is truly power and greatneſs; and therefore the conqueſt of force is taking from us ſome freedom we had before, but cannot be the giving of any freedom, (for then it would not be force) and therefore cannot help or free from thraldom, and is therefore impotence, and ſhares nothing of greatneſs.

But to ſubdue one may give freedom to another: Is it not noble to reſcue a friend from his enemy? It is: But in ſo far as it gives help or freedom it proceeds from Love. (And from this very pretence it may be argu'd that the glories of Pride are but an imitation of the power of Love.) But it is more noble to overcome an enemy by Love, than by force; for by force you only reſcue your friend, but by Love you convert his enemy, and ſo reſcue him too. Love has for its object only the giving freedom to my friend; to commit force upon his enemy is no part of its deſign, for it wou'd rather convert that enemy, and ſo make a friend of him too: And

when it does force an enemy, it does it unwillingly, and thinks it no greater bravery than to remove a ſtone out of the way I am to go, or to tread through a dirty ſtep. And this mire is all that Pride delights in, it delights in miſchief, to do others hurt, and throw them down, and thinks that in that conſiſts its own exaltation; a glory to which the Plague has a better title than a Hero, for the Plague deſtroys more; from which office the Devil, the King of the Children of Pride, takes his title of *Apollyon* a Deſtroyer; but God delights to be known by the name of *Jeſus* a Saviour. And if you think that a wild Beaſt has not more right to this honour, than any Man of Arms, the beſt proof will be to ſee them grapple together, and then you will eaſily judge of their ſtrength and courage. If Wrath were a more noble quality than Love, *Chriſt* would not have choſe the Lamb and the Dove for his Emblem, and left the Dragon and the Serpent for the Arms of the Devil: To deſtroy is the courage of a Beaſt, *I will deliver thee into the hand of brutiſh Men, skillful to deſtroy*, ſays *Ezek.* XXI. 31.

Whereas the exaltation and force of Love is in humbling it ſelf to do others good, and the higher it raiſes others, the greater is its delight and glory; nor does it fear to raiſe others too high, too near it ſelf (which is the ſuſpicion of Pride) becauſe its delight does encreaſe by doing good to others; and therefore the higher others riſe, its delight is the greater; and when it brings others to be even, one with it ſelf, then its joy is in perfection.

From what we have conſider'd of the nature of Love and Pride, this then is the reſult. To be conquer'd by Love is to be exalted, but to be conquer'd by Pride, is to be debaſed, for Love humbles it ſelf, to advance others; Pride humbles others, to advance it ſelf; and which of theſe two is the moſt noble, is the ſtate of the caſe, the ſubject of our preſent contemplation, in the two greateſt inſtances of either that ever was, or can poſſibly be in Heaven or on Earth.

Of the one, in the incarnation of *Chriſt*.

Of the other, in the revolt of the Angels.

We have now gain'd the ground of quarrel, which engag'd the Angels of Heaven in a War.

VI. The Battel of the good and evil Angels concerning it, proceeding upon the principles of Love and Pride.

Next, let us bring their mighty Armies into the Field, and examine the conduct of their chiefs, by diſcuſſing their arguments on both ſides, each in defence of their Principles: For differing thoughts is the conteſt of Spirits.

And may we not be allow'd thus to enquire? For we ſhall be their Judges: *Know ye not that we ſhall judge Angels*, ſays the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* VI. 3.

The good Angels, as we have heard, did believe the incarnation when it was reveal'd to them, as being agreeable to the notion of God, which they had, which was all Love, and wherein they underſtood the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory of God to conſiſt; and therefore they did willingly ſubmit to adore the humanity, join'd in one Perſon with the Godhead. Submit! did I ſay? They glory'd in it with all their powers, it was their moſt natural ſervice, for it was a more noble demonſtration of the nature of Love than ever they had known before; which being a clearer revelation of the divinity, was proportionably an encreaſe of happineſs to them, as being more nearly reconcil'd, or admitted to a nearer participation of the divine goodneſs, the ſum, the completion, the fartheſt of created bliſs! Having all their joy, their hopes, their exultation and wonders of Love, their eternal ſecurity and confirmation, all their glory and delight, every thought of their capacious and enlarg'd underſtandings, all fill'd up, gather'd together in one, in the contemplation of that ſtupendous infinite exceſs of Love,

the incarnation of God! The virtue of which wrought up from Earth to the Heavens, to the confirmation and perpetual increaſe of felicity, to the bleſſed Angels, as we are taught from *Epheſ.* I. 10. *Col.* I. 20.

On the other ſide the Rebel-Angels cou'd not believe the incarnation when it was reveal'd unto them, at leaſt in the plain and literal ſenſe of it, as being contrary to that notion of God which they had, which was all Haughtineſs and Pride (or what they could ſuppoſe it is in God, which holds proportion to Pride in Creatures, for which we want a proper name) and in this they underſtood the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory of God to conſiſt; and therefore as they cou'd not believe, neither cou'd they ſubmit to worſhip humanity in any condition, tho' join'd in one Perſon with the Godhead. Submit! No, it provok'd their contempt, their hatred, rage, and madneſs againſt Man; and this carying them ſtill farther from the ſight and participation of Love, conſequently remov'd them far away from the ſight of God, *who is love* (1 *John* IV. 8.) And that is the proper definition of Sin and Hell and Miſery, for Sin and Hell are in effect the ſame. There is Hell, that is Miſery, involv'd in the nature of every Sin; becauſe all Sin conſiſts in our withdrawing ourſelves from God, who is Happineſs eſſential, and in his abſence only is any Miſery or Unhappineſs: And conſequently the farther we remove from him, the greater is our Miſery. This frees us from an objection, how God, who is all Love, can be a conſuming Fire, and inflict Hell: For Hell is the natural product of Sin: But that it proceeds from God is ſo untrue, that it can only be where he is not. But God is every where, he is in Hell.

That is, he comprehends Hell, and underſtands the nature of it, for that is the ſeeing of a Spirit, or the manner of its being preſent. But Hell does not ſee him, that is, underſtand his nature aright, which is the original of Pride, and is the being abſent from God; and therein conſiſts their miſery. Can Love be ſaid properly to inflict thoſe torments which proceed only from the want of Love? Or does the ſtraightneſs of a rule, cauſe the crookedneſs of that line which will not keep to the rule? He that hides his Adultery or his Murder in a Cave, may as juſtly curſe the Sun for the darkneſs and the damps which he endures, as the wicked blaſpheme the God of Love, for the envy and malice, and vexation which attend upon their Pride. Let us be judg'd by our ſelves, whence do the terrors of conſcience proceed? They proceed from the ſenſe of good we have omitted: It is not then the good which cauſes thoſe terrors, but on the contrary, the omitting of that good. The nature of Love, like that of fire, converts every thing into it ſelf: But a proud Spirit even from thence will draw arguments of envy, and afflict it ſelf; but this proceeds not from the nature of Love, but from the nature of Pride: therefore Pride in its own nature is miſerable; and Love is always victorious. If any ſay, how is it that Love overcomes Pride? After what manner? Let him obſerve how light over-powers the darkneſs, without noiſe, but irreſiſtibly: And the groſſer the darkneſs is, the greater does appear the power of the light, and its extent the greater: As death gives place to life, and truth prevails againſt error, with ſuch arms does Love fight againſt Pride. Love is light, and life, and truth; and by whatever degrees Love does advance, by the ſame is its conqueſt ſecur'd; and Joy lifts up his head, and Sorrow, and Shame, and Pride fly before his face. Now the incarnation, being the greateſt extent of Love, is conſequently the greateſt ſhock and humiliation of Pride that is poſſible to be imagin'd; and ſo moſt contrary to the Devil the father of Pride, the greateſt deſtruction and ruin of his Principles. As it unites, gives peace and intire ſatisfaction to the Angels of Love, ſo it diſtracts and runs contrary to all the thoughts of proud Spirits. Thus Love, which is happineſs in the abſtract, becomes a torment

to

to thoſe who underſtand it not, by being ſeen thro' a falſe proſpect; and in their madneſs they blaſpheme that Love, which is their only remedy; and curſe it becauſe they have parted from it; and the more it invites them to return, the more do they fret themſelves, and in ſpight run farther from it, which ſtill does more incapacitate them to return; and this is that makes Hell immortal. And thus it is that the virtue of *Chriſt's* Incarnation and Death wrought down from Earth to Hell, to the confirmation and perpetual increaſe of miſery to the damned Spirits, who have ſtood out proof againſt the laſt remedy, the ſtrongeſt charm of Love that's poſſible, the Incarnation of *Chriſt*, and have ſeparated themſelves from his Love, and pine away a ſad Eternity in the ruins of their Pride irreparable; which grows more obdurate, from its being overcome, and from that triumph of Love in the Incarnation, ſo far beyond all that it looked for, or could believe; and which therefore being fulfilled, it hates and reproaches with an impotent deſpair which is the anguiſh of Hell.

This was the iſſue of the War, but let us now take a view of the Battel.

As *Korah* and his company were bold to appear before the Lord, and appeal to him, whether *Moſes* or they were in the right, ſo both Armies of Angels being perſuaded of the juſtice of their cauſe, went forth to Battel, and were bold, both confident of the victory, to appear and plead before the Lord, for whoſe Honour each party did pretend to fight, (as it is ſtill with us) which proceeded from the different notions they had of God. *Satan* argu'd the Majeſty, Sovereignty, and Omnipotence of God; the poor, dejected, worthleſs condition of Man; and hence how abſurd and blaſphemous it would be that God ſhould be a Man, ſubject to infirmities and death.

Againſt whom *Michael* fought from the ſame conſideration of God's Omnipotence, that therefore God might incarnate himſelf, and the more difficult it did appear to created minds, the greater Glory did it bring to God: That the ways were unſearchable by which God did communicate himſelf to his creatures, whoſe whole Being was a participation of God; and that it was inexcuſable preſumption for a finite power to determine how intenſly an almighty Love might beſtow of its ſelf, even to denominate what it loves to be one and the ſame Perſon with its ſelf.

Satan, tho' dazzled with the refulgence of almighty Power, yet ſtill purſues his Pride, and conteſts, that if God ſhould chuſe a creature to make one with himſelf, it ſure muſt be the worthieſt: That the Nature ſo join'd to the Divinity muſt be adorable; and that it were againſt the Juſtice of God to make noble Spirits ſerve a baſer than themſelves: That therefore, if any, it muſt be the Nature of Angels, and not the impure Seed of Man that God will aſſume: And if an Angel, who has pretenſions beyond *Lucifer*, the *brighteſt Son of the morning*, the Glory of God's firſt Creation? And in this ſenſe he might be ſaid to aſpire to be equal with God, even literally, *i. e.* to be one and the ſame Perſon with God: Which cannot rationally be made up of any other ſcheme that we hear yet advanced concerning his Rebellion; for no otherwiſe is it poſſible for us to imagine how a thought ſo ſeemingly abſurd, even to us, ſhould ariſe in the mind of an Angel, of being equal with God. But as we have here deduced it, why might he not think that God might be an Angel as well, or rather than a Man? And this we may reaſonably conjecture from what is reveal'd to us, *Heb.* II. 16. in theſe words, *He took not on him the Nature of Angels, but he took on him the Seed of* Abraham. Which argues, as if there had been ſome ſuch conteſt, at leaſt gives us leave to think whether it might not be; and from ſuch a Suppoſe (you ſee not wholly unwarrantable) I have endeavoured to reconcile the common notion of *Lucifer's* aſpiring to be equal with God, and

and brought him in arguing for himſelf as you have heard. Thus did he exalt himſelf in his Pride, and thought his Arms invincible! Which yet were not proof againſt the mighty argument of Love wielded by St. *Michael*, who ſtood victorious in his conſtancy, on his contemplation of the vaſtneſs of the Nature of Love, which can endure no limits, and when it gives, knows no reſerves; whoſe Glory therefore is extended by the greatneſs of its Condeſcenſions; and therefore infinite Love muſt find infinite condeſcenſions to exert itſelf: And Man being the loweſt of rational Beings (which only are capable of Union with God) that muſt needs be the creature which infinite Love will chuſe to exalt to the extremity of almighty Power, to make it even one with God, that ſo Love (which is God) may be *all in all*, may be the *firſt* and the *laſt*. And (in Man) Spirit being joined in one Perſon with a Body compos'd of the four inferior elements, God does by this advance into an Union with his own Nature the very loweſt of his creatures, groſs matter itſelf, as far as poſſibly it can be made capable: That as all things ſpring from his Love, and from thence do perpetually flow, ſo do they, in this myſterious Incarnation, for ever return thither again: He is *Alpha* and *Omega*, the higheſt and the loweſt; *for that he aſcended what is it but that he firſt deſcended into the lower parts of the Earth?* Eph. iv. 9, 10. For deſcending and aſcending being relatives, they muſt hold the ſame proportion, and therefore none can aſcend more than firſt he did deſcend. Now *Jeſus* who *deſcended* even into Hell, *is the ſame alſo that aſcended far above all Heavens, that he might fill all things.* But ſuch Glory of Love could not ariſe from God's advancing the higheſt creature, becauſe that would not be ſo great a condeſcenſion; and the ſupreme Angel might, perhaps, attribute ſomething of merit to himſelf, and deſpiſe all below; who might think themſelves left behind, or forgot by the eternal Providence; who yet had the ſame original pretences, being all brought from out of the ſame Mother, *Nothing*. But in this wonderful œconomy of the Incarnation all diſparity of creatures is taken away; like that of Stars in the preſence of the Sun; eternal Love having *gathered together in one all things* Eph. i. 10. *in* Chriſt, *both which are in the Heavens and which are on the Earth, even in him*; who by this has made Heaven and Earth into one Family, iii. 15. and of whom they both are nam'd: And *Chriſt* the Head of both, from whom (both being made thus into one) *the whole Body fitly join'd together, and* iv. 16. *compacted by that which every joint ſupplieth, according to the effectual working in the meaſure of every part, maketh increaſe of the Body unto the edifying of itſelf in Love.* So that the Glory of almighty Love ſhines alone in the many members of this great Body; that an Angel cannot ſay to a Man or to a Worm, *there is no need of you*, more than the Hand can deſpiſe the Foot, or the Eye reject the aſſiſtance of the Ear: That therefore it is no diſhonour for the greateſt creature to ſerve the leaſt, ſince they are all Members of one Body, and united in the Incarnation of God. Therefore *Michael* and his Angels thought it not only indiſpenſable to adore the Manhood in God, but that it was the pitch of their Glory, the ſum of all poſſible Bliſs, to contemplate ſuch Love as was unfathomable to the eternal increaſing flight of abſtracted and enlightened Spirits. And not only this, but they rejoiced to be made miniſtring Spirits to the meaneſt of *Chriſt*'s Members upon the Earth, (*Heb.* i. 6, 7.) and to take their name of Angels or Meſſengers from that office aſſign'd them, even to little Children, as you are inſtructed from the Goſpel for the day, (*Mat.* xviii. 2, 10.) Nay farther, they were content to learn of their pupils, and to be *taught by the Church, the manifold Wiſdom of God*, Eph. iii. 10. But this Humility of Love *Satan* deſpis'd, and inſtead thereof, accuſed Man before God, as unworthy of his Union: And both parties appeal'd to God.

VII. God's determination of the cauſe.

And what could be the event when Love was judge? *The accuſer of our Brethren was caſt down, who accuſed them before God day and night,* as you have heard in the Epiſtle. And *Michael* was juſtified, who maintain'd the cauſe of Love, in that almighty condeſcenſion of it in the Incarnation and Death of *Chriſt*: *They overcame him by the Blood of the Lamb,* ſays the Epiſtle; that is, that high inſtance of Love, in defence of which *Michael* fought, did outſhine all the pretended glories of Pride, and left the Devil overthrown, aſtoniſh'd, and deſperate; and in this did appear the Strength and Salvation, and Kingdom of our God, and the Power of his *Chriſt*, that is, Love in its utmoſt condeſcenſion, which is its victory, and moſt noble glory, the riches and ſuperabundance of its Grace, its natural and beloved conqueſt.

And now rejoice, O ye Heavens, ye Angels of his who do his pleaſure, who have overcome in this noble conteſt; and for your reward, feed eternally on that unexhauſtible Fountain of Love, whoſe cauſe you have ſo truly maintain'd!

VIII. The ſame War carried on by the Devil upon Earth.

But wo to the inhabitants of the Earth, for the Devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, and he deceiveth the whole World, and is come to make War with the remnant which keep the Commandments of God, and have the Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt. You ſee the ſame War is carried on by him upon Earth which he fought in Heaven.

IX. Why *Lucifer* and his Angels did not ſubmit to the determination of God.

But before we enter into this ſecond part of the Battel, there is a preliminary to be adjuſted, which will be neceſſary to the carrying on of this War, and that is, that we find a reaſon why the Devil did not acquieſce in the judgment which God gave, ſince we ſuppoſe that he appealed to it: As *Korah* and his company appealed to God againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*; and appear'd with Cenſers in their hands before the Lord. Which cauſe I have made inſtance of as a copy of the Rebellion of *Lucifer*.

Towards ſatisfaction in this difficulty, let us firſt conſider the nature of that obſtinacy, which is generally found in error: *Non perſuadebis, etiamſi perſuaſeris* is a true and common ſaying, and we read in the Goſpel of thoſe who *ſeeing, ſee not,* and who *cloſe their Eyes leſt they ſhould ſee.*

We know that ſpight and malice will provoke that rage which it knows too ſtrong for it, and which will torment it; and will oppoſe itſelf out of the exceſs of madneſs and folly: Of which even our preſent caſe is not a plainer inſtance than what happen'd in the matter of *Korah*, our parallel caſe: For we find, that the very next day after that terrible and unexampled deſtruction of *Korah*, *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and their confederates, the reſt of the Congregation mutiny'd againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron* for that very reaſon, and ran themſelves into the ſame Sin, which they had but the day before frightfully bemoaned in the judgment of their brethren, and fled at the cry of them; for they ſaid *leſt the Earth ſwallow us up alſo*: And yet they made that very ſwallowing up the argument of their Rebellion, for which fourteen thouſand ſeven hundred died by a new Plague. Many the like examples are to be found in the Hiſtory of the *Jews*, and are daily experimented in our ſelves, who remain unperſuaded by their judgments, and God's daily Providences over our ſelves; nor want we our Miracles too. And may not we allow as great petverſeneſs in the Devil, as we have learn'd from him, and improve daily by his inſtigation?

This I think is ſufficient to clear the matter of fact of *Lucifer*'s diſcontent and murmuring even againſt that ſentence of God, to which he had at firſt appeal'd: And this we have learned from the experience of our ſelves.

And from the ſame we may likewiſe ſearch out a farther reaſon of this ſo ſeemingly an unreaſonable a procedure, that ſhould make one act contrary

even to what appears to be his own reaſon: And that, as I conjecture, is this, that error does not beget truth, but encreaſes to more error; and ſome Men will obſtinately adhere to their principle; and what ſeems to make againſt it, tho' never ſo reaſonable, if they cannot ſatisfy it directly, they will frame diſtinctions and ſubterfuges to evade what they are not able abſolutely to deny: And this temper is ſtill to be ſuppoſed where the Mind is not unprejudiced and equal to the truth on what ſide ſoever it ſhall appear; for that is a preparative indiſpenſable to the obtaining of any truth, and from the want of which alone (were there no other obſtruction) all error maintains its ground againſt the moſt demonſtrative truths. From hence it is I conclude, that Pride being the principle of the rebel-Angels conteſt, they could never from thence infer the Incarnation of God, tho' enforced upon them with undeniable arguments, unleſs they ſhould firſt abandon their principle, becauſe it was the greateſt contradiction to their principle that could poſſibly be; and they would not ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded into that docible temper which our Saviour requires, when he ſo often repeats that moſt material caution, *Take heed how ye hear; for to him that hath, more ſhall be given, and he that hath not, from him ſhall be taken even that which he hath.* Obſtinacy will confirm its ſelf into more Obſtinacy; and a good diſpoſition will ſtill take in more of truth, and ſtill grow more and more capable: And the Devil not thinking of forſaking his principle, but to adapt to it the reaſons which were offer'd againſt it, he could not underſtand the Incarnation literally as it was reveal'd, but invented diſtinctions and ſalvoes to reconcile it with his principle; at leaſt to make it militate againſt his principle as little as he could: As that the Perſon incarnated was ſome holy Creature begotten by God in an extraordinary manner, and therefore called the Son of God; but that it was not very God himſelf: Or, if it muſt be God himſelf, that it was not real Fleſh and Blood which he aſſum'd, but only in appearance and ſhew.

It is ſaid indeed in Scripture that the Devils knew him, but not that they knew him to be God: They call'd him the *Son of God*, and the *holy one of God*, and they adjur'd him by God; but I do not find, that ever they own'd him to be God, as his Diſciples did, they gave no ſuch confeſſion to him.

Now as the former concluſions which I have made of this whole warfare of the Devils, are I confeſs chiefly drawn a *poſteriori*, from conſideration of the effects which it has produc'd, eſpecially upon us here below, who are taken captive by him at his will; ſo in this preſent inſtance I am not a little confirm'd from the proſpect of thoſe many-headed hereſies which the Devil has ſent into the chriſtian Church, to the diſparagement of her greateſt fundamental, the Incarnation of God. *Arius* and his Baſtard *Socinus* are Generals of the greateſt name in this War; they deny the Divinity of *Chriſt*, tho' upon different and very contradictory pretences. *Simon Magus* was firſt in commiſſion among thoſe falſly call'd *Unitarians*; after him the *Ebionites* ſaid that *Chriſt* was God, but not from everlaſting; the *Neſtorians* that he became God by merit, but was not the Son of God before the Incarnation; the *Macedonians*, that he was not of one ſubſtance with the Father; the *Alcoran* calls him the *Meſſiah*, and the *Word of God*, but not the *Son of God*; and they allow not that he was crucified, as the *Theopaſchites* (not ſuppoſing it forſooth conſiſtent with the juſtice and greatneſs of God) but that another Man ſuffer'd in his place; others ſaid that *Chriſt* did not really hang upon the Croſs, but that his paſſion was only in ſhew, ſuch were the *Cerdonites*, the *Eutychians* and *Manichæans*; that his whole paſſion is to be underſtood allegorically, and not according to the letter, which is maintain'd by the Family of Love, who likewiſe make an

an allegory of his Incarnation; the *Manichees*, *Eutychians*, *Marcionites*, and *Saturnians* held that he had neither human Body nor Soul, but was Man in appearance only; the *Eunomians*, *Arians*, *Apollinarians*, and *Theopaſchites*, that he had a Body without a human Soul. And theſe ancient and peſtilent hereſies are ſtill kept alive amongſt us; they are gather'd together, and improv'd by the Quakers, who deny the Humanity of *Chriſt*, and the Divinity of *Jeſus*. They will not allow the Incarnation of *Chriſt*, that is, that he took the nature of Man into his own Perſon, only (as the *Socinians* ſpeak) that he dwelt in or did inſpire the Perſon of that Man *Jeſus*, as the Prophets of old, and other good Men now, tho' not in ſo high a degree as he did inſpire *Jeſus*. Thence they take the name of *Chriſt* to themſelves, and ſay that it belongs to them, as well as to *Jeſus*, to every Member as well as unto the Head. And in this ſenſe they allow *Jeſus Chriſt* to be the *Son of God*, not properly, but in a large ſenſe, as we are call'd the Sons of God: They allow that the Body of *Jeſus* was that prepared Body in which *Chriſt* (or the *Light within*, as they call him) did for a time reſide, and therefore that it might be call'd the Body of *Chriſt*, as a Man's Houſe, Garment, or Veil, is call'd his who owns or poſſeſſes it: But not as a Man's Body which is part of himſelf; for ſay they, * *We can never call the bodily Garment*, Chriſt.

They deny that *Chriſt* had properly any thing human, either Soul or Body.

That the outward Perſon which ſuffer'd, upon the Croſs, *was properly the Son of God, we utterly deny*, ſays their *Serious Apology* wrote by *Will. Penn*, p. 146. They dream that *Chriſt* had a ſpiritual Body before the Creation, and that he has the ſame now in Heaven, but not that Body of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* which he took of the bleſſed Virgin, and which ſuffer'd upon the Croſs.

The *Eutychians* held that the Humanity of *Chriſt* was abſorp'd or ſwallow'd up in his Divinity, ſo that there remain'd not now any human nature in *Chriſt*. Agreeable to this, the Quakers allow not *Chriſt* to have now any thing that is human about him: But to have diveſted himſelf of all that, when he aſcended into Heaven, where they ſay he now is only as he was before the Creation.

In ſhort, they make what they call their *Light within* to be not only a ray, influence, or inſpiration ſent from *Chriſt*, but to be the very eſſential and perſonal *Chriſt*, as well Body as Spirit, and that he has no other Body or Spirit but what was within them: For a farther account of theſe Men, I refer the Reader to a Book call'd *The Snake in the Graſs*, and to another wrote by the ſame Author, intitul'd *Satan diſrob'd*; and ſo proceed to another leſs famous Sect amongſt us, call'd the *Muggletonians*.

Theſe, with the Quakers, deny any diſtinction of Perſons in the Godhead; and conſequently they run into the old hereſy of the *Patripaſſians*, thence ſo call'd, becauſe they held that it was God the Father who was incarnate, and did ſuffer upon the Croſs. To this the Quakers agree; and *George Fox* (the father and founder of them) in his *Great Myſtery*, p. 246. diſputes againſt thoſe who ſaid that it was not God the Father who was incarnate.

Lodowick Muggleton (who aroſe the ſame year with *G. Fox*, *An.* 1650.) and his followers ſay, that the Godhead dy'd upon the Croſs; and that there was then no God: But that God, before he was incarnate deputed *Elijah* to govern in his abſence; that *Elijah* rais'd him again from the dead, and

* Some principles of the elect People of God, in ſcorn called *Quakers*, p. 126.

reſtor'd

reſtor'd him to his Throne: That *Chriſt* (who was God the Father) did not know himſelf to be God, or any more than *Elijah* pleas'd to let him know: That *Elijah* was the Father to whom he pray'd upon the Croſs. They ſtrike in likewiſe with the *Anthropomorphites* (as *John Biddle* the late celebrated *Socinian*) and ſay that God from all eternity, had a Body, and of the ſame ſhape as Man's Body; and that being made after the Image of God referr'd to the ſhape of his Body. They pretend to deſcribe his ſhape, a middle ſiz'd handſom Man, and ſuch like moſt vile and ridiculous ſtuff.

Theſe Batteries the Devil has rais'd of ſeveral ſhapes and ſizes, againſt the truth of the Incarnation of *Chriſt*. This he is not able to digeſt, or underſtand aright; and ſeduces his weak but envy'd rival Man, by ſuch multiplicity of ſubterfuges as he has invented.

This is the great and fundamental head of that War which the Devil now carries on upon Earth.

XI. And of his Satisfaction.

And there is another which is like unto it, and depends upon it, namely, the Doctrine of Satisfaction, which the Devil oppoſes upon the ſame foot with the Incarnation; for they are both ſo cloſely link'd together, as that the Doctrine of Satisfaction ſuppoſes the Incarnation and Death of *Chriſt*, without which no adequate Satisfaction, that is, no Satisfaction cou'd have been made to Juſtice for the ſin of Man: And on the other hand, no rational account can be given for the Incarnation and Sufferings of our Saviviour, but to ſatisfy the Juſtice of God for our ſin. For all other conſiderations of *Chriſt*, as a Prophet, a Teacher, a Mediator or Interceſſor might have been executed, either by an Angel, or holy Man thereunto commiſſionated, by God; and that without any neceſſity of the death of ſuch a Meſſenger.

But to make adequate Satisfaction to the utmoſt demand of infinite Juſtice for all the ſins of the World; to pay this infinite debt, exceeded all created ſufficiency, and cou'd be perform'd by none but God alone.

And the doom of ſin being Death, *without ſhedding of Blood there cou'd be no remiſſion.* Which infers the neceſſity not only of *Chriſt*'s Incarnation, but of his Death.

And it was not poſſible the Cup ſhould paſs from him, if he wou'd redeem loſt Mankind. If it had been poſſible, ſure his Father wou'd not have refus'd what he ſo paſſionately, and in ſo bitter an agony, three times requeſted. His Father wou'd not cauſleſſly have ſo expoſed his beloved Son, *in whom he was well pleaſed.* No, but as *Chriſt* himſelf has told us, *It thus behoved him to ſuffer*; that *he ought to have ſuffer'd theſe things*; and *that thus it muſt be.* Luke xxiv. 46, 26. Mat. xxvi. 54.

When God, in his all-wiſe providence, had ſo far permitted the Spirit of Pride and Malice as to ſeduce Mankind into diſobedience; the Devil then thought, he had in ſome ſort even conquer'd, at leaſt over-reach'd the Almighty: For thus he argu'd with himſelf: If God's Juſtice be exact by which I ſuffer, then muſt Man be eternally miſerable with me, for he is leſs able than I am to make any ſatisfaction for his ſin. And thus have I ruin'd my hated and deſpis'd Rival; and even by the neceſſity of God's nature, which is Juſtice, I have forc'd him to damn that baſe humane nature, which he wou'd join into his own Perſon, poſtponing the more noble angelick nature, which is thus reveng'd!

And the Devil thought himſelf ſecure and impregnable in this his Pride and Malice: For if the nature of Juſtice (which is God) cannot acquit without full ſatisfaction; and that the ſatisfaction for ſin muſt be proportionable to the Perſon againſt whom the ſin is committed, which is infinite; and and that the penalty muſt be death; and that God only is infinite; and that God cannot dye: And again, that the ſame nature which offended muſt make the ſatisfaction; and that human nature was far from infinite, and ſo

cou'd make no ſatisfaction: I ſay, upon all theſe accounts, the Devil thought Man's cauſe to be irremediable, and deſperate, and that, in this, he had prevail'd againſt God for ever.

But God thus far permitted his enemy, thereby to ſhew forth more glorioufly the riches of his Grace, and the in-exhauſtibility of his Wiſdom: For by the ever-adorable Myſtery of God *manifeſt in the Fleſh*, and ſuffering death for us upon the Croſs, all the above ſeemingly inſuperable difficulties are diſſolved, like ice before the fire: For here is ſatisfaction made by the ſame nature which offended; and the ſatisfaction is full and adequate, becauſe the ſame Perſon is God; and tho' the Godhead cannot dye, yet the Perſon which is God may dye; as the Soul of Man does not dye, but the Man, who has the Soul dyes.

And in this is the great and abſolute victory over all the Devils and Powers of Hell.

Here the Devil finds himſelf out-witted as well as over-power'd; and that Love is ſuperiour to Pride as much in Wiſdom as in ſtrength.

But his malice never fails him. He ſets all his engins on work to prejudice Men from receiving this doctrine of Satisfaction; and from believing in *Chriſt* as their ſurety, or propitiation: Which only is the ſaving faith.

The *Mahumetans* believe *Chriſt* to be a Prophet; the *Alcoran* calls him the *Meſſiah*, and the Word of God, and our Interceſſor with God. Yet are they not Chriſtians: Which denomination properly belongs to none who do not believe the Divinity, Incarnation, and Satisfaction of *Chriſt* for our Sins.

Who deny any of theſe, may flatter themſelves with the name of Chriſtians; but they are really (tho' may be themſelves perceive it not) inliſted under the Devil's banner, and fight his battels. And he has gain'd followers in nothing more than in this; he has perſuaded Men to diſpute againſt their own Salvation; he has put ſuch arguments as theſe in the mouths of *Socinians* and *Quakers*: what need has God of any Satisfaction? May he not do what a Man can? To forgive a debt? We call it Mercy in a Man; and can it be Unjuſtice in God? But when a Man forgives a debt, do we call it Mercy or Juſtice in him? You ſay it is Mercy: In Man Mercy and Juſtice are mixt in proportions; but in God they are both in their utmoſt; God is not only a juſt Being, that is, who has a great deal of Juſtice in him, but he is Juſtice it ſelf, the higheſt notion poſſible of Juſtice; and ſince Juſtice cannot acquit without full Satisfaction, no more can he.

How then? Do his Attributes fight againſt one another? No, that is impoſſible; but as the Vulgar renders, *Jam.* II. 13. *Miſericordia ſuperexaltat Judicium*, Mercy does exalt Juſtice. Gods Mercy in ſending *Chriſt* does exalt his Juſtice. Which cou'd not be exact Juſtice, if it did not require full Satisfaction. God is all Juſtice: He is all Love and Mercy too. They are the ſame thing in God: They are the ſame in Love; for God is Love. Every Sin is a debt to Love, or an offence againſt it, which is againſt God: Now a debt of Love is not to be reckon'd as a debt of Money: A Man may forgive his Money as he pleaſes, but Love cannot forgive an Ingratitude, but upon Repentance: Love cannot allow Hypocriſy, or Envy, or Malice, or any thing contrary to its ſelf.

Love is ſo much the Eſſence, ſo the All of *Chriſt*'s Religion, that all other gifts and graces are valu'd only in ſo far as they adminiſter to the ends and purpoſes of Love.

Without this the greateſt excellencies and performances imaginable are re-
1 Cor. xlii. 3. puted nothing in the ſight of God, that is, of Love; Faith, *even to remove Mountains*, and Zeal *to give all my Goods among the Poor*; *and my very Body*

Body to be burnt, and *all Prophecy*, and *all Knowledge*, all will ſignify nothing, if they be not done out of a principle of Love; if Charity be wanting, all theſe and all other things poſſible, all are nothing: Love regards them not.

Nothing can charm Love but Love. All the whole Earth in one Sacrifice, and all the pains of Hell cannot bribe Love into a friendſhip or reconciliation with Pride, or Ill-Nature; it muſt hate theſe by the ſame Neceſſity that it is its ſelf: Behold the Juſtice and Severity of Love! Behold the reaſon why our Love can never be accepted with God; becauſe it is mixt with what God hates, by the neceſſity of his Nature, with inſincerity and affections to Vice, we love not God for his own ſake, for the native beauty of Love, but to ſerve our own ends, pitiful ſelfiſh deſigns! vain, fooliſh, wicked! *The Heavens are not clean in his ſight, and he chargeth his Angels with folly, and our righteouſneſs is as filthy rags*, and *that which is highly eſteem'd among Men, is abomination before God.* Now what hopes of atoning for our faults, when our beſt performances are freſh provocations?

And this inexorable Juſtice of Love is the greateſt Mercy too, if we conſider it; for there being no happineſs but in Love, and no atonement to Love, but by returning to Love again, conſequently this ſeeming Severity is really but an invitation to our *happineſs*. But all our Love is polluted, and therefore hateful to Purity which is God: So that we can never perform this condition, tho' the moſt merciful as well as juſt. And here *Satan* wou'd ſtop all our hopes, by perſuading us, that our debt cannot be paid by another, that the moſt perfect Love will not be accepted for that which is deficient.

And this is ſo far true, that where the imperfect Love does not go as far as it can, it can receive no help from that which is more perfect: For being willing to remain inſenſible of any offence I have committed againſt Love, is the greateſt contempt of Love, and Love can hear nothing in its defence.

But where I am as ſenſible as I can, and wiſh to be more, and do all that is in my power, and repent with my whole heart; tho' all this be very unproportionable to my offence, and full of imperfections, there Love will rejoice to accept the interceding of a perfect Love, and it's full ſatisfaction and atonement for the weak but willing Love.

And this manner of paying the debts of Love is perfectly agreeable to the nature of Love: It is agreeable to the common converſation of the world: Was it ever made an objection that the ſurety ſhould pay the debt? Or that it was unjuſt to be a ſurety? Yet this enemy of Mankind would make us think it againſt reaſon that *Chriſt* ſhould be our Surety, or that he ſhould pay our debt.

And this being the main hinge, or indeed the whole of Chriſtianity as to us, many batteries are rais'd againſt this, to deſtroy us all at once; for if we loſe this, what good can Chriſtianity do us? *We are yet in our Sins.*

There are ſeveral parties, and from ſeveral arts, which attack us in this moſt eſſential point: Some ſay that *Chriſt* came into the world only as an example; but then they are put to it to find a reaſon for his Death: It will not bear an argument, that his Death was only intended as a confirmation of his doctrine; for that ſhews it neither to be true nor falſe, but only that he was fully perſuaded of the truth of it; yet this is all that cauſe can afford. Others ſay, that he came to teach a new condition for the remiſſion of Sin, which was Repentance, To this it is anſwer'd, that that was no new condition. *What time ſoever a ſinner repents he ſhall*

ſave

ſave his Soul. This was in the Old Teſtament. *Rent your hearts and not your garments*; and many other places to the ſame purpoſe. *Secondly*, Repentance was the meaning of the Sacrifices under the Law: *The Sacrifices of God are a broken Spirit.* So that Repentance was no new condition: Nor indeed was any doctrine of *Chriſt* new, for he came to fulfil the Law.

And if we look into this, it will convince us beyond all we could gather from our own Reaſon: As much as a Picture is beyond a Deſcription.

Behold therefore in the Law the Types of *Chriſt*; how they were ex-
1 Cor. v. 7. piatory, and not merely for example. Chriſt *our Paſſover is ſacrificed for us*, Sacrifices were for expiation, and not for example. The Sin of the party was laid upon the Sacrifice, and it was ſaid to die for his Sin.
Lev. xvi. 21, 22. Which was confeſſed over the Scape-Goat, and put upon his Head, and he was to bear it away to a Land not inhabited. This was to ſhew that Death was the wages of Sin, and that *Chriſt* was to bear it for us; and
xvii. 11. eſcape with it, and carry it from us, *The life of the Fleſh is in the Blood, and I have given it to you upon the Altar* (ſays the Old Teſtament) *to make an atonement for your Souls*; *for it is the Blood that maketh an a-*
Heb. ix. 22, 23. *tonement for the Soul.* And this is the reaſon that *almoſt all things are by the Law purged with Blood*; *and without ſhedding of Blood is no remiſſion.* It was therefore neceſſary, ſays the Apoſtle, and ſo goes on to infer the neceſſity of *Chriſt*'s ſhedding his Blood according to his Types,
xiii. 12. which he did to the leaſt *iota*, even to his *ſuffering without the gate.*

This ſets before us, as in a Picture, the whole œconomy of *Chriſt*'s Sufferings; and from the firſt ſentence of Death pronounced againſt Sin: *In the day thou eateſt, thou ſhalt ſurely die.* We ſee this fulfilled in the legal Sacrifices ſlain for the Sin of Man, which typified the ſhedding of that Blood which could indeed take away Sin, which it was not poſſible for the
Heb. x. 4, 5. Col. i. 20. Blood of Bulls and Goats to do, and therefore ſays *Chriſt*, *a Body haſt thou prepared me, and lo I come.* He was the true Sacrifice and Expiation
Eph. i. 7. for our Sin, *having made Peace through the Blood of his Croſs: In whom we have Redemption through his Blood.* To call all this only his being an example to us, is ſo wide both from Reaſon and the matter of fact, that it ſhews the very impotence of our enemy: It was by the Blood of the Lamb, they overcome him ſays the Epiſtle for this day. This Expiation of *Chriſt* takes away our Sin, pays all our debt, and leaves nothing to the Spirit of Pride but to feed on his own Envy and Malice and mad Deſpair.

God has ſo guarded this laſt ſtake and great rock of our Salvation, as to render it impregnable, but by our ſupine negligence. He who can turn all that Scripture ſpeaks of the expiation and atonement and ranſom of Sin, to a mere example, he muſt go againſt his own conviction, if ever we can determine it in any caſe: Nay, I dare appeal to any ſuch, whether, if he were dying, he would take greater comfort in conſidering *Chriſt* as his Surety, who had paid his debt, as his Sacrifice and Expiation who could plead to the Juſtice of God full Satisfaction for all his Sins; whether his Heart would not lean more to *Chriſt*, thus as a Saviour, than to look upon him merely as an example, which he has not follow'd?

Some would go farther, and let *Chriſt* be an Interceſſor only, and as ſuch a Redeemer, *i. e.* who redeems us by his interceding with God for us: that God appointed him for this work, but that it is againſt Reaſon to talk of his anſwering to God's Juſtice, for that God needed no body to pay a debt to him: He might forgive without all that if he pleas'd.

This has been anſwer'd already: But I would fain ask one queſtion, Whether God needs an Interceſſor more than a Redeemer to ſave Mankind? How can People pretend Reaſon for the one, and yet cry down the other

as againſt all Reaſon? And again to give divine Worſhip to this Interceſſor, and at the ſame time to deny his Divinity? As the *Arians* did, and the *Polonian Socinians* do at this day, which is reckon'd no leſs than rank Idolatry by the new faſhion'd *Socinians*, which are got up amongſt us, who deny divine Honour to be due to *Chriſt*, and yet when theſe *Socinians* are pleading for antiquity they derive themſelves from the *Arians*: Tho' the *Arians* allow *Chriſt* to have a Being with God the Father before the Creation of the World; and the *Socinians* ſay, that he never was at all before he was born of the Virgin. Which is ſo wide a difference, beſides that of divine Worſhip above told, that nothing could make them of the ſame party but fighting under the ſame General; and then their cauſe will gain great antiquity; it came from the *Præ-Adamites*, the mighty Hoſts of Heaven who fell in this quarrel, and manage it with greater ſucceſs now on Earth.

1. Others by their inſtigation argue in this form againſt the doctrine of the Satisfaction, that if *Chriſt* pay the debt, and undergo the curſe which was due to Man for Sin, he ought to ſuffer the ſame curſe that was laid upon Man, which was eternal Death, elſe he does not pay the whole debt, or ſuffer that which Man was to have ſuffer'd.

Anſ. Man ſuffers eternally, can never come out of priſon, becauſe he can never pay the uttermoſt farthing, which Juſtice does require.

Therefore *Chriſt*'s Sufferings were not eternal, becauſe they were ſufficient for the Dignity of the Perſon, to make full Satisfaction.

And not only becauſe of the Dignity of the Perſon, who was God; but from the nature of the thing: For Sin being an offence againſt Love or Goodneſs, the nature of Love does require that the Perſon offending ſhould have a ſenſe of his fault: For while the offender remains obſtinate, inſenſible, and perſiſts in his Ingratitude, even Love cannot forgive: I ſay cannot, becauſe tho' Love were willing, (Love is always willing,) yet the inſenſible offender is not capable; becauſe the forgiveneſs of Love is reſtoration, to reſtore thoſe to the happineſs and enjoyment of Love who have fallen from it: And all happineſs being center'd in Love, (as before has been ſaid) for God is Love, conſequently till we return to Love, we cannot return to our happineſs: And an ungrateful Man, and inſenſible of his Ingratitude to his greateſt Benefactor, who ſtill courts and invites him to return, is utterly uncapable, while he perſiſts in his Ingratitude, to know or enjoy the bleſſings of Love, and conſequently of the forgiveneſs of Love; which by its own nature muſt neceſſarily hate all Baſeneſs, Envy, Malice, and whatever is contrary to its own nature.

Now as the nature of Love does require that an offender ſhou'd be ſenſible of his fault; ſo likewiſe that he ſhou'd be ſenſible proportionable to his offence: For to be but a little ſenſible of a great offence, is a freſh provocation.

And it being impoſſible that the capacity of all creatures ſhould ever reach to the full ſenſe of an offence againſt infinite Love and Goodneſs, conſequently their ſufferings can never attain unto it; which makes their Hell to be eternal.

Beſides that in Hell, they *repent not, to give Glory to God, but blaſpheme the name of God, who hath power over their Plagues.* Rev. xvi. 9.

But on the other hand, *Chriſt* being God, had a full and adequate ſenſe of the offence againſt infinite Love; which is all the ſatisfaction that Love does require; and, by the neceſſity of its own nature, cannot be ſatisfy'd with any thing leſs.

Therefore *Chriſt*'s Sufferings were not eternal; becauſe he made full ſatisfaction: And if they were to have been eternal, then he cou'd never have made ſatisfaction: For therefore only are Men's Sufferings eternal, becauſe they can never make ſatisfaction.

2. There is yet another Objection which, by the artifice of the enemy of Mankind, ſome Men do ſtruggle with againſt the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*, which is, that tho' in duration the Sufferings of *Chriſt* do not laſt ſo long as thoſe of the Damned, yet that as to the greatneſs and intenſneſs of them, they ſhou'd be at leaſt equal, if not ſuperior to thoſe of the Damned: Becauſe if thoſe of the Damned are not great enough to make Satisfaction, conſequently his who does make the Satisfaction ought to be greater.

And Deſpair being the ſaddeſt ingredient in Hell, if *Chriſt* had it not, he did not ſuffer ſo great pain as they do: And if he had Deſpair, then he diſtruſted the Power or Mercy of God, and conſequently had Sin, and ſo cou'd not be our Redeemer.

In anſwer to this, let us conſider, *Firſt*, what has been ſaid above, that Sin is an offence againſt Love and Goodneſs: That the Satisfaction which Love requires is a ſenſe of the offence, ſuch a ſenſe as is fully proportionable to the offence. Then, *Secondly*, Let us reflect that all ſenſe of an offence againſt Love and Goodneſs muſt carry with it a ſorrow and agony proportionable to the offence; without which it cannot be ſaid that any Man is truly ſenſible of his offence.

This Agony was born by *Chriſt* to the full, when he bore the Sins of the whole World, charged himſelf with them, and ſtood anſwerable for them before, his Father: And this was far greater than any bodily pains which he endur'd; and infinitely exceeded what it was poſſible for all created minds to have ſuſtain'd, or ſo much as to comprehend to all eternity.

Yet was there no mixture of Deſpair in all this: For Deſpair does not proceed from the ſenſe of our having offended God (which ſenſe is ſtrongeſt in the moſt ſincere penitents) but from a defect of our apprehenſions of God, and miſtaking of his Nature, which is all Love and Goodneſs; which thoſe who deſpair cannot believe. Hence we find that many leſſer ſinners do deſpair when greater do repent. Why? Not becauſe they have a ſtronger ſenſe of their Sin (for the other may, and often have much greater than they) but becauſe they have a weaker and fainter ſenſe of the Goodneſs of God, which is thinking amiſs of the Nature of God, as the apoſtate Angels did, meaſuring it by Greatneſs and Power, not by Love; and is the reaſon that they deſpair and cannot repent, or hope for Mercy from that Power which they have offended, and think inexorable. We may read our Puniſhment as well as our Sin in their offence. And they who ſin as they do, will be puniſh'd as they are, and have their ſhare in that Lake prepared for the Devil and his Angels.

But tho' *Chriſt* did nor deſpair, becauſe he had the true, full, and adequate knowledge of God, and of his nature, yet for an example and comfort to our infirmity, which he took upon him, he ſuffer'd himſelf to fall under the greateſt deſpondency that could be diſtinguiſh'd from Sin, in his laſt agony and dereliction upon the Croſs, when he cry'd out, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* Thereby ſupporting the weakneſs and faintings of our Faith, that we ſhould not deſpair when we find our ſelves unequal to our preſſures, and ſeem deſerted by God and Man! For even in that caſe, in the worſt that can befal us, we have his great example to ſet before us, who complain'd as we do, yet committed his Soul to God in the height of his diſpleaſure, with *ſtrong Cryings and Tears, and was heard in that he fear'd*, Heb. v. 7. Therefore let no Man's fears cauſe him to deſpond; *For we have not an High-Prieſt who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without Sin. Let us therefore come boldly unto the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain Mercy, and find Grace to help in time of need*, Heb. IV. 15, 16.

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Let this ſuffice as to the difficulty, whether *Chriſt* had Deſpair or not, (which has perplex'd ſome learned Men;) for tho' Deſpair was wholly incompatible to him, who had a true knowledge of the nature of God; yet, for that ſame reaſon, he had a ſenſe of Sin, and of its demerit, infinitely exceeding all thoſe in Deſpair can have; which anſwers all thoſe objections that can be rais'd upon this head againſt the doctrine of the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*.

3. But then the Devil ſtarts another objection, that if *Chriſt* took upon him our Sins, then he became the Sinner, and we were diſcharg'd, and need heed no more what we do, for that all is paid, all ſatisfy'd for, *&c.* we may ſin on, and no harm can come to us; that if *Chriſt* took upon him our Sin, he muſt take the Filth and Pollution of it, as well as the Curſe, elſe that he did not take it all: And if ſo, he was a Sinner indeed! exceeding all the Sinners in the World, becauſe he took upon him the Sins of all the World, and made ſatisfaction for them all.

With this Bait the Devil has caught the *Antinomians* now amongſt us, who ſay, that they are not Sinners, for that *Chriſt* was the Sinner: That *Chriſt* took upon him the guilt, the pollution, the loathſomneſs, and filth of our Sin, as well as the curſe of it, and was therefore hated of God, and ſeparated from him, till after his Reſurrection, that he had purg'd it off; and particularly, when he cry'd upon the Croſs, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* That he was then odious to God as a Toad — and other ſuch Blaſphemies, which are horrid to repeat.

The foundation of this monſter of a Hereſy, to make our bleſſed Lord the greateſt of Sinners, is eaſily diſcoverable to any judicious Eye; for to pay a debt for another out of mere Love and Charity to prevent his ruin, was never yet thought to infer, that the ſurety who paid the debt, did thereby make himſelf guilty of any ill Arts, which the Principal might have us'd either in procuring or ſpending of the Money: But very ſlender Hooks will ſerve to catch the ſmall Frie.

And the Devil has not us'd greater pains and skill in oppugning any article of our Faith, than in this of the main end of the Incarnation, Sufferings, and Death of *Chriſt*, as a Sacrifice to make ſatisfaction for the Sins of the World.

Againſt this *Satan* has ſpent his utmoſt force, as being the greateſt overthrow of his Kingdom among Men.

And this doctrine is ſo cloſely link'd with that of the Trinity and Incarnation, they do ſo mutually ſuppoſe and depend upon each other, that thoſe who deny any one of them, are ſeldom found in the other two; and the ſureſt means to corrupt Men in the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, is to prejudice them againſt the doctrine of Satisfaction, which is the reſult of the other two, and cannot be without ſuppoſing of them both.

4. Theſe are the doctrines which the Quakers call *The ſandy Foundation*, and diſpute againſt them with the *Socinian* Artillery.

There is another Squadron lately inliſted in this cauſe, led by the famous *Madamoſel Antonio Bourignon*, who has been ſeduc'd herſelf, and has ſeduc'd many others with the ſemblance of her own Flights and Devotion; which ſhew from whoſe inſpiration they came, by that inſuperable Pride which runs through all that ſhe and her Diſciples have wrote of her; advancing her above all the Prophets and Apoſtles, above all born of Women, not excepting our Lord *Jeſus* himſelf. I refer the Reader for a full account of her and her doctrine to *Bourignoniſm Detected*, by Dr. *Cockburn*, printed in the year 1698. But as to the particular ſubject we are now upon, ſhe flatly denies and diſputes againſt the doctrine of Satisfaction, as

ſhewn in the Preface to *The Snake in the Graſs*, Vol. II. p. 8. She ſays p. 139, 140, 142. of her Book there quoted, call'd, *The Light of the World*, that there was no need of God's becoming Man in order to our Redemption; that he took Fleſh not to ſuffer or die, but only to converſe with us; that his Sufferings and Death happen'd by accident, that is, beyond his intention. And her arguments are the ſame which we have heard before from *Lucifer*, that it was beneath the Greatneſs and Majeſty of God; and that his Glory could not be advanced by being *crucify'd betwixt two Thieves*, as ſhe words it.

Here I muſt tell the Reader, that the arguments which I put in the mouth of *Lucifer* were not borrow'd from this of *Bourignon*, (with which they ſo exactly agree) but were wrote many years before I ſaw any of her Books, or had ſo much as heard of her name.

But when I read them in her, it was a great confirmation to me of the truth of my reaſoning, when I found the ſame arguments made uſe of by one whom the Devil had deluded, and poſſeſs'd to as high, and perhaps a greater degree of enthuſiaſtical Madneſs, blaſphemous Pride, and wild heretical Notions, than any Age can produce ſince *Simon Magus*, who boaſted himſelf to be *The mighty Power of God*; and in many things ſhe exceeded him.

I have mention'd her, becauſe her infection has ſpread ſtrangely in *Holland*, (that Soil fertile of Religions) and the adjacent Countries, has lately taken root in *Scotland*, and at laſt has come to *London*, where her Book before-mention'd was printed 1696. and too much recommended, and has travell'd into ſeveral parts of the Country; inſomuch that the *Bourignoniſts* deſerve now their claſs in the firſt form of the Hereticks. They have gain'd ſome learned Men, who have drawn their Pens in their cauſe both here and abroad; ſome tranſlating the Books of Mrs. *Bourignon*, and others writing in defence of her and them: But if ſeaſonably and diligently attack'd, it is to be hop'd that they may not make great inroads upon Chriſtianity, at leaſt in our parts; otherwiſe they will, in all appearance, become formidable; and, like the Quakers, or the *Saxons*, grow upon us till we muſt be forc'd to let them live with us, and compound at laſt for an Act of Toleration.

5. This is the war which the Devil manages here below, the ſame which he fought in Heaven. I have ſhewn you ſome of his armies, they are diſcoverable by their colours; the field is always Pride, whatever other device is wrought upon it. And this miſleads them into all error, firſt, a wrong notion of God; which leads them into a wrong notion of Chriſt, his nature and office; and that is productive of all the *Hydra* hereſies we have mention'd, and of many more, which it would be tedious to examine in ſo ſhort an Eſſay: But thoſe I have nam'd are the chief, and Mother of all the reſt; and Pride the Grandmother of all.

The firſt tentation of the Devil to Man, was, that they ſhou'd be as Gods. And he has perſuaded ſome ſince that they really are Gods, even equal to God, in equality itſelf, as pure and holy as he is, as harmleſs and innocent as *Chriſt*; but preferable to all Mortals, meeker than *Moſes*, ſtronger than *Sampſon*, wiſer than *Solomon**, &c. Nay, they go farther, and make their ſoul a part of God, of the ſame ſubſtance, perſon, and eſſence with God, and therefore to be infinite in itſelf, and without beginning as well as ending. This is copying after *Lucifer*, and even out-doing of him, in his blaſphemous Pride! The *Phariſees* advanced themſelves beyond all

* Snake in the Graſs, *Vol.* II. *Sect.* II, III, *and* IV.

other

other men, as to piety and holineſs, but not to be quite free from ſin, as the Quakers and *Bourignon* do pretend.

The *Gnoſticks* gave themſelves that gaudy name, from their ſuppos'd knowledge exceeding that of other Chriſtians.

And all the way down from them to *Bourignon* and the Quakers, all the Hereſi-Archs ſet up upon Pride and high value for themſelves; with as great contempt of other men.

Our *Phariſees* got the Name of *Puritans*, from the high purity to which they pretended.

And all our Sects have ariſen from thoſe who call'd themſelves gifted-men, and boaſted in their wonderful attainments, ſufficient (as they gave out) to ſuperſede all eſtabliſh'd Conſtitutions, tho' at firſt inſtituted by God himſelf. Hence that Spirit of Pride which did inſpire them, gave ſome of them to be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Evangeliſts, ſome Teachers and Preachers, without any outward Commiſſion; diſdaining the humility of Succeſſion, continu'd by vicarious Ordination from *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, upon which the Church has been built and preſerv'd to this day.

And what vile Contempt and Deſpight they all have pour'd out againſt the Church, and their Superiors, has fill'd the World.

To curb and ſubdue this Spirit of Pride, was the end of *Chriſt*'s coming in the fleſh, who fought againſt him with the arms of Humility and Love; which is the inſeparable badge of *Chriſt* and his Diſciples, by which they are known, and out-ſhine all the falſe Glories and Pomp of hypocritical Pride and Oſtentation.

I have endeavour'd to trace this Pride from its firſt riſe in Heaven, and ſhewn its Progreſs upon Earth; and that it is the Mother and Nurſe of all the Hereſies in the Church; and as it was the firſt Sin, ſo is it a principal ingredient in all our Sins. The Jews had a ſaying, that there was a grain of the golden calf in all their after-judgments; and we may truly ſay that there is a ſpice of the firſt Sin, that is, Pride, in all our Sins and Deluſions; And if we ſearch impartially, we ſhall find it. This corrupts both our Practice and our Principles, and hinders us as much to work as to believe aright.

The Devil is equally concern'd againſt both. And let me here inſtance in two Particulars, which have rais'd great conteſt in the World:

XII. The Diſpute concerning Grace.

The firſt is the Diſpute about Grace. The Devil knowing our Weakneſs, and that we are not able of our ſelves to help our ſelves, has endeavour'd to diſarm us of the aſſiſtance of God's Grace (without which we are not able ſo much as to think a good thought) by this ſuggeſtion of Pride, That we have ſtrength enough of our own to perform all that is requir'd of us, and therefore need ask no aſſiſtance of extraordinary Grace; That there is no other Grace given to Man, but that Reaſon with which God endows each Man, and therefore which is natural to him; That nothing ſupernatural is to be expected in this World; That it is a tempting of God, to ask for or expect any ſuch thing; That it hinders our own endeavours, while we look for ſupernatural aſſiſtance. And other ſuch like arguments as theſe.

Pelagius, our countreyman, was a great General upon this head of the War; and he has not a few or inconſiderable part of this Nation, and elſewhere of his Followers. The Libertines every where are inliſted under his banner; and they think themſelves no mean Men. They command wit and raillery, and mighty numbers. They call it a reflexion upon God, to ſay that he has not made Man perfect, and with ſufficient powers to perform what God has requir'd of him.

But they forget that man is fallen from that ſtate in which God at firſt did

did create him; and therefore, as a Man who has lam'd himself, he needs more help than his own Legs.

But besides this, suppose Man in his utmost perfection, is it any reflexion upon the Power, Goodness, or Wisdom of God, to make him still dependent upon God, and to need the assistance of his Grace? as the Earth does the influence of the Sun, and yet the Earth is perfect in its kind.

Man in his fallen estate has powers still left him to beg and sue to God for his assistance, and to attend those means of Grace which he has commanded, the Prayers and Sacraments of his Church; which whosoever does sincerely and diligently, God has given them his promise to bestow his Grace upon them, sufficient for their need.

And they who will not be at this pains, but trust to the plea of *the unprofitable servant*, that they *serve a severe master, who reaps where he did not sow*, and exacts more than he gave them abilities to perform, will, with him who *hid his talent*, be condemn'd out of their own mouths; because that consideration, if it were true, shou'd make them double their diligence; and not neglect those means which their Lord has appointed.

They are loth to share with him the Glory of their Salvation; they wou'd do all themselves. But he will not share with them; he will have all the whole Glory of it, for to him only it does appertain. And they whose Pride will not suffer them to submit absolutely and without reserve to him, must have their portion with those who rebel against him.

XIII. Of Faith and Works.

The other snare of the Devil which I mention'd is the dispute about Faith and Works, which has made a great bustle in the World; and this is near of kin to the last; for some are persuaded to lean wholly upon their own Works, and to esteem of Faith only as an empty notion, and mere imagination, of no virtue or efficacy at all: That there is no trust in any other, tho' in *Christ* himself: That we shall be reckoned with only according to the Works that we have done, and not according to what we believe another has done for us, which can no ways be imputed unto us.

Others again are tempted wholly to neglect Works, and lean all upon Faith. They think the Doctrine of Works to be great arrogance and pride, in assuming to our selves the merit of our Salvation, which is due only to God. That because he ought to have the whole Glory, therefore we ought not to intermix any of our Works at all, but to live only by Faith in him. That *our Righteousness is filthy raggs*, and therefore cannot be accepted by him, nor are worthy to be accepted; and therefore can add or help nothing, no not in the least tittle, to our Salvation: But on the contrary, that we ought to renounce them, and divest our selves wholly of them, and trust to God's Mercy without them; which they suppose has no Consideration at all of them, but justifies the Elect without any respect to them; and therefore loves the Saints in all their sins: That they are not the less beloved while wallowing in their sins, because God's Love is free, and without regard to our performances: That therefore there ought to be no sorrow for sin; that this is contrary to a true godly frame. This the *Antimonians* (who are set up on high now in *London)* have preach'd, and printed in their books; particularly the famous Dr. *Crisp*. Nay, they go farther, they make neither Faith nor Works necessary, for that they say, wou'd hinder the freedom of God's Love, and make it conditional (which they abhor to think) and to depend upon any thing that is in us to do. They call Faith therefore only an echo of the soul answering to the call of God, and saying, I come without any change in the Man. But that the soul which has not that echo is not the less safe. For they resolve all into the absolute decree of God, without respect either to Faith or Works on our part. This is the plea of *Lucifer* for himself, that he was over-ruled in Heaven by absolute

Power,

Power, without reſpect to Juſtice; for that he had merit beyond many of thoſe Angels who ſtood, tho' he and others better than they fell. And the ſame argument is taken up by many of his followers at this day, who have bewilder'd their underſtandings in the intricate mazes of abſolute decrees, unconditional election and reprobation, ſo as to confound themſelves, and ſtop their endeavours from *working out their own Salvation*, as they are commanded. The *Antinomians* ſay that *Chriſt* has wrought all for us, ſo that we need not work: And that to offer to add our Works to his is preſumption, and an undervaluing of his, as if his were not ſufficient. They ſay, that he bore not only the pollution and filth of Sin, (as before has been mention'd) but the ſadneſs and ſorrow for it too, all that was due to it; and that therefore whoever has any ſadneſs or ſorrow for Sin is out of *Chriſt*, and in a falſe way.

See the many ſnares of the Devil to keep Men from Repentance, and harden them in their Sins.

Here he gilds his poyſon with a ſeeming truſt in God, as when he tempted *Chriſt* to throw himſelf down from the pinnacle, that he might thereby tempt God.

And this is the very caſe here, for to neglect thoſe Works which *Chriſt* has commanded, out of a ſeeming Faith in him, and deference towards him, as if we wou'd not preſume to mix our Works with his; all this is a downright tempting of him, to excuſe our ſelves from what he has commanded, on pretence of truſting to what he has promis'd or decreed ſecretly from Eternity; as if theſe cou'd interfere, and his Decrees diſſolve his Commands.

But ſay theſe Men, it is he who worketh all the Good that is in us, therefore what need we work?

I anſwer. Therefore we ought to work. Therefore he works in us, that we ſhould work, that is, work with him. This is the very Argument of the Apoſtle, *Phil.* II. 12, 13. *Work out your own Salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God who worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good Pleaſure.*

All the Good in us, God worketh it: Therefore all the Glory is to him, and none to us at all.

But when we work with God, our Works are full of imperfections which come from our ſelves, therefore we truſt not in them. Here then is our Faith, *viz.* in the perfect work and obedience of *Chriſt* to the whole Law, which all of us have many ways broken; and his undergoing the Curſe of the Law, which was due to our breaches of the Law. And this being apply'd to us by a true *lively Faith*, which *worketh by Love*, and a ſincere repentance and ſenſe of our Sin, tho' not equal to the demerit, yet to our weak abilities; and for what is defective, when we have done as much as we can do, and are ſorry that we can do no more, it is ſupply'd, and we accepted in the perfect obedience of *Chriſt*, and his ſufferings of infinite value for that wherein we have been deficient, when we fully truſt in and believe the promiſes of God, that we ſhall have remiſſion through *Chriſt*. This is our Faith, by which we apply the merit of the ſufferings of *Chriſt* to our ſelves.

1. And then is his righteouſneſs imputed unto us, as our Sins were to him: Not that he was a Sinner, (as the *Antinomians* ſay) tho' he bore our Sins; or that his Righteouſneſs, which is infinite, can be inherent in us ſo as to make us as righteous as he is (as the Quakers and ſome others ſpeak;) but that he has given us a right to plead his Righteouſneſs and Sufferings on our behalf, as perform'd for us in our nature, and in our ſtead.

This wholſome and neceſſary doctrine of Imputation has been greatly ſtrain'd, and turn'd into a Cant by many of our Diſſenters ſince 1640. who would thereby

thereby have the whole Righteouſneſs of *Chriſt* not only apply'd, but transferr'd to us, to become our Righteouſneſs and inherent in us; ſo as to ſuperſede all our own Righteouſneſs, or any endeavours on our ſide, not only from having any merit (which is moſt true) but from being any way neceſſary or beneficial towards our Salvation.

This has given occaſion to others, in odium to this vile extravagance, quite to throw off the doctrine, and ridicule the very name of Imputation, which is as dangerous an error on the other ſide; for it is, when rightly underſtood, a neceſſary conſequence of the doctrine of Satisfaction, and the means whereby the ſatisfaction which *Chriſt* made for our Sins is apply'd, and made profitable to us; without which it could be of no advantage to us; for if it were not imputed to us, how would it concern us? What benefit could we reap from it? No benefit at all, ſay the *Socinians* and Quakers, more than as an example, like the ſufferings of other good Men, which are not imputed to any others. *Solomon Eccles*, a great Propher of the Quakers, ſays in his Letter to one *Rob. Porter*, that the Blood of *Chriſt*, which was ſhed upon the Croſs, was * *no more than the Blood of another Saint*; and adds, *God will overthrow your Faith, and your imputative Righteouſneſs too. Such as have* Chriſt *in them*, (ſays *George Fox* in his *Great Myſtery*, p. 183.) *they have the Righteouſneſs itſelf, without imputation.* For they ſuppoſe their Light within to be not only an illumination or influence ſent into their hearts by *Chriſt*, but to be the very *Chriſt* itſelf, and that there is none other: And conſequently that they have the whole Righteouſneſs of *Chriſt* inherent in them; and that it thus becomes their own Righteouſneſs without imputation.

William Penn, in his *Serious Apology*, p. 148. ſpeaking of our Juſtification by the Righteouſneſs which *Chriſt* has fulfill'd in his own Perſon for us, ſays, *And indeed, this we deny, and boldly affirm it, in the Name of the Lord, to be the doctrine of Devils, and an arm of the ſea of Corruption, which does now deluge the whole World.* It is dreadfully aſtoniſhing to ſee the heart and foundation of the whole Chriſtian Religion thus call'd *The doctrine of Devils*, and that boldly, *In the Name of the Lord!* Theſe Men throw off the Righteouſneſs of *Chriſt*, that they may eſtabliſh their own Righteouſneſs, which they call *Chriſt's*. They may be nam'd *Suifidians* for making the Righteouſneſs of *Chriſt* their own, without imputation; they truſt wholly in themſelves, and reject the imputation of the Righteouſneſs of any other.

And this they call their deep knowledge in the myſteries of God; and by this expect to be ſav'd: As *Simon Magus*, (the Father of the *Gnoſticks*, Quakers, *Solifidians*, and *Antinomians)* who taught that Men might be ſav'd by their knowledge, however vicious their Lives were; or (which is the ſame) that nothing they do is vicious, as being the immediate dictates of the Holy Ghoſt, or Light within them.

Here we may ſee the dangerous Error of both the extremes before mentioned, of thoſe who make a jeſt of Faith, and place all in their *Opus Operatum*, in their own performance: And on the other hand, of thoſe *Solifidians* who throw off all Works on pretence to magnify Faith.

Theſe are the fiery Darts of the Devil, by which he endeavours to ruin the Souls of Men, undermining the foundation of our Chriſtian Faith with his falſe and pernicious gloſſes: That where he cannot beat Men from the belief of the Incarnation and Satisfaction of *Chriſt*, he may by theſe means render them uſeleſs to us.

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* Snake in the Graſs, *Vol.* II. *Sect.* x. *p.* 72.

He ſeparates Faith and Works, and ſets them up in oppoſition to each other; and whatever ſide prevails, he is ſure of both: Becauſe Faith and Works are not to be ſeparated; and whoever ſeparates them has err'd from the Faith.

Our bleſſed Saviour makes them both one: For being ask'd, *What ſhall we do that we might work the Works of God?* Jeſus *anſwered and ſaid unto them, This is the Work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath ſent*, Joh. VI. 29. For there are Works of our Minds, and they are the chief Works, and Faith is one of theſe Works. We muſt not confine the notion of Works to the operations only of our Hands or our Feet. And if Faith be a Work (as our Saviour ſays it is) where then is the War that has been ſet up betwixt Faith and Works?

I will end all I have ſaid of Grace in the laſt Section, and of Faith and Works in this, with the words of St. *Paul*, *Eph.* II. 8. *By Grace are ye ſaved, through Faith; and that not of your ſelves, it is the gift of God; not of Works, leſt any Man ſhould boaſt.* That is, not of our own Works, which Faith is not; for it is the gift of God; and therefore we have no pretence to boaſt in it. And if his gift, and his only, how careful ought we to be in attending thoſe means of Grace, the Prayers and Sacraments in the Church, which he has commanded, and to the due performance of which he has annex'd his infallible promiſe of giving us that Faith, which we cannot otherwiſe obtain of our ſelves? And we have no promiſe or grounds of expectance to receive it any otherwiſe; and without it we ſhall never ſee God, *Heb.* XI. 6.

2. But all this is loſt to ſome Men, who think all means uſeleſs, becauſe as they ſuppoſe there is an irreverſible decree already gone forth upon every Man, of Happineſs or Miſery, which no means that can be us'd will ever alter; that this Decree has been from eternity, tho' ſecret to us; and therefore that all our labour, all our means are perfectly in vain; that there is nothing to be done, but to fold our Arms, and expect the iſſue of God's ſecret Decree, which is already paſt, and therefore that it is no matter whether we obey the commands of God, or not; that they were given us to no end, as to our Salvation, which does not depend upon them, but only upon the ſuppos'd Decree. Thus has the Arch-enemy blinded their Eyes, and ty'd up their hands from working towards their own Salvation; and thrown them upon a freſh provocation of ſearching into God's ſecret Councils, which he has forbidden. *The ſecret things belong unto the Lord our God; but thoſe things which are reveal'd belong unto us, and to our Children, for ever, that we may do all the words of this Law*, Deut. XXIX. 29.

What is reveal'd only is the rule of our Duty: Why then do we ſearch into thoſe Decrees which we call ſecret? If God will have them ſecret, why will not we let them be ſecret?

He ſmote fifty thouſand and ſeventy of the *Bethſhemites* with a great ſlaughter becauſe they looked into his Ark: *Who then is able to ſtand before this holy Lord God?* And who dare pry into what he has reſerv'd as a ſecret from us? 1 Sam. VI. 19.

But this we may be ſure of, that his Commands or his Promiſes cannot contradict his Decrees how ſecret ſoever: And therefore we ought diligently to obey his Commands, and chearfully to truſt in his Promiſes, without confounding our ſelves about ſuppos'd Decrees, of which we know nothing at all, nor ought to enquire.

I have read a ſtory of a pious Man who was much troubled about his Election or Reprobation, pray'd earneſtly that God would let him know whether he were predeſtinated to Salvation: And that a voice anſwer'd him,

What if you did know? To which he reply'd, that if he were ſure to be ſav'd in the end, how chearfully could he deſpiſe all the alurements of Fleſh and Blood, and with Joy follow all the commands of *Chriſt*, even to the Death! *Would you do all this*, ſaid the voice, *if you were ſure to be ſav'd?* Which he having faithfully promis'd, the voice anſwer'd once more, *Then do ſo, and you ſhall be ſure to be ſav'd.*

Whether the ſtory be true or not, it is no matter; the Moral of it does determine this queſtion: This is the only way to make *our Calling and Election ſure*: Let us work and not diſpute; not perplex our ſelves about hidden Decrees, but ſee to follow that which is plainly commanded, and then we may ſafely truſt to what is promis'd, and *commit our ſouls to God in well doing, as unto a faithful Creator.* Let us look upon every thing which weakens our hands in this to be (as it truly is) the ſuggeſtion of the Devil; and let us ſhake off that Lethargy of glaring upon Decrees, which we underſtand not, till it transforms us into ſtone, that we have neither courage nor power to move hand or foot towards Heaven, but ſtand dozing upon that Earth which we find ſinking, and, helpleſs, let it ſink, and our ſelves with it, even into Hell, crying out, *What, can we help it? for we are decreed.* Yet never offer to move one foot from off it! This is enchantment indeed, and a wonderful degree of it. It is like a Man's head turning round upon a Precipice, which makes him run to meet his death. It is ſaid, that a Squirrel having once faſten'd its Eye upon that of a Rattle-Snake, has no power to look off him, but dancing from bough to bough, with a fearful crying, leaps down at laſt upon the ground, and darts itſelf into his mouth. This is too like the condition of theſe Men, whom nothing will detain, whom no argument can perſuade from their own ruin: The old Serpent has caught them with the enchantment of his eye, and they are dancing themſelves into his mouth. The eternal and ſecret Decrees of God are a Precipice enough to turn the head of an Angel; they veil their faces, and dare not pry into that infinite Abyſs! Yet poor Man will not be content unleſs he can fathom it, and will leap into that gulph, tho' he is ſure it muſt ſwallow him. Is there any thing in God which we muſt not, cannot know? Yes ſure, for nothing but infinite can comprehend infinite. And what is that which is hidden and inacceſſible in God, if not his eternal and ſecret Decrees? And what can follow our preſſing in upon theſe but confuſion and deſtruction to our ſelves? Eſpecially when God has commanded that we ſhould not preſs upon theſe, threatned us ſeverely if we do, and has, for an example to us, pour'd out his vengeance, in a dreadful manner, upon the heads of thoſe who would not be reſtrain'd from this unwarrantable and preſumptuous curioſity of prying into his ſecrets.

3. But after all, what is the ground of theſe ſuppos'd hidden Decrees of God, with which theſe Men have ſo unmeaſurably perplex'd themſelves?

They are all founded upon the very weak reaſonings of ſhort-ſighted Men concerning the foreknowledge of God; which being certain and infallible, conſequently they argue, that whatever he foreſaw from eternity, muſt neceſſarily come to paſs; that therefore it cannot be left to the liberty of our Will to act otherwiſe than exactly according to what God has foreſeen, elſe that it would be in our power to defeat God's foreknowledge, and render it fallible. Hence they throw off all Free-will, and make it inconſiſtent with the foreknowledge of God. And then again, from the certainty of God's foreknowledge, they infer, that this is tantamount to a Decree, or that God has from eternity decreed all thoſe Events which he foreſaw.

They ſay that God is the ſame from and to eternity; that all things, paſt, preſent, and to come, are preſent with God, who beholds all things

with one intuitive Act, without ſucceſſion of time, which meaſures our actions here below; and therefore that all God's Decrees are from eternity: And ſince he has decreed the reprobation of the wicked, and the election of the juſt, it muſt follow that he has decreed it from eternity. And thence they infer, that ſuch Decrees being already paſt, they are irreverſible, and cannot be alter'd by any thing that we can do; and therefore that it ſignifies nothing what we do, whether good or bad, for that our ſentence is already pronounc'd, tho' we know it not.

That God having decreed to love the elect, he loves them, tho' in their groſſeſt Sins; and hates the reprobate, becauſe he has ſo decreed, tho' in the moſt virtuous Actions: That he loves them never the more for their good Actions; nor is any whit the more diſpleaſed with the elect for their Sins.

Now in anſwer to theſe fatal and diabolical ſuggeſtions, I would recal theſe Men a little to conſider of their own way of reaſoning: For if there be no ſucceſſion of time in God; that eternity is but one enduring inſtant; that therefore paſt, preſent, and to come are all one with God; that all things are preſent to him; then it muſt follow that Foreknowledge and Predeſtination are words only fitted to our capacities, who cannot apprehend duration without ſucceſſion of time, which meaſures all duration to us. And there being no paſt or future in God, conſequently tho' he knows all things, yet he foreknows nothing; and tho' he has decreed, yet not predecreed, and there is no ſuch thing as Predeſtination in God, that is, not properly, and in the ſtrictneſs of the thing, tho' the word is us'd in holy Scripture, as many others are, only to comply with our weakneſs, who could underſtand nothing of God from words ſpoke of him ſtrictly and properly according to his incomprehenſible Nature. There are no ſuch words among Men, or intelligible to Men; and therefore we muſt not argue ſtrictly and philoſophically from ſuch words, more than from God's coming down to ſee whether Men's Sins were according to the cry of them which had gone up to him, and the like.

Now there is no difficulty in God's Knowledge or Decrees, to ſay that he knows our Sins, and decrees puniſhment to them, and happineſs to thoſe that are good; for this is juſt, and what every one does allow: But all the objection is in the particle *Fore* or *Pre*, *Fore-knowledge* or *Pre-deſtination*, which being conſider'd as before our Actions, are ſuppos'd to lay a force upon them, and take away the freedom of our Will.

But there being no ſuch thing as fore or after in God, conſequently our whole reaſoning upon them is out of doors; and all the dreadful conſequences before mentioned are only Chimeras of our own, proceeding all upon a wrong notion of God, while we endeavour to meaſure him by our own ſkantling, and argue from Properties which we muſt confeſs that we only ſuppoſe to be in him, but know at the ſame time that they do not belong to him.

If it be ſaid, that we cannot argue otherwiſe of theſe hidden things of God, which are not reveal'd to us:

I grant it. But then the right conſequence is, that we ſhould let them alone; at leaſt, ſince we cannot argue truly and properly of them, that we ſhould not draw conſequences as certain from premiſſes which are altogether uncertain: And where we confeſs that we cannot argue right, the beſt way is not to argue at all; eſpecially where we are forbidden, and the effects of it are of ſuch terrible conſequence.

If any think that I have criticis'd too nicely upon Foreknowledge and Predeſtination, let them conſider that I have only repeated what the Predeſtinarians do urge on their ſide; they build upon that nicety, and thence infer God's eternal Decrees: And I have ſhewn that from the ſame nicety

all

all their ſuperſtructure falls to the ground, having, by their own confeſſion, but an imaginary foundation.

Come then, let us ſpeak a little more plainly. Some cannot reconcile the certainty of God's knowledge with the freedom of our will; for ſay they, his knowledge is determinate, elſe were it not certain. And if he knows that I will determine my choice to ſuch an action, then can I not chuſe any otherwiſe; which takes away the freedom of my choice.

I anſwer, that if God ſees that I will determine my choice ſo or ſo, and determine it freely, then I muſt determine it freely, and not neceſſarily, becauſe he ſees that I will do it freely, and not neceſſarily.

And his knowing what I do, does no more put any neceſſity upon me, than my ſeeing a Man walk (ſuppoſing the utmoſt certainty of my Senſes) puts him under a neceſſity of walking. It is true, that if I ſee him walk, and my eyes do not deceive me, the conſequence is certain that he does walk: But none does infer from hence, that my ſeeing takes away the freedom of his will, or puts him under any neceſſity of walking.

God ſees every thing act according to the nature which he has given to it. Thus he ſees the Sun move, and a Man walk; but he ſees the one move neceſſarily, and not by choice, and the other walk by his own choice: And the knowledge of God is equally certain in both caſes; therefore there is no neceſſity ariſes from the certainty of his knowledge.

And now I would deſire theſe Men to conſider the conſequences of their Hypotheſis.

They would put it out of the power of God to make a creature with Free-will; which would be to deſtroy the moſt glorious part of the Creation, and the moſt ſignal and wonderful inſtances of the power and wiſdom of God in governing the wills of Men, even in their full freedom: Without this God could have no reaſonable ſervice paid to him. There could be no rewards or puniſhments, becauſe no choice, more than in a ſtone falling down; no virtue, no ſin, no wiſdom or folly amongſt Men. Then all the promiſes of God, his threatnings and exhortations, even the coming of *Chriſt* in the fleſh, his death and paſſion, were all to no purpoſe, were mere banters upon Mankind, if Man have no choice, no free-will to go to the right hand or to the left. *Have I any pleaſure at all that the wicked ſhould die, ſaith the Lord God, and not that he ſhould return from his ways and live?* And *Why will ye die, O houſe of* Iſrael? Why? Becauſe (they might ſay upon this Scheme) you have decreed us to die; and we have no choice, no power to do any otherwiſe than we do.

Ezek. xviii. 23. ℣. 31.

It is as if I ſhould bind a Man hand and foot, lock him into a houſe, then ſet fire to it, and ask him, *Why will you ſtay there and be burn'd? As I live I have no pleaſure in your death*, &c. This would be a mocking and inſulting upon his miſery.

This would be making God the author of all the Sin in the world; for where there is no choice, there can be no Sin: Therefore thoſe creatures who have no choice are incapable of Sin, as Trees, Stones, Beaſts, *&c.*

And as there could be no Sin againſt God, ſo could there be no Offence againſt Man. No Man ought to be puniſhed for Murder, Theft, Robbery, *&c.* if he be carry'd to it by a fatal neceſſity, which he cannot reſiſt. Therefore Men diſtracted, or in Fevers, are not liable to Law, becauſe they are not ſuppos'd capable of the uſe of their reaſon, whereby they may govern their choice in their actions.

I may add, that there is nothing more ſelf-evident, no not the perception of our outward ſenſes, than free-will in Man: Who does not perceive that it is in his power to do this or that? And all the repentance and regret in Man for his follies ariſes from this conſideration, that he might have done otherwiſe.

otherwiſe. Without this there could be no ſuch thing as repentance, no nor of council and advice, or indeed of any thinking at all; without this, Man could not be a reaſonable Creature; for where there is no Choice, there can be no Reaſon, at leaſt no uſe of our Reaſon.

It is liberty and free-will which confounds all thoſe Atheiſts, who would reduce every thing, even God himſelf, to mere Matter: For let Matter be refin'd as far as Imagination can ſtretch it, it can never come from under the Laws of neceſſity; all its motions are preſcrib'd, and muſt proceed exactly according to its Mechaniſm, and cannot vary in the leaſt tittle. But the freedom of Will to act this way, or the contrary, exceeds all rules of Mechaniſm, and is an image of God, which cannot be impreſs'd upon Matter. And when the Devil or Man (by his inſtigation) would ſhrow'd their Sin under this ſeeming neceſſity, it is to throw it upon God: But their own conſciences fly in their faces, and tell them that they might have help'd it, and therefore that their Sin lies at their own door.

XIV. The various Succeſſes of this War upon Earth before *Chriſt* came.

How far any or all of the Errors and Hereſies before-mentioned, or what others of the like nature did prevail in the ancient Ages of the World, of which we have little account, and before the Flood, we cannot now determine: But this we may be aſſur'd of, that there were groſs Errors and Hereſies amongſt them; and that theſe, as well as thoſe of which we have the account, were inſtigated and promoted by the Arch-enemy, who firſt tempted Man to Sin after his own example, and has, and will to the end of the world ſeduce Mankind, as far as in his power.

And God has permitted him great power and great ſucceſs, which will all turn, no doubt, to the greater glory of God in the end, and to the increaſe of endleſs happineſs to thoſe who are ſubjected to great trials and tentations, and ſhall continue faithful unto the end.

God has had his City from the beginning, and the Devil his Camp, laying ſiege to it, and often waſting, and almoſt deſtroying it; whereby God ſhew'd his Almighty Power and Love to his Church in his miraculous defence of it, amidſt ſo many and great dangers.

Of which this attempt is deſign'd, by way of a Hiſtory, deduc'd from the beginning of that firſt revolt in Heaven, and the various ſucceſſes of the ſame War carry'd on upon the Earth ever ſince the fatal ſeduction of our firſt Parents in Paradiſe.

And the low ebb to which the Church was often reduc'd, and yet ſtill deliver'd, will ſtrengthen our hearts in thoſe afflictions and depreſſions of this City of God which we ſee in our times; and not only keep us from deſpair, but give us a lively hope, increaſe our faith, and ſtir up our courage, always to work, and never to deſpond, when we know that God is on our ſide, and that we muſt overcome in the end, if we faint not, and give up the cauſe, for want of truſt in God, and loſe both our labour and reward.

Therefore, that we may ſee that nothing new has befallen us, let us look into the ſeveral Ages of the World. Whom find we that walked with God, or fought on his ſide, but *Abel*, *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah* before the Flood?

Then was the whole World deſtroy'd for its wickedneſs, except eight Perſons. After the Flood, how ſoon did *Nimrod* and the builders of *Babel* declare their Pride; and the whole World receiv'd this principle of the Devil, and govern'd themſelves by it, and the army of God was confin'd within the ſmall family of *Abraham*.

And when God had reſcu'd a Nation to himſelf, and given them his Law, they were the *feweſt of all People, a ſtubborn and ſtiff-necked Generation, that ſet not their heart aright, nor ſought after God. They ſtoned* Deut. vii. 7. Pſal. lxxviii. 9.

Matt. xxiii. 37.

their Prophets, and kill'd thoſe whom God ſent to reclaim them; till at laſt God remov'd them too, and ſcatter'd them among the Heathen.

Then the Devil boaſted in his Conqueſts, and ſet up his Banners for tokens; he poſſeſs'd all the Temples and Thrones in the World: None appear'd againſt him but a few Heathen Philoſophers, who were themſelves in half Pay with him, had ſuck'd many of his Principles with their Milk; but yet were aſſiſted by God, and ſpoke noble things in defence of Love, till by it, as by a clue, they diſcover'd God himſelf, or found that Love was Almighty; and they made it the firſt Former of all things. They batter'd Pride with mighty arguments, and brought upon themſelves the rage of the Devil, who kept them low and poor, and deſpis'd, and arm'd Kings and States againſt them, and rais'd many of them to a ſort of Martyrdom. Thus deplorable was the condition of the World then; a few ſtifled Embers only left, and all the torrents of the World, all their violence let looſe upon them, to quench them.

It was now time for God himſelf to appear in defence of his own cauſe, which in the hands of Men had been betray'd, over-power'd, conquer'd, and only not entirely loſt.

And lo he comes! a Body is prepar'd for him, and God was made Fleſh.

XV. The grand Conflict betwixt *Chriſt* and the Devil.

Now let us ſeriouſly attend this Conflict; for never before, nor ever again will two ſuch Combatants enter the Liſts. Here is a Creature ſo mighty, that he dares contend with God; and here is God humbled into a Man, to ſubdue that Spirit which had overthrown all Mankind; and *Chriſt* grapples with him as a Man, without interpoſing his Godhead, (for that had been no conteſt) and to ſhew what Man might have done, and may ſtill do.

I need not here again tell you of the quarrel upon which theſe two fought; it is the ſame we have been ſpeaking of, the ſame that St. *Michael* fought before, that is, Pride and Love; which of theſe is the moſt noble and moſt mighty.

Michael defended his cauſe well, and was victorious; but *Chriſt* acted what *Michael* could not. Since the Devil would not be perſuaded by arguments, *Chriſt* here brings him to the teſt, to experiment the powers of Love and of Pride; and that with all the diſadvantages imaginable; Love in its loweſt condeſcenſion, expos'd to Pride enrag'd in its altitude.

Chriſt came of poor Parents, born in a Stable, not room for him, in a common Inn; he liv'd deſtitute and forlorn, without a place to lay his head in, worſe provided for than Foxes or Birds: He choſe poor Men and unlearned for his followers; he was *deſpis'd, perſecuted, ſlander'd,* call'd
Iſa. liii. 2, 3. a *Glutton,* and a *Drunkard,* a *Madman,* a very *Devil:* He had neither *Form nor Beauty, a Man of Sorrows and acquainted with Griefs; we hid as it were our faces from him; he was deſpis'd and rejected of Men, and they eſteem'd him not.* His virtue was *Omnibus ornamentis ſpoliata,* void of all outward ornaments to recommend it, according to *Plato*'s qualification, and may be call'd a *Prophecy of the juſt one,* and of his Paſſion. His arms were bleſſing, and praying, and inſtructing; he never us'd his power to hurt any, but to heal his very Enemies; *he went about doing good to all,* and lov'd his Enemies more intenſly than they could hate him: And tho' they requited him with miſchief for his good-will, yet he always return'd good to them for their evil. *He came unto his own, and his own receiv'd him not:* The only viſible Church he had upon the Earth had taken arms with the Enemy: The *Scribes* and *Phariſees* were his ſoreſt Perſecutors; the Sanhedrim bought him, prefer'd a Thief and a Murderer before him, and procur'd his Death with violent out-cries; one of his own Diſciples betray'd him, another foreſwore him; all forſook him: He was

left to *tread the wine-preſs alone*, expos'd ſingle to all the malice and ſcorn of Men and Devils; the agony of his Soul forcing him into ſuch an aſtoniſhment and exceeding ſorrow as was never heard of ſince the World began; a bloody ſweat making its paſſage through skin and cloaths, and falling down in great drops upon the ground. Laſtly, his Father himſelf forſook him——in his greateſt extremity, hanging upon the Croſs, 'twixt two Thieves, and fill'd with the reproaches of all about him; ſhaking their heads, and thruſting out their tongues at him. His Father forſook him! That only cou'd make him cry out; yet did not that itſelf overcome his Love, for he entirely and willingly ſubmitted himſelf. He *bowed his head*, in obedience, *and gave up the ghoſt:* He reſign'd his Soul into the hands of his Father who had forſaken him, truſting in infinite Love, that it can never fail; and dy'd praying for his Murderers, ſhewing the tranſcendence of his Love above their Malice.

And here behold the wiſdom as well as goodneſs of Love! that ſame method which Pride and Malice ſuggeſt to deſtroy *Chriſt*, that was it which moſt advanced the Glory of his Love. And let us here adore the almighty power of Love, that out of all the evils Pride was able to invent, cou'd bring ſuch infinite good!

And by the rule of contraries, here we may ſee the folly as well as the impotence of Pride!

When it is arrived at the full of its own wiſhes, that is always its deſtruction. For when Love has born all that Pride can do, when it ſees it can go no farther, it returns upon itſelf with impatience, and rage, and madneſs.

When the Devil had nail'd *Chriſt* to the Croſs, he thought himſelf a Victor; and had been ſo, if that cou'd have mov'd *Chriſt* to impatience or diſtruſt; or if he had withdrawn himſelf from his ſufferings, either for the ſhame or the pain; for then his Love had been conquer'd, it had fled the field, not being able to abide the ſhock.

But *Chriſt* ſupported that tryal with a godlike patience and conſtancy, and his Love unſhaken remain'd more than conqueror. That old Serpent left his ſting in the Croſs, and fled away diſarm'd, aſham'd, confounded! And the grave of *Chriſt*, which he thought to have kept ſhut for ever, was made the gate to open the triumphs of Love into Hell, where the Spirits of Pride did gnaſh their teeth with unextinguiſhable rage, to find that Love was unconquerable, and that its loweſt condeſcenſions turn to its greateſt glory: For what can conquer that, which has the virtue to bring good out of evil? Thus you ſee how *Chriſt* has ſpoil'd the principalities and powers of Pride by the arms of his Love, and *hath made a ſhew of them, openly triumphing over them in his Croſs*; that is, in the humiliation, which is the great power of Love, and *having looſed the pains of Death; becauſe it was not poſſible that he ſhould be holden of it.* He aroſe glorioufly to the aſtoniſhment of his wretched Guards, and all the affrighted Legions of Hell: Whom he chain'd to his triumphal Chariot, and *when he aſcended up on high, he led captivity captive*, or a *multitude of captives*, (as our margin reads it) *and gave gifts unto Men*, beſtow'd his royal donatives liberally among his own Soldiers, who had fought under his banner, and now attended on his Triumph, and ſhar'd in the Glory of it.

Col. ii. 15.

Act. ii. 24.

Eph. iv. 8.

Now that he aſcended, what is it but that he alſo deſcended firſt into the lower parts of the Earth? He that deſcended is the ſame alſo that aſcended up far above all Heavens, that he might fill all things.

Eph. iv. 9.

This ſhews that the Glory of Love conſiſts in its condeſcenſions; and its Glory riſes proportionably high to the lowneſs of its condeſcenſion: Thus the meaneſt

meaneſt condeſcenſion riſes to the very higheſt glory; and this fills or fulfils all things: Includes all things; for all things are contain'd between the higheſt and the loweſt. And this is *fulfilling all Righteouſneſs*, all the demands of Love, towards our Righteouſneſs making us like itſelf: And this includes in it the full Goodneſs and Power of God, that is, the utmoſt condeſcenſion of Love. So that now we ſee in *Chriſt all the fulneſs of the Godhead dwelling bodily*; and *we are compleat in him*. And from hence let me make the Apoſtle's inference and prayer for you, *That ye*
Eph. iii. 17. *may be rooted and grounded in Love*, becauſe ſo, and never otherwiſe, *you will be able to comprehend with all Saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the Love of* Chriſt, *which paſſeth knowledge, that* thus *ye may be filled with all the fulneſs of God.* Obſerve how the inſpir'd Apoſtle rejoices even to extaſie upon this ſubject! *The fulneſs of God*, that is, all we or any creature can hold of him, conſiſts in what we underſtand of the nature of Love: And then to our eternal Comfort, *the Love of Chriſt* paſſes *all knowledge*, that is, no knowledge can comprehend it all, and therefore it can afford ſtill new matter of joy and rapture to all created underſtandings for ever and ever. And may not this contemplation raiſe us to the courage of an Apoſtle? It will certainly, if we let this good ſeed ſtay in our hearts till it take root; if we do not choke it with the fooliſh Principles of Pride, or make it give place to the Cares and Riches, and Pleaſures of this Life, it will bring our hearts to the firmneſs of an Angel, and make us ſee nothing that can terrifie us: We ſhall be ready to join with St. *Paul* in his holy exultation, and ſay—*Who ſhall ſepa-*
Rom. viii. 35. *rate us from the Love of* Chriſt, *ſhall tribulation or diſtreſs, or perſecution, or famine or nakedneſs, or peril or ſword? As it is written for thy ſake are we kill'd all the day long, we are counted as ſheep for the ſlaughter; nevertheleſs, in all theſe things we are more than Conquerors through him who loved us; for I am perſuaded that neither Death nor Life, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the Love of God, which is in* Chriſt Jeſus *our Lord.*

XVI. Application of the whole.

And now, as a concluſion to all that has been ſaid, we may learn this, that the beſt guard we can have againſt falling into Hereſie is to watch carefully againſt all the inroads and temptations of Pride; which I have ſhewn to lie at the bottom of all Hereſies, as the Source from whence they ſpring. It corrupts the Will, and, by that, viciates the Underſtanding, and inclines them by a ſtrong byaſs to the ſide of Error, and in prejudice of the Truth; which is always founded upon and accompany'd with the oppoſite of Pride, that is, Love and Goodneſs, which is naturally productive of a ſweetneſs and humility of Temper, that renders us docible and unprejudic'd; without which Truth cannot be duly diſcern'd, but is clouded from perverſe and obſtinate minds.

And as the humility of Love is the beſt preſervative againſt Error and Hereſy, ſo is it the ſureſt defence againſt moſt ſort of Sins in our private converſation; eſpecially it enables us moſt effectually to *perſeverance in the Faith*, againſt that *fiery tryal of Perſecution*, which, in one ſort or other,
2 Tim. iii. 12. comes to moſt Mens ſhare that will *live godly in* Chriſt Jeſus.

But there is an higher pitch of Perfection even than this. And that which I wou'd raiſe Men to, and deſire to imitate my ſelf, is that whereof the daily exerciſe and improvement is, by God's great Mercy and Goodneſs, afforded to every one of us, which is, not only to bear the Perſecution or the Pride of others; which ſome may do even out of Pride, Obſtinacy, or other vicious Principle; but chiefly to baniſh Pride out of your ſelves; to look

look upon the meaneſt Man in the World as a Member of *Chriſt*, and ſo equal to your ſelf; and therefore to condeſcend to the loweſt offices that may do him good, to bear his infirmities and injuries with Patience (which is the true magnanimity) as *Chriſt* alſo did bear ours: And that you think this ſo far from being diſhonourable, as that you may eſteem it the greateſt Glory and Praiſe of Love, wherein the Happineſs of Heaven does conſiſt. And if Angels were thrown out of Heaven for deſpiſing Man, and *Chriſt* died to redeem Man, and is himſelf a Man, and loves and values the meaneſt Man, what is that Man that deſpiſes another?

And if even in Heaven there was War, and folly and blaſphemy among the Angels there, and miſunderſtanding the Nature of God, how ſhou'd this make us patient to one another's infirmities? How ſolicitous and careful to ſecure our ſelves? How reaſonable will it hence appear to keep a watchful eye upon the leaſt progreſs of Pride or Self-conceit, which was potent to diſturb the ſeat of the Bleſſed, and overthrow Spirits which were heavenly-born?

That therefore you ſhould juſtly abhor the Pride of this World, to ſee a Man deſpiſe not only his Inferiors, (which was the Sin of Angels) but his Equals and Superiors! To think himſelf beyond every Man he meets! And that it is below his greatneſs (forſooth) to receive an injury from any! This is the character of a Hero, ſo much courted in Romances and Plays, (the Goſpel of this World's honour;) a fool ſwell'd with pride even to Blaſphemy! Is it not nauſeous to ſee him brave Thunder, whoſe ſcull is not proof againſt the ſliding of a Tyle from a houſe-top! A weak piece of fleſh, whoſe foundation is in the duſt, the food of Worms, that is cruſhed before the Moth! A Man that is not able to encounter a Diſeaſe, to hear him rally againſt God, and to think this either wit or courage! That Men of Spirit (as they call themſelves) ſhould be fond of a Vice which proceeds merely from want of ſenſe! And not rather to follow the advice and example of a God, which is, that you would think it your greateſt honour to become innocent and harmleſs, loving and free from pride as little Children are, (which is taught in the Goſpel for this day) and that with ſuch courage, that you would rather chuſe to *pluck out your eyes*, and *cut off your hands*, than to offend the leaſt, the moſt inconſiderable of Mankind, who are created by God *after his own image*, and are the price of the Blood of *Chriſt*: That you would believe the argument of Honour to be decided, which has been bandy'd by the Angels of Heaven, and determin'd there by God himſelf, that it conſiſts in Love, and not in Pride; but more ſenſibly by the Incarnation and Sufferings of *Chriſt*, which makes it as it were viſible to our Eyes.

That you would therefore ſuffer your ſelves to be perſuaded by your own Reaſon, which will ſhew you the reſtleſs Miſeries which attend upon Pride, and the Beauties and great Glory of Love, in the which if you can delight your ſelves, you have already taſted of Heaven, and are Heirs of immortal Honour. *Amen.*

And let this comfort us in our faint longings, languid attempts, and many failings in our ſpiritual Warfare; and let this ſilence all our weak murmurings at the Providence of God, which has for infinitely wiſe ends, not fathomable by us, permitted the Fall of Man, and Wars and Diviſions upon Earth; ſince for this end, no doubt, among many others, he has made known to us that *there was War in Heaven*; and that as the conqueſt can only be by his Strength and Grace in us, ſo it will end in infinite and eternal Victory and Triumph to thoſe who truſt wholly in him by Faith in *Chriſt* humbled and crucify'd for us; and who follow him manfully to the end of that race which he, our great Prophet and Guide, has not only point-

ed out to us, but as our Captain, has led us, and run before us, and fought the ſame fight which he would have us to fight, and wherein he will aſſiſt us, and protect us, that the gates of Hell ſhall never prevail againſt us; and has already, in our cauſe, and in our name and nature, triumphed over every power of the Enemy, and taken poſſeſſion of Heaven for us, as our head, the Soul and Life of that Body whereof we are Members.

And as the Soul does actuate all the members of the Body, conſequently it muſt raiſe all the members with the Body: So that all who partake of the Spirit of *Chriſt* are ſure that that Spirit muſt raiſe up their Bodies, as cer-
Rom. viii. 9, 11. tainly as it did raiſe up the Body of *Chriſt*. *Now if any Man have not the Spirit of Chriſt, he is none of his——But if the Spirit of him who raiſed up* Jeſus *from the dead dwell in you, he that raiſed up* Chriſt *from the dead ſhall alſo quicken your mortal Bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.* Amen.

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